THE

# ILLUSTRATED HISTORY

OF

# THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN INDIA

AND THE EAST,

FROM THE

Earliest Times to the Suppression of the Sepoy Mutiny in 1859.

16215 1808

BY

E. H. NOLAN, Ph.D., LL.D.,

AUTHOR OF THE "HISTORY OF THE WAR AGAINST RUSSIA."

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

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# PREFACE.

THE Introduction to this Work is so written as to render a long preface neither necessary nor desirable. Probably, a *History of the British Empire in India and the East* is one of the most laborious works which could be undertaken, however popular the form which may be given to it. This circumstance, so well known, furnishes the Author with a plea for the indulgence of his readers, whose support has been so extensively given to his productions.

The Author will merely use this Preface as the medium of expressing his obligations to those whose assistance he has found so valuable. He is indebted to Mr. J. EUGENE O'CAVANAGH for his aid in the portion which treats of India in the heathen and Mohammedan periods. To JOHN HOLLYER, Esq., of the India House, to whom this Work is dedicated, the Author is especially under obligations for counsel and aid in various ways, although entertaining, on many points, differences of opinion in reference to Indian affairs. The advice of H. T. PRINSEP, Esq., of the Council for India, and the courtesy of Sir PROBY CAUTLEY, also of the Council, claim the Author's grateful thanks. In the selection of the best books as guides and text-books, and for the enunciation of important critiques, he expresses his acknowledgments to Dr. HAYMAN WILSON, Professor of Sanscrit in Oxford University, and Librarian to the India House. From every person connected with the Company's Library attention and courtesy have been received. The Author is also much indebted for the opinions expressed to him in reference to India and Indian affairs by Major-General Sir FENWICK WILLIAMS, Bart., of Kars, and BEHRAM PASHA (Lieutenant-General Cannon), when, in the earlier period of his labours, the judgment of men of eminent parts and experience was of the highest value.

Throughout this Work, as in all his other historical labours, the Author has been guided simply by a love of truth, and has held himself uninfluenced by party, political, or personal considerations. He has written neither in the interest of the Board of Control, the East India Company, nor of any other class either in England or India. His patrons are exclusively the Public, to whose good opinion he aspires, and to whom he now commends this Work,—whatever its merits or defects,—as an impartial *History of the British Empire in India and the East.*

KENSINGTON.

TO

# JOHN HOLLYER, ESQ.,

CADET DEPARTMENT, INDIA OFFICE.

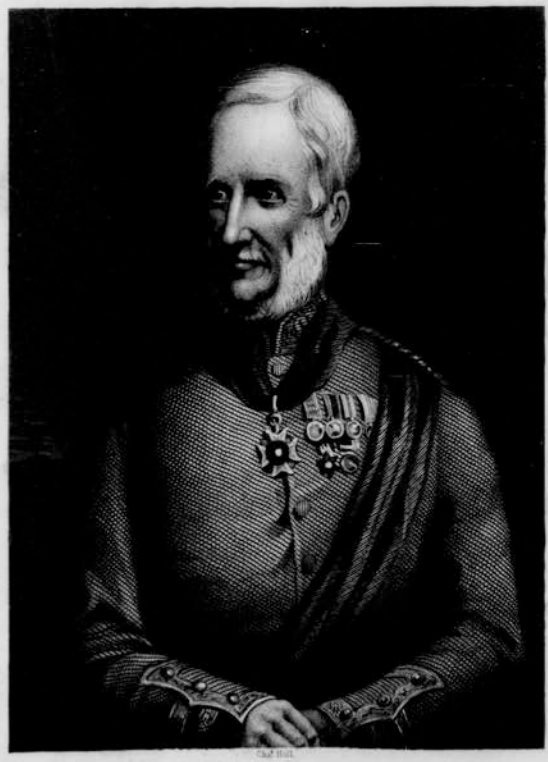
DEAR SIR,

Having received from you much valuable information, and many important introductions, by which my composition of this large and laborious Work has been facilitated, and having from my youth enjoyed your generous, enduring, and faithful friendship, it is appropriate that this Book should be dedicated to you, as a token and tribute of that esteem which shall ever be cherished by

Your obliged and faithful friend,

EDWARD H. NOLAN.

KENSINGTON.



MAJOR GEN.L SIR HENRY HAVELOCK, K.C.B.

*From authentic Portraits in the possession of the Family*

# The History of the BRITISH EMPIRE IN INDIA AND THE EAST.

BY Dr E. H. NOLAN.

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SIR DAVID BAIRD DISCOVERING THE BODY OF TIPPOO SAIB.

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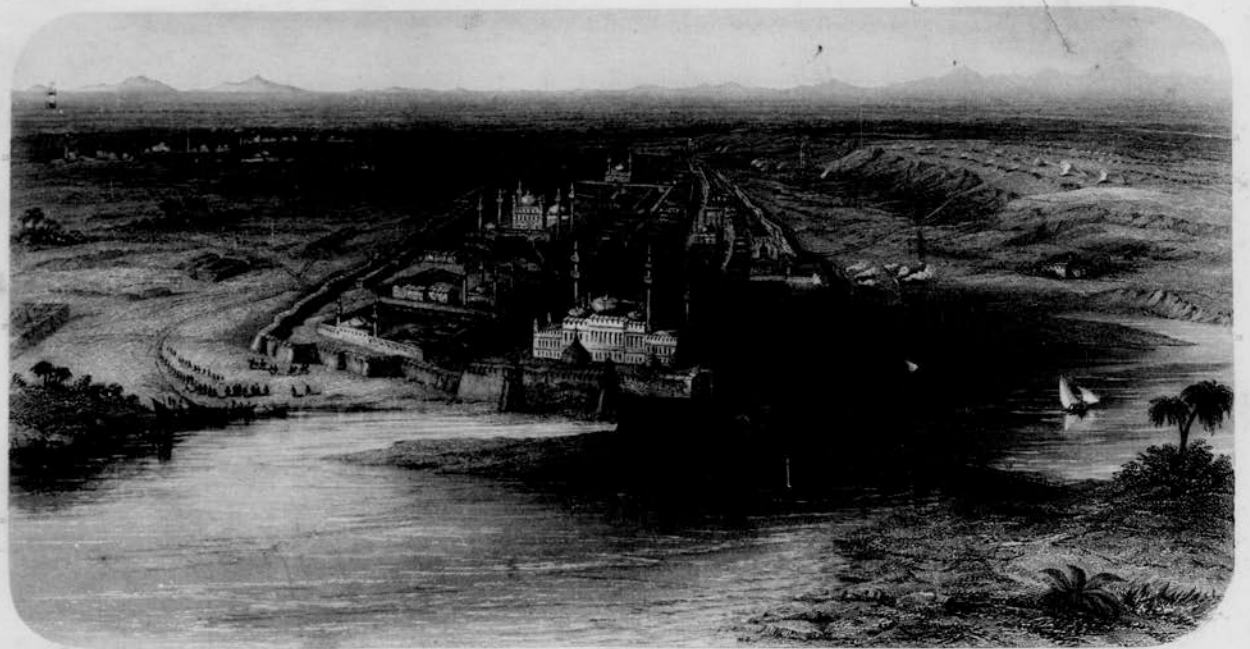
London.

JAMES S VIRTUE, CITY ROAD & IVY LANE.

LORD CLIVE.

*From a Painting by N. Dance*

PANORAMIC VIEW OF NEW & OLD DELHI & THE SURROUNDING COUNTRY.



1. The Palace.
2. Selim Ghur Fort.
3. St. James' Church.
4. Chandnee Chowk.
5. Jumma Musjid.
6. Nigumbod Gate.
7. Kashmere Gate.
8. Moree Gate.
9. Lahore Gate.
10. Ajmere Gate.
11. Toorkman Gate.
12. Dehlee Gate.
13. Old Delhi.
14. Canal.
15. Position of British Camp.
16. Metcalfe House.
17. Batteries in ruins.
18. Offset of the River Jumna.
19. Bridge of Boats.
20. River Jumna.

T. Knight.

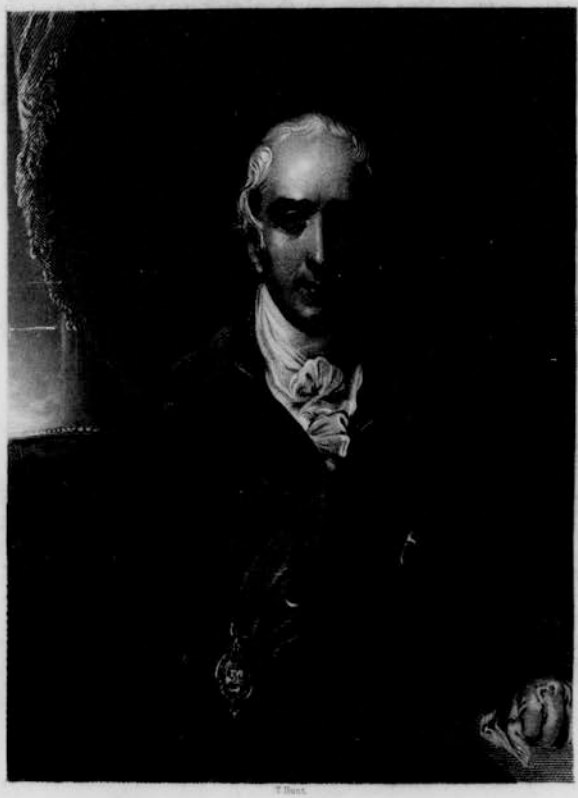
WARREN HASTINGS.

GOVERNOR GENERAL OF BENGAL.

*From a Painting by Sir J. Reynolds*

LONDON JAMES S. VIRTUE

THE BATTLE OF MEEANEE.

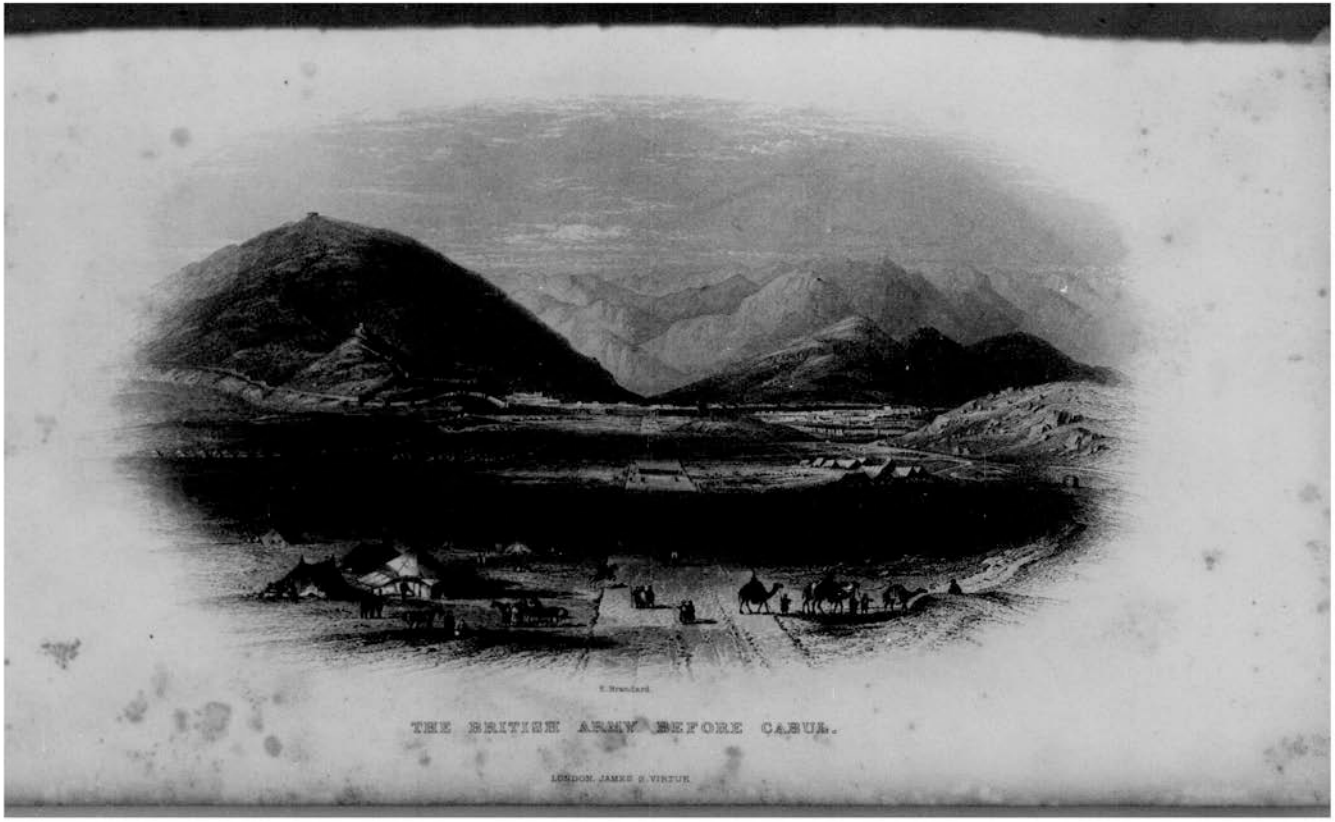


T. Bunt.

RICHARD, MARQUESS WELLESLEY, K.G. &c.

*From a Painting by Sir T. Lawrence, P.R.A.*

LONDON JAMES S. CROSBY.



THE BRITISH ARMY BEFORE CABUL.

LONDON. JAMES S. VIRTUE.

SIR CHARLES NAPIER PURSUING THE ROBBER TRIBES.

LONDON JAMES S VIRTUE

# INDIA

Plain of Delhi

Tiger Hunt

Laccadive Islands

CEYLON

BAY OF BENGAL

INDIAN OCEAN

Coromandel Coast

Malabar Coast

Malabar Mountains

Cape Comorin

Madras

Pondicherry

Bombay

Goa

Calicut

Cochin

Mangalore

Seringapatam

Bangalore

Hyderabad

Golconda

Aurungabad

Ahmednagar

Poona

Surat

Baroda

Ahmedabad

Cambay

Gulf of Cambay

Indus

Lahore

Delhi

Agra

Lucknow

Allahabad

Benares

Patna

Calcutta

Ganges

Jumna

Nerbudda

Tapty

Mahanuddy

Godavery

Kistna

Cauvery

Tanjore

Trichinopoly

Madura

Tinnevelly

Palamcottah

Negapatam

Pondicherry

Arcot

Vellore

Nellore

Ongole

Guntoor

Masulipatam

Rajpoot States

Cashmere

Thibet

Nepaul

Bootan

Assam

Burmah

Ava

Pegu

Arracan

Siam

Malacca

Sumatra

Java

Maldive Islands

Laccadive Islands

Ceylon

Small Part of Ceylon

Madras

Bombay

Calcutta

Cape Comorin

Malabar Coast

Coromandel Coast

Bay of Bengal

Indian Ocean

Ganges

Indus

Jumna

Nerbudda

Tapty

Godavery

Kistna

Cauvery

Mahanuddy

Delhi

Agra

Lucknow

Allahabad

Benares

Patna

Calcutta

Lahore

Cashmere

Thibet

Nepaul

Bootan

Assam

Burmah

Ava

Pegu

Arracan

Siam

Malacca

Sumatra

Java

Maldive Islands

Laccadive Islands

# INTRODUCTION.

COLONEL GURWOOD, in his important work, the *Despatches of the Duke of Wellington*, makes the following remark:—"The great end of history is the exact illustration of events as they occurred; and there should neither be exaggeration nor concealment, to suit angry feelings or personal disappointment. History should contain the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth." In the subject of this work the temptation to deviate from the principle laid down by the writer just quoted is very great. The government of India has long been the theme of party politics in the legislature and throughout the British empire, and recent events have not diminished the tendency to debate the matter, even where the information possessed but little qualified the adventurous disputants. Foreign nations have entered into this discussion, and, prompted by envy or by an adverse policy, have subjected the settlement, progress, and government of the British in India to the most searching, stringent, and severe criticism. The commercial classes in England were, to a considerable extent, in conflict with the home government and the Honourable East India Company, so long as the latter was a trading company. The missionary societies, representing the religious public, have been in collision with the directors on their religious policy in India, and upon numerous social questions of the deepest concern. Military authorities of eminence have expressed very serious differences of opinion with one another and the committee in Leadenhall Street, as to the constitution and direction of the army. Political economists have complained of the management of Indian resources, and mooted schemes of great magnitude in reference to their future development. The crown and the company have not always worked in harmony, and both have been denounced by native rajahs, parliamentary orators, and popular writers, as unjust and negligent; while men of profound experience in Indian affairs and Indian character have represented the government as adapted to the people with wondrous suitability, and maintained with unswerving justice. Under these circumstances, to avoid a partizan feeling in any direction, keeping in view the old but much neglected maxim, *audi alteram partem*, is an honourable task for a writer to propose to himself, but one of extreme difficulty to perform. It is, however, essential to a correct and honest History of India, not only that a general impartiality should be observed, but that fair account be taken of every conflicting interest and party, and their views, and the arguments by which they have been supported, correctly represented to the general reader. The laborious investigations which this duty imposed have been faithfully executed, and in the following chapters the injunction shall be obeyed—"Nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice."

That there have been misgovernment and neglect in the administration of India is too true; but no Englishman can make himself acquainted with all the circumstances of our Indian acquisitions, and the character of the native instrumentality which has been of necessity employed in the army, the collection of taxes, and the dispensation of justice, without feeling that the English nation might take as a motto, descriptive of its Indian rule, the title which Bulwer Lytton gives to one of his works—"Not so bad as we seem." That evils of terrible magnitude exist in the social condition of India, which the government have not made adequate efforts to eradicate, or even to mitigate—and that some have attended the progress of English power and government—is so obvious, and so certain to be the case under any form of government, that it is astonishing how intelligent persons are

found to feel or affect surprise. It is still more a matter of wonder that those who have so keen an eye for the detection of misrule, and for the errors and mischiefs which have been permitted to remain, and even to grow up under our supervision, should be so dull in noting the benefits conferred, and which have been mingled with the measures most generally regarded as injurious. The great dramatist represents Henry V. as discovering amidst the perils of Agincourt that there is

> "Some soul of goodness in things evil
> Would men observingly distil it out."

This is the spirit in which all criticism on Indian affairs, and, in fact, all historical criticism, should be made.

The importance of the subject demands that the attention of the British public should be dispassionately given to the present condition of India, and to the measures in reference to her government which must occupy the legislature for very many years to come. This cannot be done but by an intelligent acquaintance with the country, its resources, history, and the social condition of its inhabitants. No time could be more favourable for elucidating these topics in a manner adapted to popular perusal, yet also in a manner comprehensive and in harmony with the progress of the people of this country in the knowledge of social, economical, and political science. India is the brightest gem in the most glorious crown that was ever placed upon a queenly brow. William, Prince of Orange, is represented to have said of Ireland, when looking down from an elevated position upon one of her beautiful landscapes, "This is a country well worth fighting for!" and who could look upon the glorious "Ind," teeming with fertility—rich in all the natural luxury of the tropics—glowing beneath the brightest sunshine that smiles on even the landscapes of the East—bounded by the old historic lands of remotest antiquity—curious alike in the phenomena of nature and the mental peculiarities of the races that dwell there, and containing unworked resources sufficient to tempt the ambition of the greatest and richest empire—without feeling that it is worthy to be kept by those who conquered, and still nobly hold it. Surely, if ever country were worthy the valour of the brave, the study of the learned, the exploration of the philosopher, the observation of the traveller, and the holy enterprise of the Christian, this is it. There genius of every order may find scope. The languages, literature, religion, and customs of the people,—the scenery, soil, mines, material resources, and geographical position of the country,—all invite the brave in arts and study, as much as the brave in arms, to confer upon it the benefit of their enterprise, and thus enlarge the sphere of human advantage, as well as open up for themselves a track of fame and honour. It is scarcely possible for the English student, at all events now, to devote too much attention to this subject.

For the future welfare of India, and for English dominion and renown, there is hope. The hurricane which has passed over Hindoostan will purify the political and social atmosphere, and leave a brighter and more benign calm than prevailed before. We must not regard political any more than natural convulsions as simply evils. It is necessary that the mind of a nation should be disturbed, to awaken it from supineness, even although the process be alarming. Agitation prevents social evils from settling into a sediment; the more they are stirred, the greater the probability that they will evaporate and pass away. The lightning, which dazzles in the distance, shaking the heavens with thunder, blasting the forest tree, and shattering the sacred temple or the stately palace, also rends the cloud, and scatters its pent-up treasures on the thirsty soil; so in the dealings of Providence, when the voice of his reproof reverberates through the nations, and the lightning of his power smites and overthrows the proudest monuments of human sagacity and dominion, He at the same time replenishes the earth with his goodness, and prepares, by the very processes which fill the peoples with dismay, seasons of fair tranquillity and brightening joy. The breeze which sweeps the stagnant lake carries onward its pestiferous odour, but it also passes over park and pasture, bearing on its laden wing the fragrance of blossom and of flower. It is thus that a philosophic mind regards the operations of the Divine government. So long as the heart

of a nation is sound—so long as there are principle, self-examination, and courage—disasters bear within them the elements of political resuscitation. This has been singularly the case in the history of great nations. They have seldom emerged from an inferior position to a new and higher one, without having experienced some rude collision from without or convulsion within, as in a geological catastrophe, when an inferior organisation breaks up to give place to one of superior type. Frequently great changes take place in the inner life of a nation by slow degrees, less observed by other nations, but not less felt by the people who are the subjects of the change; but it is questionable if even these are ever painless—old customs, laws, religions, do not expire, nor are old policies changed, as the western sunset passes softly away, or as the dawn noiselessly advances with bright feet along the heavenly way: the bird which shakes off its old for a new and gayer plumage finds the process painful as well as gradual, although the result is renewed strength and beauty.

The events which have lately occurred in India, and by which all humane minds have been horror-stricken, are the certain although terrible means by which India is to be opened up to better government and European civilisation. The obstacles which stood most in the way of such happy changes were caste and Mohammedanism; the former must cease to obtain any official recognition, and the latter must be kept down by the only means possible—the point of the sword. As to caste, there never existed on earth any barrier to human progress so effectual; imagination, however depraved morally, while intellectually active, never conceived anything by which pride, oppression, and an immutable ignorance, might be so efficiently conserved. The government of India has been blamed and defended with equal zeal for treating it with respect. Colonel Sykes has irrefutably proved the impossibility of refusing to recognise it, either in the organisation of the army or the administration of the law: it was at once a religious and social institution, possessing a traditional and positive force in relation to society in India which could not be ignored. But the time has gone by when it is safe or possible to humour it, or allow it to impede the aims of government, the discipline of the army, or the progress of society. A writer in the *Northern Daily Express* thus notices the necessity which circumstances now impose upon the Indian government to declare boldly that they will no longer allow this distinction to make the government of India one of sufferance, or to constrain it to appear as if conniving at an institution so abhorrent to reason, justice, and civilisation:—"We see at last the downfall of a horrible superstition, not Brahminism, but of a superstition more revolting and insane—namely, an unprincipled deference to superstition—in a word, the superstition of the Indian civil service. Consider whether the infamy is greater in the poor ignorant creature who burns an old woman for witchcraft, in the full belief that she has formed a compact with the devil, or in him who, believing neither in witchcraft nor devil, attends the fire, and contributes with his own hands a fagot, on the principle that it is better not to disturb inveterate prejudices and long-established customs. This is the plea, and has been the policy, of those who emphatically call themselves 'old Indians.' This is what they oracularly call the traditional policy." Although the passage is too severe, if considered as a description of the motives and principles of the whole civil service of the East India Company, it yet fairly depicts the conduct of the extreme men, civil and military, who abetted a time-serving and timid policy towards the superstitions of India generally, and towards that of caste especially. There is now, however, an end to this; the great military revolution which has startled and fixed the attention of the world has swept away, as with a whirlwind, the very institution it was one of its objects to preserve. England will now provide for the government of India in spite of caste, and with no other recognition than the tolerant spirit of the religion and character of the British people teaches her rulers to observe to all creeds and conditions of men. Here there is a vast advantage gained, at a great expenditure, it is true, both of blood and treasure, and at some cost of prestige; but for the bloodshed a terrible retribution has already been exacted, the treasures plundered will soon be replaced by the improved condition of the country under a better governmental administration; and even the prestige of England will be increased, not only by the glorious fortitude called forth on the part of her suffering soldiers, civilians, and women, or by the new victories

which crown the reconquest of upper India, but by the moral power she has put forth in proving herself equal to the emergency of so great a crisis, as well as able to make use of it for her own honour and the lasting good of the vanquished. As the mariner, who proves his seamanship and his courage in the storm, as well as tests the quality of the ship in which he sails, gaining experience of her and of himself—so England, amidst this tumult, has established the unbending character of her courage and the resources of her empire, while experience is gleaned in reference to her Asiatic dominion which will serve for generations.

The limitation of Mohammedan power and influence must be one of the results of the reconstitution of British authority in India, and such a change must affect the whole social condition of that country. Mohammedanism and a high degree of civilisation cannot co-exist among the same people. The Koran is not only the Bible of the Mussulman, it is his book of science and of government. Its laws and doctrines extend to the whole individual and social life of the Prophet's followers. On all scientific subjects its contents are absurd, puerile, and superstitious; on subjects of public law and policy it is despotic and fanatical. Discoveries in science or social economics are adverse to the fixed principles of this standard, they are therefore rejected by the true believer as infidel. Turkey exhibits the impossibility of a Mohammedan state advancing in the arts and in good government, even under the most favourable conditions: all development of commerce, agriculture, and science in the Turkish empire is to be ascribed to Christians, and is regarded with either disdain, hatred, or horror, according to the individual character of the Turk, or the degree of fanaticism with which he is imbued. It is true that when the light of science does find entrance to the mind of the Mohammedan his religion is destroyed, for if the Koran be confuted in one point, it is confuted in its entirety. Infallible in its pretensions on all subjects, as soon as it is found to be in error, its authority perishes. The public schools in India, and the missionaries, have infused just philosophical notions among the better classes of Mohammedan youth, and where this has been the case they have invariably become sceptics to their creed. A perception of this fact has roused the fanaticism of all Mohammedan India against the English. Alarmed lest intercourse with them, an acquaintance with their literature, or observation of their scientific knowledge, should supplant the doctrines of the Koran, the religious *par excellence* have become maddened with rage against the presence of Europeans in India, and a desire grew up to attempt their expulsion at any risk. This was one of the sources from which sprang the movement by which revolt and slaughter were so recently carried over all Northern and North-western India. For a considerable time the members of various orders especially devoted to the service of the Prophet have been urging on the population and the soldiery to insurrection and revolt in the name of religion; while the more politic among the rajahs and public men have been counselling them to wait for an inviting opportunity. The people were as desirous as the soldiery for a movement against the government, or even more desirous; but it was felt that upon a revolt of the united Brahmins and Mussulmen soldiery, at least partially successful, depended whether the people could effect anything, and accordingly suspense and an anxious, importunate expectation for the moment that should decide the experiment pervaded Mohammedan India. It is probable that this hatred would have been long nursed, without any more open display than desultory outbursts at public festivals, if chances of success had not offered, by the fewness of the British troops, the extraordinary confidence placed in the sepoys, and the marvellous want of vigilance on the part of the authorities, notwithstanding innumerable warnings. Lord Brougham, when investigating the greater probability of crime in proportion to the chance of impunity, remarked—"All the chances which a man has of escape naturally affect his mind when he is meditating whether he shall commit an offence or not." There is no doubt that whatever amount of provocation existed in the fact that cartridges glazed with fat of oxen or swine were served out to the men, by using which caste would have been forfeited, yet the chances of exemption from ultimate failure, presented by the circumstances named above, decided the minds of the soldiery upon revolt. Hereafter no such temptations will be in the way of either Hindoo or Mohammedan. The discipline of the Indian army will be placed on such a footing, and that army so constituted, as to afford

ground for security, and in the public tranquillity a guarantee for progress in civilisation, and the prosperity of the country. According to the religion of the Mohammedan, Christians are not necessarily devoted to death, but only to slavery under certain forms and conditions; while the hatred to heathenism inculcated by that creed is never mitigated—it dooms the idolater to death without mercy. In the future of India, therefore, when Brahmin and Mohammedan perceive that there is no prospect of overthrowing the "kumpany sahib," they will exercise towards one another, unchecked, the antipathies of their hostile religions, and a second coalition against Europeans will be extremely unlikely, if not impossible. It is not probable that attempts to conciliate the Mohammedan population or soldiery will again be made; all such efforts would fail—Mohammedans cannot be conciliated: the surrender of the country to their control would alone satisfy them. The conciliation of a bigoted sect, whose most cherished religious principle is ascendancy, is bad policy; concession adds to their strength—they attribute it to weakness or an act of homage to their rights, and are proportionately emboldened. This has always been the case with all bigoted and fanatical superstitions; it is in the nature of things for it to be so: and therefore the true policy of the future will be to curb the licentiousness of all fanaticisms in India, and assert the liberty of all, whatever their creed, despite the long-cherished superstitions, or the prescriptive assumption of castes. That this will be the genius of our government in India hereafter public opinion in Great Britain has already indicated; and the noble heir of the house of Derby well expressed the experience of later times when he remarked—"Independent of public opinion, no man and no institution in this country is, or (and thank God for it) can be." That the government of India will be adapted to the moral and political phenomena there, and the newly-awakened interest taken in Indian affairs by the United Kingdom, there can be no doubt; yet, on the whole, it is false to represent India as having been unjustly treated in a religious point of view. The Rev. Dr. Robert Lee, of Edinburgh, has put this assertion in a just light in these words:—"We incurred no guilt by not having used our power to make converts of the natives, because, as a government, we could not make them Christians, even if we would. If we had the power to do this, we had not the right; a foreign government, as ours is, had no right to take the taxes of the people to compel them to adopt a religion of which their consciences disapproved. Instead of promoting Christianity, such a course would be the most effectual way of retarding it, because it would raise up prejudices against the religion thus forcibly established, which probably nothing would be able to remove." It is true that the early government of the East India Company was hostile to missionary establishments in India, but of late years all discouragements have been withdrawn. It is also true that the company contributed to the support of heathen temples, which was wrong in conscience, and false in policy, but this has altogether ceased. The tolerance of infanticide and Sutteeism was a necessity; the company dared not have attempted their subversion much sooner than they accomplished it. Every step, however, in the direction of religious freedom, and the protection of the helpless members of the community from superstitious cruelties to which they were exposed, exasperated the Brahmin devotees; in fact, all the movements of "the party of progress," as certain sections of British and Hindoo society are called, inflamed the resentment of large portions of the population of India in proportion as these movements were successful. There is nothing so hateful to Islam and to Brahma as religious liberty, therefore the defence of Christian proselytes by the government from all the consequences to which unprotected they would be exposed, created an amount of disloyalty in India which cannot be computed in this country by any that have not studied the history, religions, and social life of India. The particular action in the various legal improvements made in harmony with "the party of progress" has not always been judicious, nor marked by forethought. As an example, the interference of government with the *lex loci* in reference to property may be cited. The government, impelled by public opinion both in India and in England, so modified the action of the local law, as to give umbrage to the whole native population of India. All through the East, from the Bosphorus to Calcutta, the local custom dominates. In India it is inexorably rigid: Christian proselytes suffered from it; by becoming Christians they lost caste, and

forfeited their interest in the family property. The hardship and injustice of this, as well as the impediment it created to the spread of the Christian religion, created an agitation among missionaries and other pious and philanthropic men in India, which communicated itself to the same classes in England, and resulted in the abrogation of the *lex loci*, so far as proselytes were concerned. A choice was given to adopt that principle, or to claim a full participation in the privileges of English law. The practical effect was that while by the local law the property must pass from the heathen to the proselyte, he, by adopting the law of England, left the property to whom he pleased—it did not pass back again by right into the hands of his heathen kindred. Thus the proselyte acquired, by his conversion, an absolute right in property, in which otherwise he could only have had a life interest when permitted to pass into his possession. The natives considered such an interference with the *lex loci* as not merely intended to protect the religious liberty of the convert, but devised as a bonus on proselytism. Even in reference to the first and just provision of the enactment, which secured to the new Christian his rights in connection with the family inheritance, a powerful native hostility would have existed; but in the second feature of the provision, which virtually confiscated the property from his heathen kindred to himself, the people saw an intention to make war upon their religion Few men connected with the government of India approved of such a measure, but the opinion of certain classes in India, and of the majority of the British public, constrained the course which was adopted.

That there has been injustice and impolicy in the administration of India will be admitted by both the people of England, the East India Company, and the crown; but it is impossible to deny that the words of the Rev. Dr. Lee, of Edinburgh describe the facts, when he says—"Of course, if you set up an ideal standard, every nation—Great Britain even—is badly governed; but if you compare it with other countries, I say India is not badly governed. It is incomparably better governed than any country in Asia, and than most countries in Europe. To what conclusion, then, are we to come? have we any right to be in the country at all? This is a question of great delicacy, and opens up many nice points of casuistry. In the beginning, doubtless, much sin was committed; great empires are never acquired without crimes, and our empire in India has been no exception to the general rule. You are now in possession, and cannot quit your post. To give it up would be to surrender the country to anarchy, rapine, and civil war; or to leave it a prey to Russia, which would be to abandon it to an uttermost despotism. The duty, then, devolves upon you to do the best you can to promote its good government and improvement.'

The importance of our Indian empire can hardly be over-estimated; for although the assertions of continental censors, that the severance of India would leave England a third or fourth-rate power, is simply ridiculous, the loss would be severe. In every district of the British Isles there are persons who have acquired a competency, or been enriched by India; her productions enter largely into our commerce; her civil and military services afford remunerative occupation constantly for many thousands of Englishmen, besides those who realise fortunes, and return home to enjoy them; the revenue she renders exceeds that of most of the continental kingdoms; her occupation affords a position of power and influence to Great Britain which are felt all over the eastern world; and the possession of so vast a dominion gives a prestige and glory to the name of England which is recognised by all nations, and which will shed lustre on the page of English history for ever. What India may be made in the way of benefit to herself and to the whole British empire has been strikingly exemplified in the annexation of the Punjaub. That fertile province has become still richer; her people prosperous, peaceable, and loyal; her revenues a source of advantage to herself and to the government of India: and all this has resulted from a complete, instead of a partial conquest, a thorough disarming of the seditious and suspected, the impartial administration of justice, and adoption of laws and a financial system based upon correct principles of political economy. The Blue-books which have been issued respecting the government of the Punjaub, and the reports of trustworthy travellers and residents, place the prosperity of the whole Sikh districts beyond doubt, and prove that since the entire destruction of the Khalsa army, and the organi-

sation of a separate, efficient, and economical government, the whole country of the five rivers has become a source of strength to the government of India. The readiness with which Sikh volunteers were formed, from Ferozepore to Peshawur, during the recent terrible revolt of the Bengal sepoys, and the efficiency with which the old soldiers of the maharajah served in our ranks, impose the conviction that, notwithstanding the impracticable nature of Brahminism and Mohammedanism, all India may in time be governed as well as the Punjaub, and made even more productive of advantage to its own people as well as to its rulers. As already remarked, the great revolt of the sepoys seems providentially to hasten and facilitate such results. So long as a native army constituted as was that of Bengal, and two other native armies so far similarly constituted as those of Bombay and Madras, dictated to the government, or were as much a source of apprehension as power, it was impossible to carry out those improvements of which India is susceptible, and which the British people desire. Even in the Punjaub it was the Bengal army that created our only danger. Should the armies of Bombay and Madras be permitted to remain as they are, or a Bengal army similar in any great degree to the former, be re-constructed, the perils which have so long hung over English rule in India will still impend. Present events, however, have determined the future for us, and the military and civil *régime* will henceforth guarantee the solidity of our dominions, its more thorough usefulness, and its greater honour and renown. The words of Sir Henry Russell, written in 1842, are strikingly appropriate to such considerations:—"Our tenure of India must, under all circumstances, be a military one. If we do not hold it by the exercise of our arms, at least we do by the impression of them. If ever we are thought to have lost our military supremacy, I am afraid no other will remain to us; by our army we must either stand or fall. The most fearful of all disasters that we can dread, therefore, is disaffection among our native troops. When it does occur, and occur it will, unless it be preceded and anticipated by some other, it will be the work of some one bold, able man of themselves, who obtains influence among them. Such a person has never yet appeared, it is true, but it would be a delusion for us to assume that no such person will appear. The natives of India are not an unlikely stock for such a shoot to spring from, nor is the mass ill-suited to the rising of such a leaven. The event, if ever it do come, will be abrupt. It will be an explosion. It will give no warning, but will be upon us before there is time to arrest it. The mischief will have been done before its approach has been discovered. It is only by being foreseen that such a danger can be averted. . . . . The more busily the troops are employed, the more they may be relied upon. In our own territory, as well as in the territory of our allies, we must be provided against every emergency. Forces equipped for rapid movement and effective service must be maintained within reach of each other. No point on our border, no quarter of our territory, must be suffered to feel itself at liberty. No incursion will be attempted from abroad, no rising will be adventured at home, if it is not encouraged by the appearance of impunity. Even if these preparations should not be required to repel attack or suppress insurrection, the very appearance of them will serve the purpose of preventing it." The recent revolt fulfilled the predictions of Sir Henry, except in the particular of a man of eminent military parts arising among the sepoys, which, however, he regarded as a possible or not very improbable event rather than one likely. The danger he depicted as existing in 1842 will exist in 1862, or at any other time, if we continue the old military system of absolute confidence in the sepoy; the preventive care, pointed out in the above quotation as essential, must be the policy of our future rule. The explosion has occurred, and the occasion is furnished not only of testing such predictions, but of profiting by such counsels. If we do take up the government of India with a resolute and just hand, the day will not be so distant as some imagine when over her vast area rich cities shall flourish; fertile fields bloom with the beauty and luxuriance of her glorious clime; peace smile within her borders over many millions of contented people; surrounding nations look upon our power as a beauty and a glory; and the grandeur of empire appear as the consequence and accompaniment not merely of our heroism or our skill, but of our virtue. Where the blood of English victims has left its stain the sanctuaries of English piety shall rear their imposing structures; and where

the groan of the murdered Englishwoman cried aloud to Heaven, the prayer and the psalmody of native worship shall be heard. It is the genius of truth and justice to propagate themselves. Every righteous act in legislature, or voluntary benevolence performed by a people, begets its like, and virtue increases and multiplies, spreading its offspring all around; as some prolific eastern tree, not only graces by its beauty the spot from which it springs, but scatters the seeds of its productive life around it in ever-multiplying energy within the limits adapted to its condition.

The study of the History of India by the British people is conducive to the happy results we contemplate. There is no age of the progress and life of India that is not interesting and instructive. In the far mythic past we learn how the infancy of an oriental people was nursed, and how that nurture affected its future growth. From the remotest antiquity to the conquests of Alexander, from the marvellous achievements of that conqueror until Mohammedan invaders overran those realms, there is in the very sameness of Indian life, and the monotony of Indian story, a lesson of interest and practical utility. The genius of the people through a long period, or series of periods, is so indicated as to facilitate the study of their character in all subsequent times to the present hour. The Mohammedan era of India opens up a new view of the existence of her people. Even then she offers a peculiar aspect in the very high places of her Mussulman conquerors. Mohammedans in India, while possessing the common characteristics of the followers of the Prophet, so adapted themselves to Hindoo custom, and so imbibed the Hindoo spirit, that they assumed a peculiar character, in which they differ from all other Mohammedan nations. In the development of this fact there are also historic lessons of value bearing upon the present.

The story of English power and progress in India, and of the wars waged with Persia, China, and other contiguous countries, is probably the most romantic and curious ever unfolded. What deeds of heroism! what unforeseen and unexpected conquests! what striking and singular providences! over what variety and extent of realm the flag of Britain has been unfurled! through what remote glens, and passes, and defiles, her sound of bugle and tap of drum have echoed! on what historic, and yet far-off, fields and mountains the sheen of her bayonets has gleamed in the blazing light of the Eastern sun! even when progressing only by her commerce and her laws, and the reverberation of her cannon ceased among the hills and valleys of the vanquished, how largely she has entered into what Sir Archibald Alison has designated the everlasting war between East and West! how the opinions and feeling of Britain have percolated the moral soil of Asia, to spring up again in renewing and fertilising streams! The people of England must become better acquainted with all this if they will impress their own image upon the Eastern world, and leave it for posterity to recognise. They must study these records of their own fame, as well as of earlier times, if they perform the still nobler task of impressing the image of their God and Saviour upon the oriental heart. If we rise to the greatness of our opportunities and apparent destinies, we need have no fears for our work or for ourselves, but, confident of success, exclaim,—

"Sweep on! sweep on! mysterious as sublime,
Ye never-resting waves of Change and Time;
Ye heed not human toil, or tears, or groans,
O'erwhelming races, dynasties, and thrones;
What was, what is, and what, alas! shall be,
Ye waft alike to one eternal sea."

# THE ILLUSTRATED HISTORY

OF THE

# BRITISH EMPIRE IN INDIA

## AND THE EAST.

## CHAPTER I.

### INDIA:—GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION—GEOLOGY—CLIMATE—PRODUCTIONS.

It is essential to an efficient study of the history of our empire in India, that a correct notion should be entertained of the extent, area, and characteristics of the territories now subjected to us,—the countries adjacent,—and those into which war has been carried more or less in connection with British Indian policy. Dr. Arnold well expressed the importance of geographical study in connection with the material and political condition of a people, when he observed, "Let me once understand the real geography of a country—its organic structure, if I may so call it; the form of its skeleton—that is, of its hills; the magnitude and course of its veins and arteries—that is, of its streams and rivers; let me conceive of it as a whole, made up of connected parts; and then the position of man's dwellings, viewed in reference to those parts, becomes at once easily remembered, and lively and intelligible besides."

India is perhaps more variously described, and with more discrepancy, than any other country in the world equally well known. It is customary to write of India, "on this side the Ganges," and "India beyond the Ganges;" the former including British India, with the tributary and allied principalities; the latter, the Birman empire, Siam, Malacca, Cambodia, Cochin China, Tonkin, &c. The country more properly and strictly designated India, is the central peninsula of Southern Asia. Its boundaries are generally distinctly marked by natural limits—such as the Indian Ocean on the south, east, and west; the two great arms of that ocean—the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea—washing the eastern and western shores respectively. The line of coast comprises about 3200 miles, of which 1400 are touched by the Bay of Bengal. The peninsula extends from Cape Comorin, its southern point, to the north of Cashmere—a length of nearly 2000 miles; and from Assam to the river Indus it measures about 1800 miles. Along its northern limits rise the range of the Himalaya Mountains; on the north-west, the mountains of Affghanistan: the north-eastern limits are less marked, still the conformation of the country gives a distinct boundary. Assam, Chittagong, and Arracan, are the frontier lands in that direction. The superficial area is variously estimated, and cannot with exactness be stated; it is probably more than 1,300,000 square miles.

Insular India includes Ceylon, the Lacadive group, and the Maldives. Ceylon is separated from the south-eastern extremity of continental India by the Strait of Palk, and the Gulf of Manaar. The Lacadive Islands are off the Malabar coast, and the Maldives south of these.

Beyond the limits of India Proper, Great Britain possesses vast territories, most of them of very recent acquisition. She has made conquests from the Birman empire—Assam is hers, and Pegu has been ceded to her. Prince of Wales's Island (better known as Penang), Malacca, Singapore, Borneo, Hong-Kong (lately a portion of the Chinese empire), are British possessions. In the Straits of Babelmandel, Aden has been secured and fortified, enabling England to command the passage of the Red Sea, and to offer, in case of necessity, serious menace to the once proud and mighty dominion of Persia.

It will facilitate the progress of description to notice first Insular India.

Ceylon is about 270 miles long, by 140 broad. Its conformation is oval, generally rising to the centre from the coast, the highest point being more than 8000 feet above the level of the sea; it is called Pedrotallagalla. The chief river, the Maharillaganga, takes its rise in the principal highlands, and finds its disembogument in the harbour of Trincomalee. The coast-line of the island is interesting, and the harbour just named is excellent as a place for shipping, and exceedingly picturesque. The island, generally, is lovely: rich in soil, genial in climate, its foliage and flowers luxuriant and beautiful, a perpetual summer smiles upon the favoured residents of that hospitable isle; the language of Heber is appropriate to it:—

"Where ev'ry prospect pleases,
And only man is vile."

The island is remarkable for its production of rare spices; the cinnamon grows more abundantly than in any other country. Beautiful wood, in great variety, is obtained, which is not only elegant and useful to the resident, but an important article of commerce. Ebony, satin-wood, and iron-wood, are exported in considerable quantities. The pearl fisheries on the coast are sources of profit; thence chiefly the much prized pearls are brought to other parts of the world. The conchology of the Indian Ocean is the most splendid of any body of waters on the globe. Ceylon shares this attribute; and on her coasts, and near her shores, shells of superior beauty, in vast numbers, are found. From a very remote antiquity Ceylon exported her products to remote parts; her spices, silk, and pearls, were known and appreciated many ages back; and an embassy from her prince, with especial reference to commercial objects, visited the court of the Roman emperor Claudius. Indeed, the antiquities of Ceylon are as remarkable as her climate and productions, and prove that it was once inhabited by a superior race. Magnificent works for irrigation, temples, mausolea, and palaces of great magnitude and singular architectural beauty existed there when in England men knew not how, for architectural purposes, to lay one stone upon another. When the English wrested the island from the Dutch, they were astonished at its beauty, fertility, ruined cities, and pagodas; its commercial importance had been long known to them, and its possession eagerly coveted.

The channel which separates the island from the mainland is about sixty miles. The name of Palk attached to the strait is derived from a celebrated Dutch navigator. The Gulf of Manaar is represented to derive its name from a little isle on the Ceylonese side, but the origin of the term given to the isle and gulf is lost in obscure antiquity. A ridge of small banks completely obstructs the channel for large vessels: this is called Adam's Bridge, from a tradition that the island of Ceylon was the paradise of primeval innocence from which the first pair were banished. In the Hindoo mythology the divine hero Rama is said to have crossed to the conquest of the island by this ridge. In future pages of this History it will be necessary to give further description of the island; a general notice is all that is suitable here. The population is not much less than 2,000,000. They are a superstitious and servile race; yet when roused by an adequate appeal to their prejudices and passions, they are not destitute of spirit, and are capable of cruelty and treachery to a degree in common with most Asiatic peoples. They make good soldiers; and the battalions of the Ceylon rifle regiment frequently serve with willingness and efficiency in the Madras presidency. The ancient capital, Kandy, is in the interior; the British capital, Colombo, is on the coast.

The Lacadives are a group, seventeen in number, and are not in any way remarkable.

The Maldives, as the name implies, comprise more than a thousand isles and reefs. The word *mal* means thousand—a definite number put for an indefinite, which is common in the Malabar language; *diva* means an island. These isles and reefs run in a chain of 500 miles from north to south; they are never more than fifty miles in breadth. Generally they are rocky and barren, but there are lovely spots dispersed among them, covered with rich tropical verdure, and crowned with the Indian palm.

Continental India is variously designated: "the East Indies," "British India," and "Hindoostan," are the names most generally applied to it. Hindoostan is properly the name of a portion of India only. This name was originally given by the Persians, to indicate the dark complexion of the inhabitants. It is difficult to trace back any name given by the Brahmins to the country over which their doctrines prevailed, whole sentences of different signification having been employed for this purpose. The word *Medhyana*, which means central, was sometimes used by them, because, according to their mythology, the world was supported on the back of a tortoise, and India, it was supposed, occupied the middle place. The term *Punyablunii* was also used to designate it, as the land of virtue, or more probably as meaning the land

ceremonially clean. According to one of their most treasured stories, a prince named Bharat was appointed by his father, called "conqueror of the universe," to reign over the peninsula, and hence the name of Bharat Kund was applied to it. At present the whole country, from the Cabul frontier to the Birman empire, from Thibet to Cape Comorin, is known by the general name of India, the word Hindoostan being generically employed to name the same territory, and specifically to distinguish the country in Northern and North-western India, of which Delhi is the capital.

Before describing the physiognomy of the country, it is necessary to notice its chief political divisions, as reference must be made to them in the descriptions necessary to present the general features of the country.

The territorial arrangements for purposes of government comprise three great provinces, each having certain dependencies, which are partly distinct—such as Scinde, the Punjaub, Oude, &c. Bengal, Bombay, and Madras, are the names of these provinces. The first-named is very large, and is upon the east of British India. It is bounded on the north by Nepaul and Bhootan; to the south by the Bay of Bengal; on the east by Assam and Birmah; on the west by Bahar. To this province, for military and civil purposes, the Punjaub is attached as a sub-government. The alluvial plains of the Ganges and the Brahmapootra are included in the Bengal presidency. Bombay occupies the west coast from the Gulf of Cambay, near to Goa. The capital of this presidency is situated on the island of Bombay, which is about ten miles long, and three broad, and is connected with the island of Salset by a causeway. It is separated by a narrow channel from the mainland. Madras extends along the east coast to the borders of Bengal. The southern point of the peninsula is comprised in its coast range, and also a portion of the most southern part of the west coast. To these three presidencies all the separate governments and provinces of India are attached, by arrangements peculiar to each, according as the circumstances varied by which the territory was acquired.

The peculiar geographical features of India are striking and interesting. Its great extent of coast marks it in a very peculiar manner, and affords to a maritime people like the British facilities for maintaining their supremacy, and for readily turning the resources of the country to account.

The mountains of the peninsula are numerous, and afford extraordinary scope for investigation in various branches of natural science. The Himalayan range forms the boundary on the north between India and Thibet. This is the loftiest and grandest range in the world. The highest peaks attain a height of 28,300 feet, a point of elevation reached nowhere else by any land. The appearance of this range is peculiar, revealing a succession of peaks, rising pointed to the heavens, and crowned with eternal snows, huge masses of ice hanging from their declivities—

> "Torrents, methinks, that heard a mighty voice,
> And stopped at once amidst their maddest plunge."

Vast bodies of cloud collect upon the sides of these high mountains in many places, while in others they lift their bold brows, unclouded, to the heavens. Every form of grandeur is presented amidst the scenes created by the sublime and picturesque arrangement of these mountains. In some places they are clothed with verdure and woods far up their steeps—a vast sea of foliage, agitated by the mountain breeze, seems to flow along their sides, and to leap the precipices. In other regions the bald granite glitters in the sunshine, as if an ocean of burnished gold. Every conceivable shape and grouping of form is taken in endless modification, offering to the wearied eye a never-ceasing and ever-changing variety of outline as well as of costume. Within their own confines the scenery is still more wonderful. The adventurous traveller is amazed by the extent of tract, variety of mountain arrangement, and grotesqueness of grouping; the disposition of the valleys; their richness of dress and luxuriance of climate in many places; their murky and unhealthy character in others; their tropical fertility beneath a burning sun in the lowest ranges; their changing appearance and decreasing temperature in the scale of ascent through every degree of the temperate zone, until the regions where Winter assumes his rigid sway, and looks with cold and stern eye upon the sunny plains, or comparatively modest highlands, which stretch far away to the waters of the Indian Ocean. The range, including the Hindoo Koosh, or Indian Caucasus, stretches away from Affghanistan to the western provinces of China. It is nearly uniform as to its course, but occasional interruptions as to the main direction occur from the lateral extension of some of its components. The name *Himalaya* is from a native designation, which signifies snowy, and indicates the general impression produced by its appearance upon the native mind.

The King of Prussia, who is alleged to take great interest in India in a religious reference, conceived the idea, some few years

ago, probably suggested by Humboldt, of sending a scientific mission through Asia, preparatory to operations of a religious nature, for the benefit of its vast populations. In 1854 this mission penetrated through India to Upper Asia, under the auspices of the East India Company. The proceedings of the gentlemen who fulfilled the important task were reported to the French Academy of Sciences, and were substantially as follows, so far as the high table-lands and mountain ranges of India were concerned, especially the Himalaya. The report of these Prussian travellers gives generally different elevations to those usually received. They represent the great central table-land of India as much lower than it has been hitherto computed, and there are various reasons, based upon climate and other phenomena, to believe that their representations are correct. The height of the most elevated portion of the Himalaya range is given on a previous page from the best modern standards, but, according to the paper sent by these German explorers to the Academy of Sciences, that elevation would be 500 feet below the real one. The members of the mission consisted of three brothers—MM. Herrmann, Adolphus, and Robert Schlagentweit, two of whom, MM. Herrmann and Robert, returned in June last; the third, M. Adolphus, is still among the Himalayan Mountains, and is expected soon to return, *viâ* the Punjaub and Bombay. During the winters of 1854-55 these enterprising travellers visited the region lying between Bombay and Madras; in the following summer M. Herrmann explored the eastern parts of the Himalaya, the Sikkim, Bhootan, and Kossin Mountains, where he measured the altitude of several peaks. The highest of all the summits known throughout the world appears, by his measurements, to be the Gahoorishanka, situated in the eastern portion of Nepaul—the same announced as such by Colonel Waugh, but called by him Mount Everest, because he had been unable to ascertain its real name in the plains of Hindoostan, where he effected his measurement. This peak is somewhat more than 29,000 English feet in height, and bears another name in Thibet, where it is called Chingoparnari. The other two brothers, MM. Adolphus and Robert, penetrated by different roads into the central parts of the Himalaya, Kumaon, and Gurwahl; they then visited Thibet in disguise, entered the great commercial station of Gartok, explored the environs of Lake Mansarowe, and that remarkable crest which separates the waters of the Indus from those of the Debong, often erroneously called the Burrampooter. They ascended the Ibi-Gamnine, 22,260 feet in height, that being an altitude never before attained in any part of the world. After having been separated from each other for a space of fourteen months, during which M. Robert ascertained that the table-land of Amarkantak, in Central India, which is generally stated to be 8000 feet above the level of the sea, is not more than 3300 feet in height, the three brothers again met at Simla, previous to commencing the operations intended for the summer of 1856. M. Adolphus, on leaving that place, crossed the Himalaya, went over Thibet, Baltistan, and visited the interesting spot where several mountain crests meet, and the Hindoo Koosh joins the range lying to the north of India. He then returned to the Punjaub, through the valley of Cashmere. MM. Herrmann and Robert proceeded to Ladak by different routes. Under good disguises they were enabled to penetrate into Turkistan, by crossing the Karakoroom and the Kuenluen Mountains, and descending into the great valley of Yarkand, a region never visited before, not even by Marco Polo. It is a vast depression of between three or four thousand feet, separating the Kuenluen, on the northern frontier of India, from the Syan Chane, or mountains of Central Asia, on the southern of Russia. They then returned to Ladak, and entered the Punjaub by different routes through Cashmere. After a two years' negotiation, M. Herrmann was, at the commencement of 1857, admitted into Nepaul, where he determined the altitudes of the Machipoora and Mount Yasso, which have hitherto been vaguely called the Dhawalagery, which means "snowy crests," and is applicable to all snow-capped mountains. M. Robert proceeded to Bombay through Scinde, Kutsch, and Gujerat, where he surveyed the chain called the Salt Range, and determined the changes effected during centuries in the course of several rivers. Before returning to Europe, he stayed three months in Ceylon. M. Adolphus visited various parts of the Punjaub and Cabul previous to returning to the Himalaya. The chief results obtained from this careful exploration of Asia are the following:—The Himalaya Mountains everywhere exercise a decided influence over all the elements of the magnetic force; the declination everywhere presents a slight deviation, causing the needle to converge towards the central parts of that enormous mass, and the magnetic intensity is greater than it would be elsewhere in an equal latitude. In the south of India the increase of the magnetic intensity from south to north is extremely rapid. The lines of equal magnetic intensity have a remarkable form, similar and

perhaps parallel to those of certain groups of isothermal lines. The three travellers have collected all the materials necessary to ascertain this important fact. Irregular local variations in terrestrial magnetism are rare in those regions. In the Deccan and Behar the rocks are magnetic. On the Himalaya, at altitudes of 17,000, and even 20,000 feet, the daily maximum and minimum variations of the barometer occurred nearly about the same hour as in the plains below. Again, at the above altitudes the inversion of the curves of daily variation, which is met with on the Alps, does not take place. At the altitude of 17,000 feet the diminution of transparency produced by a stratum of air of the thickness of 3000 feet is no longer distinguished by the eye. During the dust storms which frequently occur in India the disk of the sun is seen of a blue colour; if small bodies are made to project their shadows on a white surface, under such circumstances the shadow is of an orange colour, that is, complementary to blue. The expression, in the paper read before the Academy of Sciences, as given by *Galignani*, that the brothers Schlagentweit were the first to penetrate the Yarkand, is not correct. M. Huc, in his work entitled *Christianity in China*, relates that, A.D. 1603, Benedict Goës, a Roman missionary, determined to solve the then mooted question whether Cathay and China were the same country, and the capital of Mongul Tartary, the Khanbalik, identical with Pekin. After unheard of efforts he at last reached Yarkand, his journey from Lahore having consumed ten months of continuous toil.

The intercourse with Thibet is maintained by passes of very high altitude, which are also difficult, intricate, and dangerous. The Tungrung Pass is at an altitude of 13,730 feet; the Booreudo, 15,100; the Nitti, nearly 17,000; the Churung, 17,350 feet; the Manerung, 18,600; while the Pass of Nako, near the source of the Sutlej, the highest in the world, attains the level of nearly 19,000 feet. The greatest height ever reached in the Himalayas previous to that ascended by the gentlemen of the Prussian mission was 19,411 feet, attained by Captain Gerard, October 18th, 1818, on the Tarhigang, near the Sutlej, north of Shepke. These terrible passes, notwithstanding all their dangers from land-slips, precipitated masses of ice and snow, precipices, and the extreme cold, by which persons are sometimes frozen to death at mid-day, are the only media of communication between India and Thibet, and are used far more extensively for commercial purposes by Eastern merchants than would in Europe be supposed likely or even possible.

The natural curiosities of these regions are various, and to the traveller and man of science interesting. Mineral waters are found at very great elevations, and in regions of perpetual snow. Near the source of the Jumna are the springs of Jumnotree; these have a temperature of more than 190° and issue from snow caverns! The point of elevation is more than 10,000 feet. Rice has been boiled in the water of another spring on the same level as it gushed from its source. In many places petrifactions of rare beauty may be seen in every stage of formation, as the deposits previously held in solution by the waters dripping from the rocks, are laid upon the vegetable productions which sprout from the ledges beneath. Vegetation has been found at the following heights:—

| | Feet. |
|---|---|
| Horse-chestnut | 10,363 |
| Maple | 10,906 |
| Rhubarb and black currant | 11,000 |
| Polyanthus | 11,366 |
| Gooseberries | 11,418 |
| Fields of rye and black wheat | 11,782 |
| Holly | 12,000 |
| Strawberries | 12,642 |
| Buttercups and dandelions | 13,000 |
| Spikenard | 13,100 |
| Oca, a species of barley | 13,622 |
| Rye | 13,700 |
| Apricots and beans | 14,000 |
| Birch | 14,600 |
| Firs and greensward | 14,700 |
| Barley | 14,710 |
| Campanula, in seed | 16,800 |
| Small bushes | 16,945 |

The other mountain ranges of India are very inferior in altitude to the Himalayas, and are generally called by the natives *ghauts*. The word *ghaut* means a pass; and by being applied to the very elevated passages of the Himalayas, became gradually also to be given to any highlands not altogether impassable.

In reference to elevation, the whole peninsula might be described as a table-land, broken by lines of vast highlands, and divided by them into river valleys of great richness and extent.

Parallel to the eastern and western coasts run two ranges, named, respectively, the Eastern and Western Ghauts. Neither of these approaches the coast, both being separated from the sea by low-lying skirts of country of considerable extent. The Western Ghauts are considerably higher than those which face the eastern coast, sometimes rising to a point 6000 feet above the level of the sea.

The high table-land thus bounded was originally called the *Deccan*, to distinguish it from Northern India, the word being of Sanscrit parentage, signifying south. This

extensive plateau rises gradually from north to south, ending in a range stretching across the country, and called sometimes the Southern Ghauts, but better known as the Nilgherry. At the northern extremity of this plateau there are two ranges, known as the Aravalli and the Vindaya, both going under the general name of the Northern Ghauts.

Thus the mountain panorama of India is composed of six ranges: the Himalaya being the northern boundary of the peninsula; the Western Ghauts, ranging southward from the river Nerbuddah and the Gulf of Cambay, terminating in Cape Comorin, the extreme southern point of the peninsula. From nearly this point the Eastern Ghauts tend northward, preserving a tolerably equal distance from the sea. The Vindaya range is next to the Himalaya, coming southward, and running from east to west; they cross the country from the Ganges to the Gulf of Cutch, sending out a spur far into the great desert towards Ajmeer. From the southernmost range (the Nilgherry) the land gradually, but not unbroken, descends to the sea. The other range, already named, bears various other designations, and is less important.

Various portions of these ranges, separated by conformation, and broken by immense ravines, receive especial designations; and the whole plateau of the Deccan is called by the natives *Bala Ghaut*, or the country above the ghauts (or passes).

These mountain ranges naturally divide India. The Vindayas, passing from east to west between the twenty-third and twenty-fifth parallels of north latitude, form the grand basis of the orographical divisions of India into districts. North of the Vindayas, towards the Himalayas, are situated the deltas of the Ganges and the Indus, and what is called Central India. South of the Vindayas is the Deccan, as already described. Those portions of the Deccan south of the river Kistna is especially styled Southern India.

The various mountain chains, and features of highland, form an infinite number of natural territorial divisions, which are so differently named, as to make it often difficult to identify them when noticed by different writers. The way in which the chains of hill separate the river courses conduces to great variety of climate, notwithstanding the low latitudes of the whole country; and while a peculiar uniformity and regularity is preserved in the way in which the series of natural boundaries and divisions of territory are created, yet there is great diversity of outline and variety of scenery. Thus the courses of the rivers Nerbuddah and Tapty are divided by the chain often called the Sautpoora; and the courses of the Tapty and Godavery are divided by what is sometimes styled the Sechachull Mountains; but notwithstanding this regularity of division, and the general uniformity of climate, the aspects of the country are diverse exceedingly, and whatever variety river or mountain scenery can afford may in these districts be found.

In the north of India a vast lowland tract extends in a curve from the mouths of the Ganges to those of the Indus. This curve converges to the west of Delhi.

Southward of the Nilgherries the country to the sea is diversified; a low valley runs from the Pass of Coimbatore, as its narrowest width is called, across the whole country. The land thence rises and falls, not in a graceful or undulated manner, but by scattered hillocks and abrupt depressions, until it touches the eastern and western highlands that approach nearest the sea.

These mountain lands contain many lovely and sanitary situations, where the most tasteful connoisseurs in landscape beauty might find delight, where the climate affords cool and refreshing breezes, and is not only comparatively safe, but healthy and bracing. That portion of the Western Ghauts opposite to Bombay, called the Mahabalipoora Mountains, rising to the height of 5060 feet, furnishes an excellent site for the sanitorium of the presidency, at a spot called Mahabeleskwar. On the Nilgherry Mountains have been placed the sanitary stations of Ootacamund and Dimhutti. These stations are well known for the salutary effects upon those who are exhausted by the burning climate of the lower lands. All the other mountain districts afford situations adapted to those who have suffered from the heat of the plains, and every climate known in the world may be found from the base of Cape Comorin to the peak of the Himalayas.

The rivers of India are truly magnificent, and in such a climate are naturally prized for their cooling and fertilising power. Superstition has taken advantage of this appreciation, and converted them into deities. The Ganges, especially, is an object of worship.

The three principal rivers are the Ganges, the Brahmapootra, and the Indus. These all originate in the snow-clad bosom of the Himalaya. The former two descend from different slopes, and pursue separate courses through a vast and varied extent of country, until meeting near their embouchure in the Bay of Bengal. Indeed, they can hardly be said to flow together, for soon after their

junction they divide into many currents, forming what is called the delta of the Ganges. The Ganges has two sources, both bursting forth from the glaciers of the Himalaya in swelling torrents: one from the vicinity of a temple built high up in a region which might have been supposed inaccessible. This Temple of Gungootrea is situated more than 13,000 feet above the level of the ocean. The Ganges, thus formed, rushes from the mountains near Hurdwar, running through the great plain of Bengal, south-east. In its course it receives many tributaries, several of these larger than the Thames, or even the Shannon. The Jumna flows into it at Allahabad, and there, 800 miles from the sea, it is a mile in width. The delta commences 220 miles from the sea. The river there throws off several branches to the west; these, mingling, form the arm called the Hoogly, which passes Calcutta, and which is the channel generally navigated. The main stream is joined by the Brahmapootra. The coast of the delta stretches 220 miles. The islands formed by the courses which struggle through the low marshy land are called the *sunderbunds*, or woods, because of the jungle by which they are covered. The waters which embrace these islands nurture crocodiles, and other dangerous amphibious creatures. The rhinoceros is to be seen in the marshes, and the far-famed species of tiger known as Bengal finds many a prowling place within this wild district.

The Brahmapootra runs a shorter course than the Ganges, but rolls in a mightier flood. Its sources are also in the Himalaya, and it is fed by rivers which chiefly flow from the Birman empire. The width, before its junction with the Ganges, is between four and five miles.

The Ganges and Brahmapootra, impelled by the vast bodies of melting snow descending from the mountains, rise, and inundate immense districts of country. In the four rainy months, according to the estimate of the Rev. Mr. Everet, the discharge of water per second is 494,298 cubic feet. During the fine winter months the discharge is 71,200 feet per second, and in the three hot months it sinks to 36,330 in that space of time.

The Indus falls from the northern slopes of the Himalaya, but finds a passage through the mountains to the south, and rolls its flood onward to the Arabian Sea. It rises near to the Lake Manassarora, which is sacred in the Hindoo mythology; the name signifies "the mental or spiritual lake." The Sutlej is an offshoot from it. The principal confluent is the Chenab, which itself unites in its course the other four rivers of the Punjaub.* These are the Sutlej, the Beeas, the Ravee, and the Jhelum.† The delta of the Indus presents to the coast an area of 120 miles. The river is irregular in that part of its course, and deficient in depth, offering various difficulties to its navigation.

The waters of these rivers are much discoloured. Having their sources in elevated springs, much earthy matter is borne down to the plains. These plains are alluvial; and the rivers passing through no depressions in which lakes might be formed, and their alluvial freight deposited, they are necessarily much loaded with soil and minute fragments of rock. The Ganges is probably most tainted in this way, giving colour to the sea six miles from the coast. The Rev. Mr. Everet represents that river as discharging nearly six millions and a half cubic feet of earthy matter during the year, a quantity almost too enormous to suppose possible. That gentleman's statements have, however, been corroborated. The members of the Prussian scientific mission, already referred to, tested the clearness of these rivers by letting down a stone into them, which generally became invisible at a depth of from twelve to fifteen centimetres (five to six inches), showing that they are overcharged with earthy particles; for in the sea, near Corfu, a stone is visible to the depth of fifty feet, and in the seas under the tropics it remains visible at a depth of thirty feet.

There are other rivers of great importance. Some of these traverse the eastern part of India, and are emptied into the Bay of Bengal. The Mahamuddy falls into the bay near Cuttack. Further south, the Godavery flows into the sea near the mouth of the Kistna, after receiving as affluents the Manjeera, the Wurda, and the Baumgunga. The Godavery springs from the Western Ghauts. Still further south, the Kistna has its birth, in the same range. Confluences are formed with it by the Beema and Toombudra: its disemboguement is at Masulipatam. The Pennar flows into the waters which wash the eastern coast, above the city of Madras. The most southern of the rivers which stream eastward is the Cavery, which, rising in the same ghauts, passes Tanjore, and empties itself by several mouths from the coast oppo-

* In the neighbourhood of Attock, in the Punjaub, Alexander the Great is supposed to have crossed the Indus in his invasion of India. Tamerlane and Nadir Shah are reported to have crossed in the same place or its vicinity.

† The Sutlej is the Zarodras of Ptolemy; the Beeas is the Hyphasis of Arrian; the Ravee was designated by Arrian the Hydrastes. The Chenab received in classic description the name of Acesines, and the Jhelum, Hydaspes.

site the island of Ceylon. On the western side of the peninsula there is the Ban, which flows south of the Indus into the inlet of Rin, an extensive salt lake. The Bunvas empties itself into the Gulf of Cutch. The Mhye is discharged into the Gulf of Cambay. Larger than any of these are the Nerbuddah and the Tapty. The Tapty joins the ocean near Surat. The Nerbuddah is the largest river which disembogues itself into the waters on the western coast, except the Indus, and is 600 miles long—a third of the length of its great competitor; it enters the sea at Baroche.

The general features of the peninsula may be inferred from a description so extended of its mountains and rivers. For the most part the soil is alluvial, and rendered fertile by the overflowing of the great rivers. Along the course of the inferior rivers there is great richness, and cultivated country appears in every direction. In some places there are large tracts of jungle, especially near the hilly country of the Punjaub. The Run of Cutch, north of the gulf of that name, is low and flat, and extends east of the Indus, so as to form a district probably one-fourth the size of Scotland. It nourishes only a few tamarisks, and is for the greater part of the year dry or fruitless. During the monsoon the sea is driven over it; and when the waters evaporate, a strong saline deposit is left—hence it is often called the Salt Desert. This remarkable district was formed by a sudden operation of nature. In June, 1819, the land sank down, and became a salt-water marsh, and a large mound, called the Ulla Bund, arose, and cut off one of the mouths of the Indus from the sea. There is evidence that this district has, during the probable historic period, been subjected to a series of alternate depressions and upheavings: a large space east of the Indus, which is now dry land, was, in the time of Alexander, covered by the waves. Indian traditions testify that over all that district, and a considerable distance inland, the sea swept. There are, near the Run of Cutch, two other salt lakes, or marshes, called Null and Boke, which appear to have been formed by sudden convulsion. India is remarkable for the fewness of its lakes of any kind; the only other considerable lake is in the centre of the Deccan. It is about 350 feet below the level of the surrounding country. The water it contains is nearly saturated with sub-carbonate of soda. Lava abounds in the neighbourhood, and other proofs exist that the depression is of volcanic origin. About one-eighth of the whole peninsula is a desert, covering 150,000 square miles. It is not, however, entirely unproductive. Numerous oases are to be found, often of considerable extent, and of various degrees of cultivation. After the rains fall, jungle and coarse grass spring up in most parts of this otherwise sandy waste. The hot season soon reduces this fitful verdure, parching up all vegetable beauty, and nearly all vegetable life, throughout the great wilderness. The plain of the Ganges has more uniformity than that of the Indus. The former is low, rich, and teeming with vegetable and animal life—the richest part of India. The plain of the Indus is varied very much, some portions consisting of hard dry clay, some of barren rock, while others almost rival in fertility the Gangetic valley. In the Punjaub, where the country is in some places very productive, there are stony wastes, and rough uneven tracts, which are covered with low brushwood. Beyond the Punjaub, nearly environed by the western portion of the Himalayas, the beautiful valley of Cashmere rivals the fairest realms in the world, and almost justifies all that fable has related, or poets sung, of its productiveness and beauty.

Along the banks of the Chumbul, Bunas, Betwah, and Keane, tributaries of the Jumna, there are picturesque spots; and on the south side of the Ganges, near the junction of the Sive, there are specimens of low river landscape very attractive of their kind. The coast views of the peninsula are not attractive. On neither the east nor west ranges of shore are there many striking views; the ghauts are sometimes near enough to be picturesque, but there are few bold headlands or jutting points to mark the coast-line on either side of Cape Comorin. On the west, commonly called the coast of Malabar, there are Maundvee Point, Diu Head, Salsed Point, and Mount Delly. On the east, usually named the coast of Coromandel, there are Ramen Point, Calymere Point, and Point Palmyras. The Malabar territory does not extend along the entire western coast, although the name is given to the whole sea-board, leading the general reader frequently into this error. Short distances from that coast the country assumes a varied character. At first it is a low sandy plain, which extends for miles; then occasional hillocks rise abruptly; these increase in number until the country becomes roughly undulated, the hillocks taking a ruder and bolder form, and, covered with dense jungle, at last connect themselves with the spurs of the Western Ghauts, which are clothed with the grandeur of native forests of teak and satin-wood.

The ghaut scenery along the Coromandel coast is not dissimilar in character to that of

Malabar, but generally the line is low and swampy, and the extensive space comprised in the delta of the Ganges is as dreary as the Sahara of Scinde.

The newly-acquired countries of Tenesserim and Pegu, on the eastern shores of the Bay of Bengal, formerly portions of the Birman empire, do not possess much variety of general aspect. Near the coast they are low, level, and tedious to the eye, except in some particular spots; and the rivers flow through flats of sandy or alluvial country. In the interior the land rises, and good hill prospects are presented.

On the whole, although India possesses some of the most glorious scenery in the world, it is very much indebted to the bold mountain confines upon the north and north-west, and the hill countries of the provinces in that direction, for its distinction in this particular. This is especially exemplified along the frontiers of Beloochistan and Affghanistan, where the traveller finds almost every form of bold and wild prospect interspersed with cultivated and beautiful scenes. In the province of Peshawur—the Punjaub boundary of Affghanistan—the little retired valleys in the mountains are often very lovely; and as the province is watered by numerous streams, and by the Cabul River, which bursts from the Khyber Mountains at Michnee, there is irrigation and extensive culture in the plains, from the fertility of which the traveller cannot but regard with interest the bold and grotesque outlines of the mountains. Indeed, nearly all the land boundaries of India are interesting to the lover of the picturesque; while in the Deccan, and in Central India, there are many places to vie in beauty with the famous resorts of travellers in Europe.

Of late years much attention has been paid to a more scientific acquaintance with India, its dependent territories, and its coasts. Nor are the laudable desires of the government to make itself acquainted with the area, soil, and facilities of the peninsula merely of recent origin: the Marquis of Wellesley, and the Duke of Wellington, displayed a strong desire for a thorough survey of the peninsula. This great work, which has proceeded for more than half a century, notwithstanding all the vicissitudes of Indian history during that period, is an honour to the East India Company. Under the auspices of Lord Metcalfe, Sir A. Burns, with a suitable staff, while ostensibly on a mission to Runjeet Singh, effected a survey of the Indus, and drew up a report of its navigable capacities.

Dr. Buist, and other scientific gentlemen, have enlarged the public knowledge of the geology of the peninsula. The transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society, and of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India, have brought to light a multitude of facts important to the government and to commerce, as well as most interesting to the scientific world. The talented editor of the *Bombay Times* has contributed very valuable acquisitions on the meteorological phenomena of India, the result of many years' observation. The editor, also, of the *Bombay Gazette* has, by his papers on economical science, benefited commerce. The survey of the Malabar coast, by Lieutenant Selby, has proved of utility in many respects not contemplated in the objects held in view in directing the survey.

For governmental, military, and commercial purposes India has been much investigated of late years; while geologists, agriculturists, horticulturists, botanists, zoologists, entymologists, &c., have taken their share in the work of inquiry. Nor has the population been left unstudied; the missionary, ethnologist, philologist, and politician, have pursued with zeal the courses of research and study opened up to them. Still India must be much more explored for all these purposes, and by the light of all these sciences, before Great Britain can realise the full value of her Indian empire, or be thoroughly acquainted with its resources and its people.

The geological characteristics of the country, although tolerably well known, require considerable investigation. The mineral productions are varied, and found over a vast area. There are extensive beds of coal, both bituminous and anthracite. In the Punjaub large deposits of rock-salt, a very valuable commodity in India, have been discovered. Iron is much diffused. In the beds of the rivers precious stones of almost every variety are found, and diamonds in alluvial soil. One of the most useful products connected with the geology of India is *kunker*. This seems to have been extensively spread through India by the beneficent hand of the Great Architect of the universe, to compensate for the general deficiency in limestone fit for the kiln. The kunker contains upwards of seventy-two parts of carbonate of lime in its composition. It is usually mixed with the soil with little appearance of stratification. Except in the higher portions of the Nilgherry Hills, it is to be met with everywhere throughout India. The natives burn it into lime, and also use it in blocks or masses for building tanks, huts, &c. Statuary marble, clay slate, and roofing blue slate, are seldom met with. Geologists describe the strata of the

peninsula as affording peculiar phenomena. The superior strata of southern India are for the most part hypogene schists, broken up by vast upheavings of plutonic and trappean rocks. In the Eastern Ghauts they are capped by sandstone, limestone, and laterite; in the Western Ghauts by laterite. They also form, with little deviation, the basis of the plains from Naggery to Cape Comorin. They are associated with granite in the hills which break over the valley of the Cavery, and north of the plain of the Cavery, in the table-lands of Mysore, Bellary, Hyderabad, and Southern Mahratta. Towards the north-west, from Nagpore to Rajapore, to the western coast, the hypogene and plutonic rocks cease under a vast sheet of trap, one of the largest extensions of that formation in the world. Gneiss is found lowest in the series; next to it mica and hornblende schist, actinolite, chlorite, talcose, and argillaceous schist. This succession does not always prevail, as all of these have been found lying upon the granite.

The fossiliferous remains of India are comparatively scarce, and have not yet been sufficiently investigated, nor have the results of the investigations and classifications made, been given in a sufficiently popular form to the public. In the country between the Kistna and the Godavery, and in the South Mahratta country, sandstone and limestone rock appear. North of the Salem break, on the high table-land, they are found to a considerable extent, and in these the fossil remains are interesting.

Shelly limestone beds of some extent are found at Pondicherry. In these there are beautiful fossil remains, which have afforded considerable discussion to the learned in this branch of science.

The laterite is a formation which, if not peculiar to India, presents itself there to such an extent as to attract especial attention. According to Dr. Buist, in his papers on the geological characteristics of Bombay, this rock extends along the whole western coast from the sea to the base of the ghauts, from Cape Comorin to the north. It is not so continuous on the eastern coast, but is there also to be met with to a great extent; and on the summits of both ranges of ghauts it is discoverable. Everywhere in the Deccan it appears. Sandstone of the late tertiary is found on the south coast, extending to Ceylon by "Adam's Bridge," which is composed of it.

A sedimentary rock called *begur*, or *black cotton clay*, is supposed to cover nearly one-half of Southern India. It is peculiarly absorbent, and makes the most fertile soil in the world. It is spread over the great table-land of the Deccan, and is the source of its productiveness. No manure or fertiliser is required where it is, and no efforts of cultivation exhaust it. The late editor of the *Ceylon Examiner* observes of the granite and its congeneric rocks—"They are abundantly developed throughout the hypogene area. The former shows itself under every variety of aspect. It starts up from the surface of the table-land in bold and sharply hewn peaks, or rises in dome-shaped bosses, or appears in profuse but distinct clusters and ranges, which affect no general line of elevation, but often radiate irregularly as from a centre. Some of the insulated peaks are exceedingly striking in outline and structure. The rock of Nundilrug, for instance, which rises 17,000 feet above the surface of the plain, looks almost as if it were formed of one entire mass of rock, and the rock of Sivagunga is still higher. The most remarkable of the insulated clusters and masses of granite on the table-land of the peninsula are those of Sivagunga, Severndroog, and Octradroog; some in Mysore, Gooty, Reidrooj, Adoni; and others in the central districts. But there are numerous masses almost equally remarkable scattered over all the southern part of the peninsula table-land, as well as in the maritime district of Coromandel. The greater part of the central table-land is also formed by it, and it crops out continually over an extended area in the more elevated districts."

In the reports of the meetings of the Bengal Asiatic Society there is voluminous information as to the volcanoes of India. Sir Charles Lyell and Mrs. Somerville had not examined these papers, or far more information would have been obtained by them on this interesting subject. In the *Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society* the volcanic phenomena of the peninsula have been frequently made topics of inquiry and elucidation. The press of India has also rendered good service on the subject, so that much has become known of late years as to the history of earthquakes and volcanoes in those lands. Papers on the connection between earthquakes, volcanoes, and meteorological phenomena, published in the reports of the Bombay Society, throw a light on the past and present condition of India and the adjacent islands, as to their geological history and climate, which will repay the researches of all who desire to study these important and interesting regions. Mrs. Somerville, writing of the volcanoes in the Bay of Bengal, observes—"One of the most active groups of volcanoes in the world begins with the

Banda group of islands, and extends through the Sunda group of Timor, Sumbawa, Bali, Java, and Sumatra, separated only by narrow channels, and altogether forming a gently curved line of 2000 miles long; but as the volcanic zone is continued through Barren Island and Narcandam, in the Bay of Bengal, and northward along the whole coast of Arracan, the whole length of the volcanic range is a great deal more." The band extends beyond Arracan, northward, to Chittagong, latitude 22°, or 600 miles beyond Barren Island. The volcanic fires are active chiefly during the south-west monsoon. About the middle of the last century, which has been said to be the great epoch of earthquakes all over the world, volcanic islands were cast up in the Bay of Bengal; and rocks and shoals, which disappeared again, remained there so long, that they were entered on the charts. At Calcutta an earthquake took place in the year 1737, by which 20,000 vessels of various descriptions were sunk, and 30,000 lives lost. Violent eruptions of this or greater magnitude seem to have been of frequent occurrence in India and the neighbouring countries. Dr. Thompson, in a paper on the geology of Bombay, published in the *Madras Literary Transactions*, relates—"The island of Vaypi, on the north side of Cochin, rose from out the sea in the year 1344: the date of its appearance is determined by its having given rise to a new era among the Hindoos, called *Puduvepa*, or the new introduction. Contemporary with the appearance of Vaypi, the waters which, during the rainy season, were discharged from the ghaut, broke through the banks of the channel which usually confined them, overwhelmed a village, and formed a lake and harbour so spacious, that light ships could anchor where dry land had previously prevailed."

During the earthquake of 1672 sixty square miles of the lowlands along the shores of Arracan were laid under water. One of the Neug Mountains entirely disappeared; another remained only with its former peak visible. A very high mountain sunk to the level of the plain; several fell, blocking up the course of rivers. Between May, 1834, and May, 1835, no less than twelve earthquakes occurred in Assam. Colonel Connoley affirms that the region of recent volcanic action terminates with the delta of the Ganges; but there are evidences across the whole country to show that at periods not remote these regions were shaken by subterranean concussions. Dr. Falconer affirms of Cashmere that a singular field of fire exists there of considerable dimensions; the soil is completely burnt, and in some places vitrified. The igneous action of this locality has continued for more than 200 years. Extraordinary irruptions of pestilential gas have of late years risen to the surface of the sea on various parts of the coasts. Within two days sail of the port of Kurrachee, a group of mud volcanoes appears within 100 yards of the sea; these stretch far inland. Captain Robertson described the whole district, for an area of 1000 square miles, as covered with mud cones, either active or quiescent. Brimstone, in large quantities, is found in the neighbourhood, and one considerable hill is called the *Sulphur Mountain*. Captain Vicary, in his account of the geology of Scinde, describes the course of the Indus as directed extensively through country of volcanic origin, where hot wells abound, to the surface of which sulphuretted hydrogen constantly ascends, tainting large districts with its odour.

The opinion is very prevalent that great and opulent cities have been buried by earthquakes or volcanic eruptions in Central India. Sir John Malcolm, and the scientific gentlemen who accompanied him in his expedition to Central India, have chiefly given currency to these opinions; but they seem to have relied too much on the traditionary tales of the natives. Lyell, in his *Principles of Geology*, adopts these representations, and so treats the evidence supplied, as to ensure the general acceptance of the theory. He ascribes the destruction of the two mighty cities of Oujein and Mhysir to this cause. Subsequent investigations lead to a different conclusion; and although there are signs of violent volcanic action in the vicinity, the ruined cities, in all probability, sank into decay from other causes. It is, however, true that Central India, within the period of history, has suffered signally from violent operations of nature.

The climate of India is supposed to be well known, yet, like everything else connected with the peninsula, it has been too little studied, and no adequate advantage has been taken of the facts ascertained. It is generally regarded in England as a country almost unendurably hot, with situations somewhat cooler on the higher lands, but, on the whole, an unhealthy and uncomfortable land to live in. India, being situated in or near the tropics, is of course hot. The lowlands of the Madras presidency to the south experience the greatest heat, the thermometer standing 100 degrees in the shade, and 120 in the sun, at certain seasons. On the lowlands of the north-west, where the soil is generally dry and sandy, although situated beyond the tropics, the heat is also very great. On the high table-land of the Deccan the heat is not

so intense, and in the hilly regions water freezes in the winter—only a thin ice, however, covers it; whilst high up in the Himalayas, everlasting glaciers and never-ceasing accumulations of snow are to be seen. There are various parts of Northern and North-western India which are well inhabited, where the elevation is considerable, in which, during the short winter, the thermometer is below the freezing-point. The year, however, is everywhere divided by the wet and dry seasons. During the former, torrents of rain fall over the country, laying it under water; the great rivers, swollen into broad floods, overflow the country, and all operations, civil or military, are nearly suspended. Some seasons are remarkable for these inundations, inflicting wide-spread damage. During the pursuit of the Sikh army by Sir Walter Gilbert, at the close of the last war in the Punjaub, this was the case, the pursuers having been seriously checked in their enterprise from this cause. During the rainy season the celebrated city of Mooltan, which had been so gallantly defended by Moolraj, and which seemed of such stupendous strength as to defy all the art of war, was swept away by the inundation, which, rushing along the river, rose around it.

In July and August, 1851, the rains were so heavy in Scinde, that a vast amount of injury was inflicted upon the cultivators; and the subsequent decomposition of vegetable matter spread disease over considerable areas of otherwise healthy country. In some of the towns lying low, near the Indus, where the people were accustomed to dig holes in the earth, over which they raised their habitations, the deluge caused fearful havoc by the sickness it bred. In 1852 Mr Frere, the commissioner of Scinde, obtained papers from the assistant commissioner and collectors of the Kurrachee collectorate, concerning this disaster. The districts of Leman were represented as almost entirely overwhelmed by the torrents from the hills, the overflowing of the Indus, and the inter-current Narra. The whole country appeared, long after the overflow and when it had in a great measure subsided, as a vast lake, surrounded by an extensive swamp; the villages and high grounds were like so many islands. Between the 18th and 29th of July, the fall of rain and the rushing floods from the high lands were inconceivably great. By the 28th the phenomenon reached its climax. On that day the inhabitants exclaimed, "The clouds of heaven were broken, and fell." This torrent from above was accompanied by vivid and incessant flashes of lightning, while thunders roared among the adjacent hills, as if the earth were in agony, and found utterance for its woes. About midnight the hubbub of the elements was hushed, but then the torrents burst from the mountains, flooding the highest inhabited grounds four feet in depth, and carrying, by a resistless impetus, habitations, cattle, trees, and whatever was in its course, along with it. In the Pergunnah Mullar alone, thirty-nine villages, with their surrounding cultivation, were destroyed: supposing the like proportion in other districts, a picture of ruin is presented truly appalling. The roads were rendered impassable for camels throughout the whole collectorate. Kurrachee itself was damaged, although the river Learee, which runs into its harbour, is but a little mountain torrent. Central and Lower Scinde suffered more than otherwise would have been the case, from the construction of the houses, and the material of which they were built.

The autumnal moisture of the air is complained of very much by European inhabitants of India, even in the higher regions. At the latter end of June, although the sun is not hotter than in the two previous months, there is little motion in the air, and but little evaporation from the body. During the hot winds which precede the moist season, Europeans suffer from the heat; but the air being dry, they do not experience the inconvenience which ensues when it is saturated with moisture in the latter end of June and in July. Indeed, in many places, that period is more trying to health than during or after the rains, notwithstanding the evaporation which arises from so great an area of flooded surface.

At Hyderabad the rainy season is not unhealthy. The city is not surrounded by much cultivation, nor by any great growth of jungle, and is itself situated on the crest of a limestone range, so that when the rains fall, they are speedily absorbed, the surplus passing into the nullah from the Fullallee. Other cities are as favourably situated as this, which, for illustration sake, is particularised; but generally the moist, as well as the wet seasons, are more unhealthy to Europeans than the hot season. Of late years pluviometers have been very generally kept by the commissioners, collectors, and their assistants, by missionaries, merchants, and other Europeans; and the laws by which this class of phenomena are regulated have been observed, and no doubt practical benefit will result, not only to cultivation, but to the health, at all events, of British residents.

A distinguishing characteristic of the climate is the monsoons—winds which blow north-east and south-west, each for six months in the year, and regularly succeed each other. The north-east monsoon begins about the close of October, in fitful squalls; these occur

until the end of November, when the monsoon regularly sets in, and continues until the beginning of April. The advent of this wind upon the Coromandel coast is accompanied by rain. Soon after the north-east monsoon ceases, that from the south-west begins. Its advent is attended by rain upon the Malabar coast, which prevails some distance southward, the clouds breaking upon the Western Ghauts. Heavy rains fall with the monscon on the Gangetic valley, sweeping with the wind up the Bay of Bengal from the Indian Ocean, until arrested by the mountains of Thibet.

India and the coasts of the peninsula have, from time immemorial, been ravaged by storms so furious, and of such frequent recurrence, as to be characteristic of the climate. In the Bay of Bengal and the China Seas north of the line, and the seas around the Mauritius, and towards the Cape, hurricanes are frequent, as is well known to the general reader. It is remarkable that north of Ceylon, on the Malabar coast, or in the Arabian Sea, such hurricanes are comparatively seldom felt. Dr. Buist, of Bombay, who devoted extraordinary attention to this subject, expresses the opinion that while in the Bay of Bengal and the other seas mentioned as subject to hurricanes, or *cyclones*, as this description of atmospheric disturbance is scientifically called, they make their appearance about once a year: in the Arabian Sea they are not felt more than once in ten years. This statement hardly agrees with a careful observation of the existing lists of general atmospheric disturbances of this nature, and of those by which the western coasts of India have been especially affected, through a very considerable number of years. Lists collected by the industry of Dr. Buist himself do not seem to bear out the assertion.

From 1830 to 1854 sixty-one hurricanes occurred in the Bay of Bengal, and as far eastward as Canton, many of them raging over a larger space. The months in which they occurred most frequently were October, November, and June. In the first-named month there were twelve, and in each of the others nine. September ranks next in the scale, there being eight occurrences of the kind in that month. April, August, and December, each are numbered five. Four are supposed to have taken place in July, two in June, and one in March. January and February were exempt. The greatest number of these visitations happening in any one year was six, which was only in the year 1842. Several years were altogether free from them, as 1830, 1834, 1838, 1843, 1844.

The following list of storms occurring on the land and seas of the peninsula during a century, drawn from the same statistical collections, will interest the reader, and afford material for a judgment as to the climate of India in this particular :—

1746.—Violent storm at Madras, by which a French fleet of war was driven out of the roads, and wrecked. At Pondicherry the tempest was not felt.
1774. *April* 6.—Coromandel visited by a hurricane. Three British ships of war lost, many men perishing.
1780. *July*.—A typhon in the Chinese Seas, by which 100,000 persons are supposed to have perished.
1782. *April*.—In the Gulf of Cambay, accompanied by a dreadful inundation.
1783. *November* 3-7.—Violent hurricane from Jellicherry north to Bombay: great loss of shipping and lives—proving fatal to almost every ship within its reach.
1787. *May* 19.—In the upper part of the Bay of Bengal, inundation at Coringa; sea rose nearly fifteen feet; 20,000 people and 500,000 cattle supposed to have perished.
1789.—In the north-west part of the Bay of Bengal; three enormous waves, following in slow succession, deluged Coringa, the third of them sweeping everything before it.
1790.—In the China Seas.
1792. *October* 26, 27.—Madras.
1797. *June* 18-20.—Madras.
1799. *November* 3-7.—Frightful hurricane from Calicut north; her majesty's ship *Resolution*, with about one hundred small craft, and 400 lives, lost in Bombay Harbour.
1800. *October* 19.—Furious hurricane and earthquake at Ougele, and so round by Masulipatam.
1800. *October* 28.—Hurricane at Coringa and Masulipatam.
1803. *September* 20-28.—China Seas, 20 N., 117 E.
1805. *January* 7.—Trincomalee, Coromandel coast, and so across to Jellicherry, on the Malabar coast.
1805. *March* 16.—Calcutta and Lower Bengal.
1807. *June* 24.—Furious hurricane off Mangalore.
1807. *December* 10.—Madras.
1808. *December* 12.—Madras and southern Coromandel coast; great loss of life and shipping.
1808. *November*.—The *London*, *Nelson*, *Experiment*, and *Glory*, East Indiamen, parted from the fleet, and never more heard of; supposed to have gone down in a hurricane, and all hands perished.
1809. *March*.—*Duchess of Gordon*, *Calcutta*, *Bengal*, and *Lady Jane Dundas*, parted from the fleet in a hurricane, and supposed to have foundered; all hands perished.
1809. *March* 28-30.—China Seas.
1810. *September* 20-30.—China Seas, 17 N., 115 E.
1811. *April* 30.—Madras: destroyed nearly every vessel in the roads; ninety native vessels wrecked at their anchors; the *Dover* frigate, and the store-ship *Manchester*, run ashore, and were wrecked.
1812. *September* 8-10.—China Seas, 16 N., 114 E.
1816. *July* 10.—Singapore; 200 lives lost.
1816.—Malacca: thirty houses blown into the sea; thirty or forty vessels lost, and at least 400 people drowned.
1818. *October* 23, 24.—Madras: severe revolving gale.
1818. *October* 24.—Madras: centre passed right over the town; fearfully destructive.
1819.—Mauritius (no particulars): rain fell for thirty hours continuously, and swamped the whole country.
1819. *September* 25.—Cutch and Kattiwar: lasted a day and two nights.
1819. *October* 28, 29.—China Seas, 89 N., 119 E.
1820. *March* 29, 30.—Madras.

1820. *May* 8.—Madras: two square-rigged vessels wrecked, and an immense quantity of native craft: stretched across to the Arabian Sea, and occasioned some loss of shipping southward of Bombay.
1820. *November* 29.—China Seas, 12 N., 109 E.
1820. *December* 2.—Madras, Pondicherry, and Coromandel coast.
1821. *October*.—China Seas.
1822. *June*.—Mouth of the Ganges and Berhamputra: storm travelled at the rate of about two miles an hour—fifty-three miles in twenty-four hours: 50,000 people perished in the inundation.
1822. *September* 14, 15.—China Seas, 20 N., 114 E.
1823. *June* 2.—Chittagong and delta of the Ganges.
1823. *May* 26.—Violent hurricane in the Bay of Bengal: six large English ships wrecked.
1824. *February*.—The Mauritius: very severe. Her majesty's ship *Delight*, with 120 slaves, wrecked.
1824. *June* 8.—Chittagong: heavy inundations.
1826. *September* 27.—China Seas.
1827. *October* 26, 27.—China Seas, 9 N., 118 E.
1827. *December* 20.—Bombay.
1828. *December*.—Mauritius.
1829. *August* 8.—China Seas, 18 N., 14 E.
1830. *March* 27 and *April* 3.—Bourbon; did not reach the Mauritius.
1831. *September* 23.—China Seas.
1831. *October* 22, 23.—Manilla: 4000 houses destroyed. Barometer fell from 29·90 to 28·70.
1831. *October* 31.—Lower Bengal: inundations swept away 300 villages, and at least 11,000 people; famine followed, and the loss of life is estimated at 50,000.
1831. *December* 6.—Pondicherry and Cuddalore: of few hours' duration only, but fearfully destructive.
1832. *May* 21.—Delta of the Ganges: eight to ten thousand people drowned.
1832. *August* 3.—China Seas.
1832. *August* 4.—Furious hurricane at Calcutta; barometer 28·8.
1832. *September* 23.—Macao, China: 100 fishing-boats lost; of cotton alone 1405 bales picked up.
1832. *October* 8.—Furious storm and disastrous inundation at and around Calcutta; great sufferings in consequence at Balasore. Barometer fell from 29·70 to 27·80 in sixteen hours.
1832. *October* 22 and *November* 8.—China Seas.
1833. *May* 21.—Tremendous hurricane off the mouth of the Hoogly. Barometer fell from 29·090 at 8 A.M., to 26·5 at noon.
1833. *August* 26-29.—China Seas, 22 N., 113 E.
1833. *October* 12-14.—China Seas, 16 N., 117 E.
1833. *November* 29, 30.—Ceylon: violent fall of rain, and disastrous river inundation.
1835. *August* 6-8.—China Seas.
1836. *July* 31.—China Seas: £250,000 lost by shipwreck.
1836. *October* 30.—Madras: did enormous mischief on shore. Barometer sunk to 27·3. Centre passed over the town.
1837. *June* 15.—A tremendous hurricane swept over Bombay: an immense destruction of property, and loss of shipping in the harbour, estimated at nine and a half lacs (£90,000); upwards of 400 native houses destroyed.
1837. *November* 16-22.—China Seas, 15 N., 116 E.
1839. *June*.—In the Bay of Bengal, and off Coringa.
1839. *November*.—Off Coringa and Madras: a storm-wave lays the shore eight feet under water; seventy vessels and 700 people lost at sea; 6000 said to have been drowned on shore.
1839. *October* 7-10.—China Seas.
1840. *November* 28-30.—China Seas.
1840. *April* 27 and *May* 1.—Violent in the Bay of Bengal.
1840. *May*.—Hurricane off Madras and the southern coast.
1840. *September* 24-27.—In the China Sea, in which the *Golconda*, with a detachment of the 37th Madras native infantry, 200 strong, on board, is supposed to have been lost.
1841. *May* 16.—Madras: great loss of shipping.
1842. *September*.—China Seas.
1842. *May*.—Dreadful storm prevailed in Calcutta on the 3rd and 4th, by which every ship, boat, and house, was more or less injured.
1842. *June* 1-3.—A frightful hurricane visits Calcutta, injuring almost every vessel in the river, and house in the town and neighbourhood. The barometer attains the unprecedented depression of 28·278.
1842. *October* 5, 6.—Hurricanes between Cuttack and Pooree.
1842. *October* 22.—Severe hurricane over Madras, and across the Arabian Sea as far as Aden.
1842. *November* 1.—In the Arabian Sea.
1843. *April* 20.—Hurricane at the Mauritius: nine vessels driven into Port Louis, more or less injured.
1845. *February* 22-27.—Violent hurricanes at the Mauritius.
1845. *November* 27-28.—Two hurricanes in the China Seas occurred to the north and south of the line, almost simultaneously, 13° apart.
1845.—Bay of Bengal.
1846. *November* 25-26.—Violent hurricane at Madras, and so across to Mangalore and Cochin.
1847. *April* 19.—Terrific hurricane from the line north to Scinde, in which the East India Company's ship *Cleopatra* is lost, with 150 souls on board. The Maldive Islands submerged, and severe want and general famine ensues.
1848. *April* 23.—Violent hurricane off Ceylon, in which her majesty's brig *Jumna*, from Bombay, where she had been built, was nearly lost; she had an obelisk, and other valuable Assyrian marbles, on board.
1848. *September* 12-14.—Violent hurricanes in the Bay of Bengal.
1849. *July* 22-26.—A violent storm and rain burst all over India; a hurricane swept the Jullundhur, carrying everything before it. The barracks of her majesty's 32nd regiment, at Meerut, and those at Ghazeepore, were destroyed. On the 25th ten inches of rain fell at Bombay, and in the course of four days twenty-six inches fell at Phoonda Ghaut, and forty inches at Mahableshwar (?).
1849. *December* 10.—Severe hurricane at Madras: the ships *Lady Sale*, *Industry*, and *Princess Royal*, lost.
1850. *December* 4.—Hurricane at Madras; two European ships and eighteen country craft wrecked.
1851. *May* 1.—A furious hurricane raged off Ceylon: a second prevailed at Madras on the 6th, sweeping across the peninsula, and sending up a tremendous swell towards Scinde. The ship *Charles Forbes*, of Bombay, lost in the Straits of Malacca.
1851. *October* 20.—The hurricane that visited Calcutta and its neighbourhood on the 22nd and 23rd of October did great damage to the shipping off Diamond Harbour and below Sangor. Two vessels, the *Bengalee*, outward bound, and the *Scourfield*, inward bound, were wrecked—the former on Sangor Island, and the latter near Buit Palmyras; crews of both vessels saved.
1852. *May* 14.—A terrific hurricane burst over Calcutta. Barometer 29·362: more severe than any that had been experienced since the 3rd of June, 1842, when the barometer sunk to 28·278, the lowest ever known in Calcutta, and almost every vessel in the river, and dwelling-house on shore, was more or less injured. During the gale there were destroyed in Calcutta 2657 thatched and 526 tiled houses, with forty sub-

stantial buildings; eleven persons were killed, and two wounded. On the 8th of August, 1842, the barometer at Calcutta fell, during a hurricane, to 28·800.

1852. *May* 17.—A severe gale experienced at the Cape; barometer fell to 29·42 (60° Fahr.), the lowest known since the 21st of April 1848, when, without any change in the weather being experienced, it sunk to 29·38, the lowest on record at Capetown.

1852. *December* 16.—Very violent at Macao—scarcely felt at Hong-Kong—from Canton all along the north coast of China.

1853. *March* 26-28.—Furious hurricane all over Southern India: some fifty vessels sunk or wrecked on the Coromandel coast to the southward of Madras.

1853. *October* 10.—Hurricane in the China Seas: large steamer dismasted, and narrowly escaped shipwreck, betwixt Hong-Kong and Singapore.

1854. *April* 10-12.—A tornado swept Lower Bengal, from W.S.W. to E.N.E., sweeping villages and great trees before it, and destroying, it is said, 300 people.

1854. *April* 21-23.—A violent hurricane at Rangoon; twenty-five boats, with the head-quarters of the 30th regiment of Madras native infantry, wrecked in the Irrawady; the barracks on shore unroofed.

1854. *May* 22-24.—Hurricane in the China Seas; the Peninsula and Oriental Company's steamer *Douro* lost her funnel, and was driven ashore a wreck.

1854. *September* 27.—A severe hurricane in the China Seas, 19 N., and 117 E.

1854. *October* 6.—Hurricane south of Ceylon.

1854. *November* 2.—Hurricane at Bombay; a thousand human beings and half a million-worth of property supposed to have perished in four hours' time.

The occurrence of hail-storms in India is frequent, and they are on so vast a scale as to be a characteristic of the climate. From the knowledge possessed concerning the great heat of that country, few general readers would imagine that it was a land remarkable for such phenomena; indeed, writers on meteorology and physical geography have frequently represented such storms as seldom occurring within the tropics. Dr. Thompson, in his work on meteorology, published in 1849, makes that assertion. Mrs. Somerville, writing in 1851, says—"Hail is very rare on the tropical plains, and often altogether unknown, though it frequently falls at heights of 1700 or 1800 feet above them." The same gifted lady observes—"It occurs more frequently in countries at a little distance from mountains than in those close to them or further off." Mr. Milner, in his *Universal Geography*, lately published, is more accurate, but he also asserts that hail seldom falls in the tropics at the level of the sea. In India facts contradict these doctrines. In the neighbourhood of Calcutta, and along the western shores of the Bay of Bengal, hail-storms are of frequent occurrence. Colonel Sykes, in a paper read before the British Association for the Promotion of Science, established this, and other writers have confirmed his assertions. The colonel, however, erred in supposing that on the same line upon the coast of Malabar it also occurred, whereas hail seldom falls there, although frequent on the shores of Cutch and Scinde. The colonel's statement, as appears in the society's reports for 1851, is, that the phenomenon is not seen south of latitude 20°. This is true of the western coast of the peninsula, but not of the eastern. Dr. Buist has shown that in 1852 a violent storm of hail fell at Pondicherry, south of Madras; and he affirms that others were recollected by him on the south-eastern shores of the peninsula. In Ceylon hail-storms are well known both in the higher and lower grounds. The occurrence of such storms in contiguity with the mountainous region of that island, and with various parts of the Himalaya range, confute the theory of Mrs. Somerville and other modern writers on such subjects, that hail seldom falls close to mountains. On several occasions, within a few years, hail-stones of enormous size, and immense masses of ice, have fallen both in the high lands and on the sea-shore, on the table-land of the Deccan, and at the foot of the mountain ranges. In April of 1855 a hail-storm did much damage to Lahore; and in May of the same year there were terrific hail-showers at Patna, Nynee Tal, and various other places at great distances from one another. It would appear that in April, just before the time of greatest heat, the peninsula is visited most frequently by falls of hail. The statement which has sometimes been made, that May was the month most noted for this phenomenon, is an error. March stands next to April, and February to March in this particular. May is considerably beneath March, but much above every other month, except February, in the computation.

Europeans chiefly object to the climate of India on account of the great heat. The hottest parts of India are not the most debilitating. The low moist land on the northern portions of the eastern coast, and the marshy plains near the foot of the Himalayas, are more unhealthy than the southern portions of the peninsula. Exposure to the sun, provided the head be well turbaned to protect it from sun-stroke, is not dangerous nor unhealthy. Experiments have been made in connection with the marching of European troops in time of peace, and it was proved that more men were lost by night-marches than by those conducted with suitable care during the hottest portion of the day. In the disastrous conflicts of 1857, between the mutineers of the Bengal army and the government forces, similar results were experienced. General Havelock, in his marches and counter-marches during his efforts to

relieve Cawnpore and Lucknow, declared that, so far as exposure to the weather was concerned, his men suffered no injury. General Wilson, during his command of the forces before Delhi, reported that the troops had better health than in cantonments. When these operations commenced, the fiercest portion of the hot season had passed, but the heat was still intense. The habits indulged by Europeans, rather than the climate, have hitherto made India sickly; although, of course, some situations are exposed to miasmatic influences, and certain portions of the year must be always trying to the health of natives of our high latitude. As the climate is more studied, and facts connected with this subject are more carefully weighed, Europeans will be enabled to encounter the heat by such sanitary and personal arrangements as those experiences will dictate, and India will become a sphere of enterprise more generally acceptable to the British people. The range of temperature is so great, and the climate so varied, notwithstanding its general tropical character, that there is abundant scope for the settlement and the energies of Europeans. The territory of British India is marked by a great variety of geographical features, and extends through twenty-three degrees of latitude, these are circumstances which must render many places practicable for the healthful settlement of Englishmen.

Local peculiarities so affect the prevailing winds, as also to conduce to the same result. The south-west monsoon, which in May is felt at Malabar, does not travel to Delhi until a month after, nor to the Sikh territory and the Affghan frontier until some weeks later, when its effects are comparatively mild. From October to April, six months of the year, the weather is cool enough for European enjoyment; the remainder of the year is rendered unpleasant, and comparatively unhealthy, by the heat and rains. At Calcutta the thermometer stands at 66° in January, and rises to 86° in April. At Bombay, on the other side of the peninsula, the climate is more various. At Madras the heat is less oppressive than in Bengal, although the temperature ranges higher; but the cool season is more refreshing in the latter than the former. The minimum in the city of Madras is 75°, the maximum 91°. The climate of the Blue Ghauts, especially in the neighbourhood of the sanitorium, is esteemed as one of the most equable and delightful in the world, where it is never so cold as in England, and never so hot, the glass in summer ranging in London thirteen degrees higher than it does there. The rain-fall is much greater in the Blue Ghauts than in this country, but it happens at particular periods, refreshing the soil, and cooling the air, thus tending to render the district still more agreeable to Europeans, and affording many more fair days than are enjoyed in England.

The diseases of the country are numerous. That which is chiefly dangerous, alike to Europeans and natives, is cholera. India has been generally supposed to be the birthplace of this pestilence, but there is reason to believe that its first incidence was in Persia. In India it first appeared in the Madras presidency, certainly not in the route from Persia, and may have had a separate origin there from similar causes. At its commencement it displayed its destructive energies, sweeping away multitudes of the natives, and many Europeans. Since then, three-quarters of a century, it has prevailed and sent forth its pestiferous influences along the great thoroughfares of the world, both by sea and land, to every country, at all events, within the bounds of civilisation.

The natives are liable to peculiar disorders, under aggravated forms, such as leprosy, elephantiasis, smallpox, dysentery, fevers of various kinds, rheumatism, and a peculiar form of dropsy. Neither this complaint, nor elephantiasis, is ever communicated to Europeans; and some of the fevers by which sad ravages are made upon the lives of the natives, are seldom taken by persons born in Europe, however long resident in this country.

British residents suffer from intermittent and congestive fevers, rheumatism, apoplexy, sunstroke, dysentery, diarrhœa, debility, and various diseases of the liver, enlargement and induration of that organ being very common.

Peculiarities of climate, and their effects upon health in different regions, will receive additional notice as the great natural and political divisions of the country are more particularly described.

The productions of India are, generally speaking, tropical, and in great variety and luxuriance.

Forests naturally claim first attention, as the most striking products of the soil in almost every country. Perhaps no land possesses timber in greater variety and beauty. The hardy oak, ash, and elm of our climate are not found there, nor are there any resemblances to the pine-forests of America; but the variety of kind, and diversity of adaptation, are greater than in either Europe or America. For the purposes of fuel, fences, hut constructions, and small articles of garden, stable, or household uses, there is great abundance of wood of

many different species. For house-building and engineering work there is the saul-wood, which grows abundantly in Central and Northern India. This tree grows to a considerable height, and the dimensions of the trunk are often nine feet or more. The teak-tree wood is excellent for ship-building. It grows to the north of Madras, and in the Coromandel district. The Bombay government encourages the planting of this useful tree. It also flourishes in the provinces ceded by Birmah, where a revenue of £12,000 a year has been derived by government from licences to cut it. The tamarind, palm, and cedar, grow in profusion in some districts; black-wood is also abundant.

There are many useful kinds of wood, and beautiful as well as useful, unknown to Europe, which the natives and European residents greatly prize. It is astonishing that these have not been made articles of commerce; for although the situations where they grow are remote, they could be brought to the principal ports by the rivers. Exportations of ebony, satin-wood, and a few other hard woods, susceptible of beautiful polish, are conveyed to England and America. There is much room for an enterprising commerce between England and India in these valuable commodities.

The appearance of the timber growth of India is sometimes devoid of the picturesque: jungles, which harbour savage beasts and poisonous reptiles, stretch away over large spaces. In some cases the Indian forest is commanding, and the trees which are cultivated for ornament are graceful in form and foliage, and afford a welcome shade from the torrid climate.

Indian fruits are such as are best adapted to the inhabitants of a tropical country. The cocoa-nut is very fine, especially in Malabar. Melons, gourds, plantains, custard-apples, figs, guavas, jujubes, &c., abound in the more southern portions of the peninsula, and afford a grateful refreshment to the people who inhabit the sultry plains. In the more northern portions the fruits of Europe grow luxuriantly, grapes and peaches especially. Figs, pine-apples, and mangoes, also grow in rich abundance in the northern parts of Central India. In no country are these varieties of fruit more necessary, and Providence has provided India with an extensive assortment adapted to the necessities and desires of her people.

Her spices are also celebrated. Cinnamon is not of so fine a quality in Continental as in Insular India. Ginger, pepper, cloves, cassia, cardamums, and capsicums, are likewise produced.

Oils are among the important products of the country. Vegetable tallows and butters exude from trees and plants, and serve as food, or for manufacturing purposes. From the seed of the tallow-plant oil for lamps is extracted. Many other seeds, when expressed, yield oils for commerce or domestic use. The oils of the poonja, cadja-apple, kossumba, poppy, poomseed, &c., are valuable for various purposes. Many articles of this nature, peculiar to India, are produced within her territories.

Wheat is grown in Northern India, where an increasing preference for it to rice is noticeable. In the south it is seldom seen, and the people prefer rice or pulse. Maize and millet are cultivated in many places where irrigation is obtainable. Rice is, however, the great staple of the Indians' food; many subsist on it. Its cultivation is extensive, especially in the valley of the Ganges. The quality is not always good, but the produce is abundant. Sago, sago meal, cassava starch, arrowroot, and other starches, are produced in great quantities, and in fine perfection.

The grasses of the peninsula are very numerous, and nourish large herds of sheep and goats; but there is no pasturage such as is to be found upon the undulated landscapes of the British Isles, where a temperate climate and frequent showers produce perpetual verdure.

Cattle are fed upon cotton and other seeds; coarse grain, peas or beans, are also used as fodder. New grasses have been introduced, and have flourished.

There are many plants valuable as affording articles of commerce. Hemp, flax, aloe fibre, the fibres of the cocoa-nut, pine-apple, and plantain, are known to English traders, as also a few others; but there are many, of which no use is made in Britain, to which scientific men have called attention.

The medicinal properties which are possessed by certain vegetable products in India are important to the natives, and are also of commercial value. Senna, rhubarb, and castor-oil, are the most in demand by Europeans.

Allied in some respects to the medicinal products are the gums of India, which are very numerous, and excellent in their respective qualities. Arabic, olibanum, benjamin, mastic, shellac, and ammoniacum, are specimens. Gamboge and asafœtida are exported in large quantities. Caoutchouc (Indian-rubber) and kattermando, the former for many years, the latter from a recent date, are in demand by the merchants of Europe and America.

Tobacco is grown in most parts of the country, from extreme north to south, but can hardly be pronounced good anywhere. The natives do not use it merely for its narcotic and soothing effects, but for various purposes.

The dyes of India have a just as well as wide-spread celebrity. Indigo-planting has long been a profitable branch of cultivation, and many have grown rich in a short time by that means. Indian madder is one of the most valuable commodities in the dye-works of Lancashire and Yorkshire. Turmeric, safflower, &c., are well known to Great Britain; but in the native manufactures dyes of much beauty are employed which are as yet unknown to English dyers.

India is supposed to be very rich in barks. Various qualities, which have not been brought as yet into use, have been tested by scientific men, and recommended for medicinal or tanning purposes.

Cotton grows in various parts of India, and of late much inquiry has been made concerning the capabilities of the peninsula to meet the wants of the spinning-mills of England. Mr. George Hadfield, the indefatigable member for Sheffield, brought this subject under the attention of the House of Commons during the session of 1857, when the country was mourning over the tidings of blood and dishonour brought from the provinces of the Bengal presidency, where revolt was raging. The discussion was so obviously inopportune, that no attention was given to it. Meetings were held in Manchester, the great capital of the cotton manufacture, but, for the same reasons, produced no public impression. Experiments, however, have been made, and sanguine expectations entertained, that India will yet yield a supply by which England may be rendered independent of the Southern States of the North American Union. Other fields of enterprise, such as Africa, have been also contemplated; and the Rev. Dr. Livingstone, a missionary of the London Missionary Society among the Bechuanas, accomplished by skill and fortitude such an exploration of interior Africa as inspires the hope that if India fail to meet the demands of the cotton manufacture for its staple, Africa may become the great cotton-field of the world. India, however, has not yet been made the subject of a fair and sufficiently extensive experiment. That the legislature will take up this great question, and conduct it to a satisfactory issue, there can be little doubt. Lancashire only requires that government remove the existing obstacles to private enterprise, and the doubt as to the cotton-growing capability of India will be eventually set at rest. In a work entitled the *Culture of Cotton in India*, the natives are represented as consuming 600,000,000 lbs. weight annually, and that 90,000,000 lbs. are exported to England, with a like amount to China. The natives of all ranks are clothed with it; their light garments for the hot season, and their thicker garments for the cooler and for the rainy seasons, are all composed of cloth made from this material. Formerly the cotton growth of India was very great. The name *calico*, now universally known, is Indian, the Portuguese having adopted it from Calicot, where they first found the cloth. The name *muslin* is also Eastern, derived from Moussul, where its manufacture was first known.

The cotton of India is inferior to that of the United States; and the efforts made to improve its quality, by new methods of cultivation, and by importing American seeds, have been but partially successful. The great difficulty appears, so far as the process of preparation is concerned, to be in the cleaning. Indian cotton is not sent from the plantation so clean picked and well packed as is American cotton. This arises partly from the methods of labour practised by the natives, from the fact that they are wedded to their old customs, and from the damage sustained in sending it to the seaboard. It is necessary that the plantations should be near large navigable rivers or railroads, and possessed of a fine alluvial soil. The native cultivators complain of the operation of the land tenure, the want of capital, and the crushing effect of the usurious dealings of the native money-lenders. Under the most favourable circumstances, Indian cotton has seldom been produced of the length of fibre and cleanness of American cotton.

The common cotton-plant of India is a triennial, and is found almost everywhere. There is a variety of it which is annual. The Dacca cotton is grown in the district of that name, in the Bengal presidency, and is finer and softer than the common plant. The Berar description is the best, but is neither so long nor so soft as the best cotton of America. These varieties require different soils and treatment.

It is alleged by Mr. Boyle, in his treatise on the subject, that the soil of the American plantations differs from that where good cotton is grown in India, chiefly in its peaty quality. This has also attracted the attention of other persons conversant with the culture of cotton, who attribute the superiority rather to this circumstance of soil than to any peculiarity of climate.

In another part of this work, more appropriate for the full discussion of the subject, the practicability of making India a cotton-growing country, to such an extent and producing staple of such quality as will compete with the American plantations, will be considered. It is here only necessary to add that the impediments to the production of good cotton in India are not merely such as soil or climate, or want of roads and canals. There are moral causes at work to create obstacles far more formidable. The ryots, or cultivators, are almost without enterprise; they are still more destitute of capital, and are obliged to obtain advances from native money-lenders, a class of men the most grasping, relentless, and unprincipled in the world. When good seeds have been imported from the United States, the native capitalists, under the pretence of a religious abhorrence of an innovation, have offered every opposition to the use of them; and when the seeds have been sown, men have been hired to root them up, or otherwise damage the culture, so as to balk the experiment, and wear out the patience of the ryot, if his prejudices were not sufficiently acted upon to make him abandon the attempt.

The moral and social difficulties in the way of the successful cultivation of the superior qualities of cotton may be best judged by observing how they are regarded from an American point of view. The following is from no unfriendly pen, but extracted from a memorial addressed to the Madras government by a gentleman well acquainted with the cotton culture of southern North America and of British India:—"The cotton is produced by the ryot. He is always in his banker's books as deep, in proportion to his means, as his European master, and can do nothing without aid. The brokers, or cotton-cleaners, or gin-house men, are the middlemen between the chetty and the ryot. The chetties being monied men, make an advance to the broker. The broker is particular in classifying the seed-cotton, and pays for it according to cleanliness, and then he has much of the trash and rotten locks picked out, not to make the cotton better, but because the rubbish chokes the churka, and prevents it from working. The good cotton is then separated from the seed, and the bad stuff which had been taken away from the good is beaten with a stone to loosen up the rotten fibre from the seed, and then it is passed through the churka. The good cotton and this bad stuff are both taken into a little room, six feet by six, which is entered by a low door, about eighteen inches by two feet, and a little hole as a ventilator is made through the outer wall. Two men then go in with a bundle of long smooth rods in each hand, and a cloth is tied over the mouth and nose; one man places his back so as to stop this little door completely, to prevent waste, and they both set to work to whip the cotton with their rods, to mix the good and bad together so thoroughly, that a very tolerable article is turned out; even after all this bedevilling, if the people get a living price for it, they let it go as it is. But, as is usually the case, they are shaved so close, that they are driven to resort to another means of realising profit. They add a handful or two of seed to every bundle, and this is delivered to the chetties, and the chetties deliver it to their European agents, and the European agents save their exchange, and their object is gained. The cotton is taken by the manufacturer at a low price, because he knows not what he is buying."

The sugar-cane has been from the remotest times a product of India. When the English first visited the country, they found it there; and four hundred years before their advent reliable testimony was given to its abundance. The natives were unable to manufacture sugar from the cane, so as to send to market the crystalline product so valuable to commerce; their modes of expressing the juice were rude and wasteful, but they extracted large quantities from their cane-fields, and very extensively used it in cakes, or with rice and other food. The English introduced the Jamaica system of culture with success, and of late years the East Indian sugars have lost much of their previous bad reputation, as compared with those of the West Indies. The great anti-slavery agitation in England brought East-India sugar into much more general use, and, as a consequence, stimulated the cultivation of the cane there, especially in Bengal, which is well adapted for it. While sugar-cane has been for so many ages a growth of the Indian soil, to the English may be attributed the great importance of this article in the present agricultural statistics of our eastern possessions.

The tea-plant is in some places as well adapted to the climate of India as the sugar-cane. In China it is found to thrive best where the climate is most temperate; but even in the warmest latitudes of that empire it is cultivated. At an early period it appeared to some of the servants of the East India Company that India was, in many of its northern and eastern districts, likely to prove suitable for the plant. It was not until the year 1834 that any attempt to introduce it was made—at all events on such a scale as to attract notice, although at least seven years

previously the company's botanists had pronounced the slopes of the Himalayas, not far from the Nepaul frontier, as well adapted for such an experiment. Some districts in the neighbourhood of Delhi, and in Assam, were pointed out by other scientific men as likely to prove suitable places.

Under the auspices of Lord William Bentinck, deputations were sent to China, various specimens were obtained, a knowledge of the culture and subsequent manipulation was gleaned, and a nursery for 10,000 plants formed at Calcutta. The experiment prospered, and some of the specimens were sent to the Madras presidency, where the heat of the climate killed them; others were transplanted in Bengal proper, but their extreme delicacy demanded more attention than was conceded, and the experiments all failed. A portion was sent northward, to certain districts of the Himalayas. These were for the most part destroyed on the way, through the carelessness with which their transmission was conducted. Such as arrived at their destination throve, and in 1838 were in seed. The seeds were sown in situations for the most part judiciously chosen, and thus new nurseries were formed nearer to the region favourable for successful cultivation.

During the progress of these measures it was discovered that the plant was indigenous to Assam, and several specimens gathered in a wild state were sent to Calcutta, and pronounced good by competent practical judges, as well as by the company's botanists. Further researches were made, and it was found that in districts of Assam where the climate was most temperate, on the hill slopes, and along the undulations of the low country, near the rivers, the plant would flourish on many varieties of soil. The result was that plants of greater strength and size, more prolific and yielding tea of finer flavour than any imported from China, were produced. The East India Company, after incurring much expense in this enterprise, generously surrendered the cultivation to private enterprise, and gave over to the Assam Tea Company their nurseries, and their valuable contents. The crop in Assam has lately reached nearly 400,000 pounds, selling, as is well known, at a much higher price than the Chinese specimens.

While the Assam experiment found so much public favour, attention to the Himalaya gardens was not permitted to flag; high up on the slopes above Kumaon the plants multiplied rapidly, and yielded richly. A black tea, resembling souchong, but of superior flavour, has thence reached England in increasing quantities.

Since the conquest of the Sikh country, the tea plantations have been extended in that direction. The East India Company voted for some years a grant of £10,000 to nurture these experiments.

In 1850 the company dispatched an agent to China to procure fresh seeds, skilful cultivators, and to make himself well acquainted with the processes of cultivating and curing. The advantage of this mission, which was as successful as could be expected, has been very decided to the plantations of the north-west.

At Cachar, Munneepore, and Darjeeling, the cultivation and manufacture of tea have been very successful. During the year 1855 superior specimens were sent from these places to the Horticultural Society of India, which afforded great satisfaction and encouragement. It would appear that the tea-tree is indigenous also to the Cachar district, for natives who had been employed in Assam by the Assam Company, declared the wild specimens found in the one district, identical with those which had been found in the other.* Cachar is easy of access, a fine river opening up communication with it; and the tea-plant was found by Captain Verner, the superintendent of Cachar, growing in luxuriance in the jungles. The most recent researches of that gentleman have led him to think that the Assam quality is different from the newly-discovered growth of Cachar, but Dr. Thompson, of the Honourable Company's Botanical Gardens, at Calcutta, has pronounced them identical; the truth which reconciles these conflicting statements seems to be, that the last discoveries of the captain have been of another species, more resembling the green tea imported into this country from China. The Munneepore and Darjeeling specimens were pronounced by experienced "tea-tasters" as of a good quality, and deserving culture. These were also found in wild luxuriance.

In the report of the Agricultural Society of India, published last year, in Calcutta, further discoveries of the tea-plant are recorded. At Sylhet, Mr. Glover, the officiating collector, drew up a report to the commissioners of revenue (Dacca), in which he gives minute details of the discovery of the plant growing extensively on the slope of small detached hills in various districts not remote from those where the previous discoveries had been made:—"The greatest distance of the furthest discovered tea plantations from Sylhet does not exceed sixty miles as the crow flies; by the only practicable route it would probably be one hundred

* Report of F. Skipwith, Esq., judge at Sylhet.

miles, but for three parts of this distance water-carriage would be available throughout the year, while in the rains, boats of large burthen could go up to the place. The tea-fields in Pergunnahs Punchkhund, Chapghat, and Ruffeenuggur, are close to the rivers Soorna and Baglia, so that there would be no difficulty in the matter of carriage in any of these places." *

It must not be forgotten that, notwithstanding the tea-plant is indigenous to these regions, it requires cultivation and care. Indeed, this is the case with all the productions of India, and that from a cause which popularly might be supposed to render cultivation scarcely necessary. The soil, which is prolific in rich and useful productions, is also prolific in weeds, which encumber and choke the former, and the hand of the cultivator needs to be directed with especial care. The language of the poet is applicable to India in her indigenous and wild productions, as well as in her cultivated products:—

> "Redundant growth
> Of vines, and maize, and bower and brake,
> Which Nature, kind to sloth,
> And scarce solicited by human toil,
> Pours from the riches of the teeming soil."

There can be little doubt that if railway enterprise open up the interior of India to the seaports and presidential capitals, the tea farms of Upper India and of Assam will become of great importance to England, and rapidly promote the wealth and civilisation of these regions. The tea plantations are picturesque, and the processes of growing, as practised both in Assam and in the opposite countries, towards Nepaul and the Punjaub, afford lively and interesting scenes of human occupation.

Coffee has for a long time been grown by the natives in various districts, but the quality was so inferior as to find no European market. English planters have, however, succeeded in obtaining excellent berries. In the island of Ceylon coffee of a superior kind has been obtained from the plantations established by English settlers. The success of the experiments made there, induced extensive enterprises of like kind to the south of the Western Ghauts, where the rich soil and warm climate favour the object. Good coffee is now produced from these plantations, and from others in various parts of the country.

Opium is cultivated to a vast extent under the immediate auspices of the company. The producers are natives, who grow it under the company's licences, which are only extended to two districts, Patna and Benares,—the former producing the better quality, owing to some peculiarities in the soil and situation. The growers of the poppy are not allowed to sell the produce of their fields; they are merely the company's farmers, to whom, at a fixed price, they must surrender what they grow. This is removed at certain seasons to Calcutta, where it is sold by auction at stated times to European or native merchants, who make it an article of export. Under the head of the commerce of India it will be necessary to return to this subject.

The silkworm has long been bred in India, silk having been one of the oldest productions of the peninsula known to us; its progress and extent will be more properly a subject for the heading of manufactures and commerce. It is here only necessary to say that, in addition to the mulberry, or China species of the worm, there are other species peculiar to the peninsula, especially in Assam, Bombay, and Madras. The mulberry worm is more common in Bengal than elsewhere.

The flora of India is such as might be expected from the general richness, yet widely extending variety, of her climates. The ferns of the peninsula have obtained great celebrity among botanists, as the largest and finest in the world. Near the smaller rivers and streams the country is spangled with these beautiful offspring of the soil. There also, and near the larger rivers, flowers of richest odour spring up in wonderful and glorious luxuriance. Along the slopes of the Nilgherries, and the Eastern and Western Ghauts, the fair flowers of the mountain kiss every glittering rill, and spread their fragrance on the balmy air with which these regions are blessed. The Persian rose, passion-flower, and *Gloriosa superba*, grow luxuriantly in the wild jungles, as if the ruder and lovelier forms of nature were struggling for victory. Nowhere in the world are such specimens of the water-lily and the lotus found as along certain portions of the Ganges, the Indus, the Jhelum, the Godavery, and on the Lake of Wular, in the stormless valley of Cashmere. In the hills which form the northern limits of the Deccan, and among those which rise beyond the districts of Delhi and the Punjaub, rhododendrons, and other shrubs of that species, grow to perfection. In many places on the mountain slopes, and in sheltered valleys, wherever springs are near with their refreshing influences, extensive areas of flowers are presented, clad in every tint of beauty, associating every conceivable harmony of hue, and breathing overpowering perfumes. If Night reveals to the traveller glories which

> "Heaven to gaudy day denies,"

* Report of F. A. Glover, Esq., to the Agricultural Society of India.

Day discloses beneath her bright smile in India a variety of beauty which the brightest night never displays. However dazzling the latter, as the mind wanders amidst its bright immensity, it cannot yield the soft and placidly pleasurable emotions which the flower-clad landscape of the fairer portions of Indian lands communicate. Not only are the flowers of India beautiful in tint, and of luxurious odour, but they are of exquisite form—even the blind have caressed them; sensible of the exquisite beauty of their structure, they could not but feel with the blind girl in the *Last Days of Pompeii*:—

"If earth be as fair as I've heard them say,
These flowers her children are."

Could we suppose the sorrowing but beautiful peris of Eastern fable to take forms most befitting their celestial origin, but earthly home, we might suspect their dwelling-place to be in some of the lovely valleys which, from Cashmere to Thibet, are to be found sheltered among the mountains; and we might, in the form, and tint, and odour of the far-famed flowers of these vales, recognise the graceful expression of their exiled being. Perhaps among all the flowers of Ind, the roses of Cashmere are the most lovely, as they are the most famous; and amidst the choice perfumes thrown off by so many of these "blossoms of delight," or extracted from them by the ingenuity of man, the richest is the *attur ghul*, so renowned through a large portion of the Eastern world, from the shores of the Bay of Bengal to those of the Caspian Sea, and even to the Bosphorus. One of the most curious little flowers of India is the *Serpicula verticilata*, which grows in the great Indian tanks. Dr. Carter describes it as a "little gentle flower stretching itself up from the dark bottom on its slender pedicle, to spread its pink petals on the surface of the water to the air and light. Wonderful little flower! What economy of nature, what harmony of design, what striking phenomena, what instinctive apprehension, almost, is exhibited by this tiny, humble tenant of the lake! Would we wish for a process to render water wholesome, the little serpicula supplies it; would we wish to provide food for the other scavengers of the tank—the shell fish—the little serpicula, with its leaves and stems pregnant with starch granules, affords them a delicious repast; they browse with greediness on the tender shoots." Dr. Buist remarks that this little plant not only maintains the tank or pond in which it lives in the most perfect purity, but that even a few sprigs of it will render a large vessel of water pure for culinary purposes. In describing its birthplace, and the effect of its presence in keeping water pure, he says, "On looking into the tank, a magnificent marine landscape presents itself, with snow-white rocks and valleys, and rich green minature forests, in all directions."

India has not received that attention from botanists and floriculturists which so wide, prolific, and in other respects interesting a field deserves. The East India Company have established a botanical garden at Saharamapore, at an elevation above the sea of 1000 feet. The climate and vegetation are tropical, notwithstanding the height, but the site is well chosen, the elevation and other circumstances tempering the heat which prevails. At Bombay some efforts have been put forth of late years to improve our acquaintance with the botany and flora of India; and in Calcutta the government has expended money in these objects.

The Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India has brought out valuable contributions from the pens of official persons all over India, and many rare plants and flowers have been examined and classified. Agricultural and floricultural exhibitions have taken place under the auspices of the society without any great success. The flower-shows from 1852 to 1856, have gradually fallen away in the number, rarity, and excellence of the specimens. Many English flowers and flowering shrubs have been introduced to the society's gardens, as well as to those belonging to government, and with considerable success, although many plants and seeds perished through negligent carriage or unskilful transmission. The publications issued under the auspices of the society above named are calculated to improve the British residents in India in their knowledge of these interesting departments of its resources.* Many useful, and also a large class of ornamental plants, have been introduced very lately from China to the north of Assam, and to the Punjaub, in which places they are likely still further to enrich the gardens and the general landscapes. The United States of America, and the British colonies of the Cape and Australia have contributed to the treasures of India in new plants, shrubs, and flowers.

The mineral products of India are considerable. Common salt is found, but not very extensively. Saltpetre, or nitrate of potash, is to be met with in marshes, and in caves. Sir Laurence Peel, in a paper on the

* The "Journal" of the society, printed in English, is full of matter interesting to the British public at home and in India. The "Miscellany" is published in Bengalee, and is calculated to direct the more educated natives to the resources of their country.

"Natural Law by which Nitrate of Soda, or Cubic Saltpetre acts as a Manure, and on its substitution for Guano," has attempted to show that to its saltpetre India is indebted for much of its fertility. "These substances—the ordinary and the cubic saltpetre—consist of an acid, the nitric acid, and an alkali, either potash or soda; nor could any one, viewing the effect of these individual salts, decide whether the acids or the alkalies were the source of their manuring action." Sir Laurence proceeds to establish, by a detail of experiments, the proposition that the former are the fertilising powers which these salts contain. Having argued for his doctrine at considerable length, he declares that to its native saltpetre India is indebted for its prolific land, and illustrates the qualities of the black soil of India by an analysis of similar soils in other regions, and by facts demonstrative of their great fertility.

Gold is found in very small quantities in the streams which issue from high sources in the Himalayas.

Lead, copper, zinc, and iron, are obtained in various districts, but not in any very large quantities. Indian iron is especially well adapted to the manufacture of steel; and some of the modern improvements in this manufacture in Sheffield were originally suggested to an English gentleman in India while observing the processes adopted by the natives.

Tin is found in the recent British conquests on the east of the Bay of Bengal; and in the hills which separate British from imperial Birmah it is supposed, by mineralogists, that extensive mineral treasures exist. Excellent specimens of lead (rich in silver), copper, tin, nitre, salt, quicksilver, alum, iron, &c., have been brought away from those hills. In fact, whatever be the extent of these treasures, their variety is not surpassed in any country in the world. India proper is far inferior in metallic wealth, so far as is at present known, to the boundary regions of Tenesserim and Pegu. Precious stones are also found in these hills—rubies, sapphires, jaspers, and in some instances diamonds.

On a former page, when noticing the Himalayas, the reader was informed *en passant*, that gems were frequently found there. But not only there, in all the hill countries of the peninsula the most valuable precious stones are picked up.

The diamond mines of Golconda are well known, and descriptions of their wealth are familiar to the general reader. In the red iron-stone, clay, and gravel of Pauna, in Bundelcund, diamonds of great beauty are frequently discovered. There are probably no countries in the world so rich in gems and precious stones as India and the neighbouring provinces of Tenesserim and Pegu. Of late years various projects have been set on foot for utilising the valuable mineral resources of India.

The animal kingdom has representatives in India of very many species. Of the large quadrupeds the elephant, camel, buffalo, rhinoceros, and horse, are most extensively to be met with. The elephant is wild in many districts, and frequently damages the cultivated country. When tamed his usefulness is only to be exceeded by that of the horse, and his sagacity is equalled by no other animal known to man. As a beast of burden he is very efficient, from his prodigious strength united to unrivalled docility. He will drag guns over difficult country, and with his trunk raise them up and free them, when by any accident they are entangled in rutty or rocky land, or amidst jungle. The princes of India use the elephant for purposes of carriage in peace and war. Seated in palanquins, raised upon his back, they go forth to battle, to the tiger hunt, or in processions of peaceful state.

The buffalo is much used in particular districts, he draws the clumsy native carts, slowly and quietly, but efficiently.

The camel also is very useful when domesticated, which he is in many parts of India. The British have used camel expresses, from the fleetness with which he travels. They have also used camel batteries in war.* In the sandy regions of the north-west the camel and wild ass roam at large.

The rhinoceros is found in the north-east, in the more remote and secluded forests.

The horse is to be found everywhere in India in the service of man. The native princes use it very extensively for purposes of war. This animal is not bred in every part of India of equal value. In a paper communicated by the Chamber of Commerce of Calcutta to the government of India, the following remarks occur as to the diverse qualities of the horse in various parts of the peninsula and surrounding countries:—"The Rungpore and Thibetian horse possess very close assimilation, when compared with that of the plains lying westwardly, viz., of the Deccan, Scinde, Persia, and Arabia, notwithstanding the variations found in the animals of each of these last-named countries. The main characteristics of the two races are so obviously marked as to admit of no dispute about their distinctiveness; the former exhibiting the primitive rudeness of nature, the

* There is a beautiful specimen of a brass camel gun in the museum of the East India House.

latter the graces and amenities consequent on improved training and better chosen localities."

The Asiatic lion, although not so strong an animal as the African, is nevertheless a noble creature, and in the northern provinces of India he roams at large in the many retired situations adapted to his habits.

The tiger, as already noticed when describing the delta of the Ganges, has his haunts in the marshy and jungle-covered districts of the Bengal coast. Tigers of inferior strength inhabit the jungles thence to the glaciers of the Himalayas.

Panthers, leopards, ounces, and various other species of the feline, as well as several of the canine, abound throughout India.

The varieties of Indian deer are beautiful, and are numerous in all the less populous regions of the peninsula. The red deer, renowned for the sweetness of its flesh, seeks the herbage high in the mountains.

The famous shawl-goat inhabits elevated ranges of the Himalayas. There are several varieties of this animal. The goat of Cashmere, which browses on the slopes of the beautiful hills that begirt the valley, is best known. The wild goat of Nepaul is a beautiful and agile creature, his head and limbs being exceedingly well formed.

Monkeys are deified in Indian superstition, they therefore do not decrease within the limits of human habitations as do other wild animals. Numerous tribes of them may be heard chattering and screaming in every direction suitable for their increase.

The jackal is one of the most useful as well as dangerous animals in India. He prowls about the villages, committing depredations after his nature; but he at the same time acts as a village scavenger, entering the streets at night, and removing the offal and filth which are so often permitted to collect near oriental dwellings.

Hunting the lion, tiger, leopard, panther, ounce, &c., are favourite sports with adventurous Anglo-Indian gentlemen, and many perils are incurred in these wild sports of the East.

Birds common to Europe are also well-known in India, such as peacocks, crows, eagles, falcons, the common sparrow, cuckoos, cranes, wild geese, snipes, bustards, vultures, &c. The birds peculiar to the tropics are in India remarkable for their magnificent plumage; this is especially the case with parrots and paroquets. The laughing-crow is one of the most remarkable species of the country. They fly in flocks of fifty or a hundred, and make a noise which resembles laughter. The adjutant and some species of crane, also act as street-scavengers, carrying off carrion and offal; they are therefore never molested. The pheasants of the Himalayas are probably the finest in size, form, and plumage, of any in the world. The Himalayan bustard is also a beautiful bird. The wild-fowl of India is the stock from which our ordinary barn-door fowl has sprung. In the provinces conquered from Birmah there is probably greater variety of birds than anywhere in India proper. Waterfowl are there especially abundant, and, in the opinion of Indian epicures, are of surpassing flavour. The peacock of Pegu is the most beautiful in the world, and the peahen comes nearer in gaudy plumage to her lord than elsewhere characterises the females of her class. The most remarkable of the birds in Tenesserim and Pegu are the swallows, who build edible nests. These nests are exported to China, where there is an eager demand for them, they being considered a great delicacy of Chinese fare. The government realises a revenue from their export.

Ornithologists have recently sought for objects of study in India, and progress in this department is rapidly being made.

The insect-life in India is as varied as nature is in almost every other aspect which she presents in that wonderful land. Entymologists will not, however, find so wide a scope as in tropical America. Perhaps the vast country comprehended in the Brazilian empire is the most prolific in this department of any country on the globe. The locust of the East is often a dangerous enemy to vegetable life in India. Vast clouds of these insects, darkening the air, pass over an extent of country, and then suddenly descend upon the verdure, which they utterly consume. The natives use them for food, having fried them with oil, and regard them as palatable.

Mosquitoes are a terrible infliction, but are not felt so severely as in the West Indies. Scorpions are numerous, and much dreaded both by the natives and Europeans. Centipedes are also formidable, and universally dreaded and detested. Ants and other harmless insects abound. There are various species of insects peculiar to India, or more frequently found there, and in especial varieties, than elsewhere. The "stick-insect" has the appearance of dried stick. The "leaf-insects" are of many kinds, and take the hue of the leaf they feed upon, so as not to be easily identified; they are thus preserved from the too eager rapacity of other creatures which make them a prey. The "bamboo-insect" is a very curious specimen of the entymological world. It resembles a small piece of bamboo so exactly that at a little distance it could not be distinguished from such. Not only has

its long slight body a strong resemblance to the bamboo, but each of its six legs, and every joint, bears distinct markings of the same kind.

Spiders of various descriptions are very numerous. Social spiders exist in Bengal; their colour is a darkish grey, striped down the back with white.* In Bombay they are more common, "their nests being seen in every tree; the boora (*Zisiphus lattas*, or *jeejah*) is the favourite, and servants cut off branches containing webs, and hang them up in the cook-room, where the spiders entrap and destroy the flies."

The mason-wasp of India is an insect of peculiar habits. Dr. Buist of Bombay describes the male as twice the size of the common wasp, and of nearly the same colour, the slender portion which connects the abdomen with the thorax being an eighth of an inch in length, and scarcely thicker than horse-hair. The female bears no likeness to the male, being about one-eighth of an inch in size, and in colour of a bright bottle-green. Early in October the male begins to build with mud, until his edifice assumes a nearly spherical form, the opening at the top being contracted like the neck of a bottle, and turned over at the entrance with a flat lip, leaving an aperture of about one-eighth of an inch in diameter. He generally builds three of these nests. When the building is dry the female hovers about it, and drops a few ovales in each, which she attaches to the sides. The male then approaches, bearing a green caterpillar as large as himself. This he repeats, thrusting them down the aperture with as little injury as possible, so that they may live until the incubation of the ova has taken place, and the larva is liberated; the latter then, in the shape of a maggot, feeds on the caterpillar until it is sufficiently fattened to pass into the pupa or chrysalis state. When the animal is fully developed, the orifice is closed with a little ball of mud, and the parent-wasp troubles himself no further. In due time the edifice is burst through, and the insect comes forth in its full power.

Various kinds of fire-flies in India are remarkable for their brilliancy by night; while by day, objects of insect life float on gossamer wing, tiny and beautiful specimens of being, reflecting in the vivid sun-rays innumerable hues.

The rivers and bays are the resort of many species of excellent fish. These are not all used by Europeans, the natives delighting in many sorts to which the English have not yet become accustomed. The Indian mullet mango, kawall, rowball, umblefish, whiting, perch, sole, herring, pomfret, salmon, mountain mullet, &c., are all well-known and appreciated by the British residents. On the eastern coasts of the bay of Bengal, there are several species that do not frequent the waters near the western shores. The climbing-perch, which makes its way far up the rivers, and the barbel, are specimens of these. The latter is of great beauty; its scales, when the fish is newly caught, glisten like brilliants.

In India reptiles of very diverse kinds are nurtured by the warm climate and the abundant sustenance obtainable by them. Some of these are as harmless as they are beautiful, and others are of deadly venom. Those of minute size are found, and others of huge dimensions strike with terror the natives who meet with them. The boa arrives to an immense growth, and attacks the largest animals. The rattlesnake is as common as it is unwelcome; and the cobra di capella may be seen lifting its crest for the spring by any who venture near the silent spots where it reposes.

Extensively as the products of India have been detailed in this chapter, the account given of them is but a mere sketch. Unless a work, comprising as much space as these volumes, were devoted exclusively to the subject, imperfect justice would be done to it. The brief review here taken will, however, enable the general reader to comprehend the fertility, beauty, and resources, of that land for which the arm of England has so successfully contended against native rajahs, foreign invaders, and desperate military mutineers; and which it is to be hoped the genius and piety of England will rescue from superstition, bless with civilisation, and adorn by numerous churches, dedicated to Him by whom its riches and its beauties were imparted.

* *Bengal Hurkaru: Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society.*

## CHAPTER II.

### POPULATION—RELIGION—LANGUAGES—LITERATURE.

IT is extremely difficult, as may well be supposed, to obtain exact statistics of the population of India, and the territories which are comprised under that general name. The most approved publications, and the voluminous documents to which access may be obtained at the India-House, under the permission of the directors, cannot, however, collated and arranged, afford precise information.

It has been noticed on a previous page that, for purposes of government, British India is divided into three presidencies—Bengal, Bombay, and Madras. It is necessary that the reader be informed that the Bengal presidency has three great divisions,—one under the immediate control of the governor-general of India, another under the directions of the lieutenant-governor of Bengal, these being regarded as one; the third comprises the north-west provinces, under a separate lieutenant-governor. A recent statistical arrangement of the different provinces, with a view of showing their area and population, gives the following result, as matters stood up to 1852:*—

The BENGAL REGULATION DISTRICTS are seven, viz.:—

1. The JESSORE Division, containing the districts or collectorates of Jessore, the twenty-four Pergunnahs, Burdwan, Hoogly, Nuddea, Bancoorah, and Barraset. Area 14,853 square miles. Population 5,345,472.

2. The BHAUGULPORE Division, containing the districts or collectorates of Bhaugulpore, Dinapore, Monghir, Poorneah, Tirhoot, and Malda. Area 26,464 square miles. Population 8,431,000.

3. The CUTTACK Division, containing Cuttack with Pooree, Balasore, Midnapore and Hidgellee, and Koordah. Area 12,664 square miles. Population 2,793,883.

4. The MOORSHEDABAD Division, containing Moorshedabad, Bagoorah, Rungpore, Rajshahye, Pubna, and Beerbhoom. Area 17,566 square miles. Population 6,815,876.

5. The DACCA Division, containing Dacca, Furreedpore,—Dacca Jelalpore, Mymensing, Sylhet, including Jyntea, and Bakergunge including Deccan Shabazpore. Area 20,942 square miles. Population 4,055,800.

6. The PATNA Division, containing Shahabad, Patna, Behar, and Sarun with Chumparan. Area 13,803 square miles. Population 7,000,000.

7. The CHITTAGONG Division, containing Chittagong, and Tipperah and Bulloah. Area 7,410 square miles. Population 2,406,950.

The NON-REGULATION PROVINCES within the limits of the Presidency of Bengal, subject to the authority of functionaries appointed by the Governor-General or Government of Bengal, are nine, as follow:—

1. SAUGOR and NERBUDDAH Province, containing Jaloun and the Pergunnahs ceded by Jhansie—area 1873 square miles; population 176,297: the Saugor and Nerbuddah territories, comprising the districts of Saugor, Jubbulpore, Hoshungabad, Seonee, Dumoh, Nursingpore, Baitool, and British Mhairwarrah. Area 15,670 square miles. Population 1,967,302.

2. CIS-SUTLEJ* Province, containing Umballa, Loodiana including Wudnee, Kythul and Ladwa, Ferozepore, and the territory lately belonging to Sikh chiefs who have been reduced to the condition of British subjects, in consequence of non-performance of feudatory obligations during the Lahore war. Area 4559 square miles. Population 619,413.

3. NORTH-EAST FRONTIER (Assam) Province, containing Cossya Hills, Cachar, (lower) Camroop, Newgong, Durrung, — and (upper) Joorhat (Seebpore), Luckimpore, and Sudiya, including Mutruck. Area 21,805 square miles. Population 780,935.

4. GOALPARA Province, containing an area of 3506 square miles. Population 400,000.

5. ARRACAN Province, containing an area of 15,104 square miles. Population 321,522.

6. TENESSERIM Provinces, containing an area of 29,168 square miles. Population 115,431.

7. SOUTH-WEST FRONTIER Provinces, containing Sumbulpore, Ramghur or Hazareebah, Lohurdugga, Chota Nagpore, Palamow,—Singbhoom, Maunbhoom, Pachete, and Barabhoom. Area 30,589 square miles. Population 2,627,456.

8. The PUNJAUB, inclusive of the Jullunder Doab and Kooloo territory. Area 78,447 square miles. Population 4,100,983.

9. The SUNDERBUNDS, from Saugor Island on the west, to the Ramnabad Channel on the east. Area 6500 square miles. Population unknown.

The REGULATION PROVINCES of the Agra Division of the Bengal Presidency, subject to the jurisdiction of the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, are divided into six Regulation Divisions and seven Non-Regulation Districts, as follow:—

1. DELHI Province, containing the districts of Paniput, Hurreeanah, Delhi, Rotuck, and Goorgaon. Area 8463 square miles. Population 1,569,501.

2. MEERUT Province, containing Saharunpore, Musaffirnuggur, Meerut, Boolundshuhur, and Allighur. Area 10,118 square miles. Population 3,384,432.

3. ROHILCUND Province, containing Bijnour, Moradabad, Budaon, Bareilly and Phillibheet, and Shahjehanpore. Area 12,659 square miles. Population 4,399,865.

4. AGRA Province, containing Muttra, Agra, Furruckabad, Meinpoorie, and Etawah. Area 9059 square miles. Population 3,505,740.

5. ALLAHABAD Province, containing Cawnpore, Futtehpore, Humeerpore and Calpee, Banda, and Allahabad. Area 11,839 square miles. Population 3,219,043.

6. BENARES Province, containing Goruckpore, Azimghur, Jounpore, Mirzapore, Benares, and Ghazepore. Area 19,834 square miles. Population 7,121,087.

The NON-REGULATION PROVINCES are as follow:—

The BHATTIE Territory, including Wuttoo, the Per-

* M'Kenna.

* The whole country of the Punjaub is now British territory.

gunnah of Kote Kasim province, the Jaunsar and Bawur province, the Dehra Doon province, Kumaon (including Ghurwal) province, Ajmeer province, and British Nimaur province. Area 13,599 square miles. Population 600,881.

MADRAS is divided for Revenue purposes into twenty-one Divisions, or Collectorates, of which eighteen are under the regulations of the Madras government. They are as follow:—

1. RAJAHMUNDRY Collectorate, containing an area of 6050 square miles. Population 887,260.
2. MASULIPATAM Collectorate, containing an area of 5000 square miles. Population 544,672.
3. GUNTOOR, including Paulnaud Collectorate, containing an area of 4260 square miles. Population 483,831.
4. NELLORE Collectorate, containing an area of 7930 square miles. Population 421,822.
5. CHINGLEPUT Collectorate, containing an area of 3020 square miles. Population 404,368.
6. MADRAS, included in Chingleput, containing a population of 462,951.
7. ARCOT, South Division, including Cuddalore, containing an area of 7610 square miles. Population 873,925.
8. ARCOT, North Division, including Conjeeveram, containing an area of 5790 square miles. Population 623,717.
9. BELLARY Collectorate, containing an area of 13,056 square miles. Population 1,200,000.
10. CUDDAPAH Collectorate, containing an area of 12,970 square miles. Population 1,228,546.
11. SALEM Collectorate, including Vomundoor and Mullapandy, containing an area of 8200 square miles. Population 946,181.
12. COIMBATORE Collectorate, containing an area of 8280 square miles. Population 821,986.
13. TRICHINOPOLY Collectorate, containing an area of 3000 square miles. Population 634,400.
14. TANJORE Collectorate, including Najore, containing an area of 3900 square miles. Population 1,128,730.
15. MADURA Collectorate, including Dindigul, containing an area of 10,700 square miles. Population 570,340.
16. TINNIVELLY Collectorate, containing an area of 5700 square miles. Population 1,065,423.
17. MALABAR Collectorate, containing an area of 6060 square miles. Population 1,318,398.
18. CANARA Collectorate, containing an area of 7720 square miles. Population 995,656.

The three NON-REGULATION DISTRICTS are under the control of the agents of the Governor. They are as follow:—

1. GANGAM, containing an area of 6400 square miles. Population 438,174.
2. VIZAGAPATAM, containing an area of 15,800 square miles. Population 1,047,414.
3. KURNOUL, containing an area of 3243 square miles. Population 241,632.

The BOMBAY PRESIDENCY is, for Revenue purposes, divided into thirteen Regular Divisions, or Collectorates, with three Non-Regulation Provinces. They are as follow:—

1. SURAT Collectorate, containing an area of 1629 square miles. Population 433,260.
2. BROACH Collectorate, containing an area of 1819 square miles. Population 262,631.
3. AHMEDABAD Collectorate, containing an area of 4356 square miles. Population 590,754.
4. KAIRA Collectorate, containing an area of 1869 square miles. Population 566,513.
5. CANDEISH Collectorate, containing an area of 9311 square miles. Population 685,619.
6. TANNAH Collectorate, containing an area of 5477 square miles. Population 764,320.
7. POONAH Collectorate, containing an area of 5298 square miles. Population 604,990.
8. AHMEDNUGGUR Collectorate, including Nassick Sub-Collectorate, containing an area of 9931 square miles. Population 929,809.
9. SHOLAPORE Collectorate, containing an area of 4991 square miles. Population 613,863.
10. BELGAUM Collectorate, containing an area of 5405 square miles. Population 860,193.
11. DHARWAR Collectorate, containing an area of 3837 square miles. Population 647,196.
12. RUTNAGHERRY Collectorate, containing an area of 3964 square miles. Population 625,782.
13. BOMBAY ISLAND, including Colaba, containing an area of 18 square miles. Population 566,119.

The NON-REGULATION PROVINCES, under the control of the Bombay Government, are three, as follow:—

1. COLABA (formerly Angria's), containing an area of 318 square miles. Population 53,453.
2. SCINDE, containing Shikarpore, Hyderabad, and Kurrachee. Area 52,120 square miles. Population 1,274,744.
3. SATTARA,* containing an area of 10,222 square miles. Population 1,005,771.

The EASTERN STRAITS SETTLEMENTS are four, as follow:—

1. PENANG, containing an area of 160 square miles. Population 39,589.
2. PROVINCE WELLESLEY, containing an area of 140 square miles. Population 51,509.
3. SINGAPORE, containing an area of 275 square miles. Population 57,421.
4. MALACCA, containing an area of 1000 square miles. Population 54,021.

The NATIVE STATES, which, although not under the direct rule, being still within the limits of the political supremacy of the East India Company, require to be classed with reference to the British authority, by which they are immediately controlled. They are as follow:—

## I.—BENGAL.

The Government of Bengal keeps—

A Political Resident at HYDERABAD,† in the Deccan, at the court of the Nizam, whose territories extend over an area of 95,337 square miles, with a population of 10,666,080, and a subsidiary alliance.

A Political Resident at LUCKNOW,‡ at the court of the King of Oude, whose territories extend over an area of 23,738 square miles, with a population of 2,970,000, and a subsidiary alliance.

A Political Resident at KATMANDOO, for the Rajah of Nepaul, whose territories extend over an area of 54,500 square miles, with a population of 1,940,000. This state is not under British protection; but the rajah is bound by treaty to abide, in certain cases, by the decision of the British government, and is prohibited from retaining in his service subjects of any European or American state.

A Political Resident at NAGPORE, with the Rajah of Berar, whose territories extend over an area of 76,432 square miles, with a population of 4,650,000, and a subsidiary alliance.

The Governor-General's Agent for SCINDIAH'S Dominions, Bundelcund, Saugor, and Nerbuddah territories, has the protection of Gwalior, containing a territory of 33,119

* The deposition of the rajah has altered the relations of his territory to the Company.

† Recently annexed to the Company's territories.

‡ The King of Oude deposed, and his country annexed.

square miles, with a population of 3,228,512, and a subsidiary alliance,—and also of Bundelcund, comprising the small states of Adjyghur, Allypoora, Bijawur, Baonee, Behut, Bijna, Berounda, Bhysondah, Behree, Chirkaree, Chutterpore, Dutteah, Doorwai, Gurowlee, Gorihar, Jhansi, Jussoo, Jignee, Khuddee, Kampta, Logasee, Mukree, Mowagoon, Nyagaon, Oorcha, Punna, Paharee, Puhrah, Paldeo, Poorwa, Sumpthur, Surehlah, Tohree Futtehpore, and Taraon—the Saugor and Nerbuddah territory, comprising Kothee, Mytheer, Ocheyrah, Rewa, and Mookundpore, Sohawul, and Shaghur, containing an area of 56,311 square miles, with a population of 5,871,112.

The Resident at INDORE has the protection of Indore, containing an area of 8318 square miles, with a population of 815,164, and a subsidiary alliance,—and also of Amjherra, Alle Mohun, or Rajpore Ali, Burwanee, Dhar, Dewas, Jowra, and its Jaghiredars, Jabooa, Rutlam, and Seeta Mhow, extending over an area of 15,680 square miles, with a population of 1,415,200.

The BHOPAL Political Agent, under the Resident at Indore, has the protection of Bhopal, Rajghur, and Nursinghur, and Koorwaee, extending over an area of 8312 square miles, with a population of 815,360.

The Governor-General's Agents for the states of RAJPOOTANA have the protection of the states of Alwur, Bhurtpore, Bikaneer, Jessulmeer, Kishenghur, Kerowlee, Tonk, and its dependencies, Dholepore, Kotah, Shallawur, Boondee, Joudpore, Jeypore, Odeypore, Pertabghurr, Doongerpore, Banswara, and Serohee, extending over an area of 119,359 square miles, with a population of 8,745,098.

The Agent in ROHILCUND has the protection of Rampore, extending over an area of 720 square miles, with a population of 320,400.

The Superintendent of the HILL STATES has the protection of Bhagul, Bughat, Bujee, Bejah, Bulsun, Bussahir, Dhamie, Dhoorcattie, Durwhal, Hindoor, or Nalaghur, Joobul, Kothar, Koomyhar, Keonthul, Koomharsin, Kuhloor, Mangul, Muhlog, Manee Meyrah, Sirmoor, Mundi, and Sookeit, extending over an area of 11,017 square miles, with a population of 673,457.

The DELHI Agency has the protection of Jhujjur, Bahadoorghur, Bullubghur, Patowdee, Deojana, Loharoo, and Furruckuggur, extending over an area of 1835 square miles, with a population of 217,550.

The Commissioner and Superintendent of the CIS-SUTLEJ States has the protection of the following Sikh states (protected since April 25, 1809), Puttiala, Jheend, Farreedkote, Rai Kote, Boorech (Dealghur), Mundote, Chichrowlee, Nabha, and Mulair Kotla, extending over an area of 6746 square miles, with a population of 1,005,154.

The Political Agent on the SOUTH-WEST FRONTIER has the protection of Korea, Sirjooja, Jushpore, Odeypore, Suctee, Sohnpore, Burgun, Nowagur, Ryghur, Patna, Gangpore, Keriall, Bonei, Phooljee, Sarunghur, Bora Samba, Bombra, Singbhoom, Kursava, and Serickala, extending over an area of 25,431 square miles, with a population of 1,245, 655.

The Superintendent at DARJEELING protects and superintends Sikkim, containing an area of 2504 square miles, with a population of 92,648.

The Board of Administration for the affairs of the PUNJAUB has the charge and protection of the Nabob of Bhawulpore, whose territories extend over an area of 20,003 square miles, with a population of 600,000—and of Gholab Singh, with his territory (including Cashmere), extending over an area of 25,123 square miles, with a population of 750,000.

The Governor-General's Agent for the NORTH-EAST FRONTIER has the charge and protection of Cooch Behar, Tuleram Senaputty, and of the Cossya and Garrow Hills, comprising the Garrows, Ram Rye, Nustung, Muriow, Molyong, Mahram, Osimla, and Kyrim, and other petty states, with an area of 7711 square miles, and a population of 231,605.

A Political Agent protects Munneepore, containing an area of 7584 square miles, with a population of 75,840. —Tipperah, an independent jungle country, containing an area of 7632 square miles, with a population of 7632,—and the Cuttack Mehals, viz.:—Dhenkanaul, Autgur, Berumbah, Tiggreah, Banky, Nyaghur, Kundiapurra, Runpore, Hindole, Angool, Nursingpore, Talchur, Neelgur, Koonjerry, Mohurbunge, Boad, Autmallic, and Duspulla. Area 16,929 square miles. Population 761,805.

## II.—MADRAS.

The NATIVE STATES, subordinate to the MADRAS Government, are as follow:—

A Resident has charge of COCHIN. Area 1988 square miles, with a population of 288,176, and a subsidiary alliance.

A Commissioner manages MYSORE. Area 30,886 square miles, with a population of 3,000,000, and a subsidiary alliance.

A Resident has charge of TRAVANCORE. Area 4722 square miles, with a population of 1,011,824, and a subsidiary alliance.

A Government Agent for the District of VIZAGAPATAM has charge of the Jeypore and Hill Zemindars, with their territories, extending over an area of 13,041 square miles, with a population of 391,230, as they are protected.

## III.—BOMBAY.

The NATIVE STATES, subordinate to the BOMBAY Government, are as follow:—

The Political Resident at BARODA superintends the Guicowar's dominions, comprising an area of 4399 square miles, with a population of 325,526, and a subsidiary alliance.

The Political Agent at KATTYWAR superintends several petty chiefs, with a territory of 19,850 square miles, and a population of 1,468,900.

The Political Agent at PAHLUNPORE controls Pahlunpore, Radhunpore, Warye, Thurraud, Merwara, Wow, Soegaum, Charcut, Therwarra, Doddur, Baubier, Thurra, Kankrej, and Chowrar. Area 5250 square miles. Population 388,500.

The Collector of KAIRA has the protection and charge of Cambay and Ballasinore, containing an area of 758 square miles, with a population of 56,092.

The Agent to the Governor at SURAT protects Dhurrumpore, Bansda, and Suckeen, containing an area of 850 square miles, with a population of 62,900.

The Collector of AHMEDNUGGUR has the charge of the Daung Rajahs, Peint, and Hursool, containing an area of 1700 square miles. Population 125,800.

A Political Agent protects and manages KOLAPORE, containing an area of 3445 square miles, with a population of 500,000.

A Political Superintendent manages SAWUNT WARREE, with an area of 800 square miles, and a population of 120,000.

A Political Agent in MYHEE CAUNTA controls Myhee Caunta, Daunta, Edur, Ahmednuggur, Peit, and other petty states, Rewa Caunta, Loonawarra, Soauth, Barreea, Odeypore (Chota), Mewassee States, Rajpeepla and other petty states, and Wusravee, and adjacent country. Area 5329 square miles. Population 394,346.

A Political Agent superintends CUTCH, with an area of 6764 square miles, and a population of 500,536.

The Sattara Jaghiredar of Akulkote, with an area of 75 square miles, and a population of 8325, is under the superintendence of the Collector of SHOLAPORE; and the remaining chiefs of Bhore, Juth, Ound, Phultun, and Wyhee, are under the protection of the Commissioner in SATTARA.

The Southern Mahratta Jaghiredars of Sanglee, Koonwar, Meeruj, Jhumkhundee, Moodhole, Nurgoond, Hablee, and Savanoor, are under a political agent in the SOUTHERN MAHRATTA country, and are protected. Area 3700 square miles. Population 410,700.

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The foreign possessions in India are now reduced to those of two powers, viz.: the FRENCH and the PORTUGUESE. The French possessions were often taken, but restored by the treaties of peace in 1763, 1783, 1802, and 1815. For several years during the war in the beginning of the present century, the Portuguese settlements were occupied and protected by British troops. In 1824 the Dutch exchanged their possessions for the British settlements in Sumatra; and the Danes sold Serampore and Tranquebar in 1844.

FRENCH SETTLEMENTS.

PONDICHERRY, with an area of 107 square miles, and a population of 79,743.

CARICAL, with an area of 63 square miles, and a population of 49,307.

YANAON, with an area of 13 square miles, and a population of 6881.

MAHEE, with an area of 2 square miles, and a population of 2616.

CHANDERNAGORE, with an area of 3 square miles, and a population of 32,670.

PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENTS.

GOA, and the Island of DAMAUN and DIU, with an area of 800 square miles, of which the population is said not to exceed 360,000.

Various alterations have occurred in the arrangements of districts, resulting from the annexation of new provinces, such as the Nizam's country, the kingdom of Oude, territory connected with Scinde and the Punjaub, and the recent provinces conquered from Birmah—Tenesserim, and more lately, Pegu. It is probable that new arrangements of territorial division will depend upon the means taken for the pacification of the country upon the suppression of the great military revolt. The readjustment of provinces alters the relative amount of superficial area, and of population. The above, however, is the nearest available approximation to accuracy of detail, and will at least furnish the reader with such a general knowledge of the extent and population of the presidencies, their districts, and dependencies, as will enable him to approach the subject with some adequate idea of the greatness of our Indian empire.

Colonel Sykes, M.P., called for returns, which were furnished by the Board of Control, and which, in some respects, correct the above details, giving a considerably higher estimate of the numbers of the population, and a somewhat larger estimate of the area in square miles. According to the papers furnished to the House of Commons, the gross total area of all the governments of India is 1,466,676 square miles; the British states occupying 837,412; the native states, 627,910; and the French and Portuguese possessions, 1254; and that the gross total population is 180,884,297 souls—namely, 131,990,901 in the British states, 48,376,247 in the native, and 517,149 in the foreign possessions of France and Portugal. The British states, under the governor-general of India in council, cover an area of 246,050 square miles, and are peopled by 23,255,972 souls; the states under the lieutenant-governor of Bengal occupy 221,969 square miles, and are peopled by 40,852,397 souls; the states under the lieutenant-governor of the north-west provinces occupy 105,759 miles, and are peopled by 33,655,193 souls; the states under the Madras government occupy 132,090 miles, and are peopled by 22,437,297 souls; and the states under the Bombay government occupy 131,544 square miles, and are peopled by 11,790,042 souls. The native states in the Bengal presidency occupy 515,533 square miles, and are peopled by 38,702,206 souls; those in the Madras presidency occupy 51,802 miles, and are peopled by 5,213,671 souls; and those in the Bombay presidency occupy a space of 60,575 square miles, and are peopled by 6,440,370 souls. The French territory in India covers an area of 188 square miles, and is peopled by 203,887 souls; while the Portuguese territory occupies an area of 1066 square miles, and is peopled by 313,262 souls.

Even parliamentary returns cannot be accepted as absolutely correct, either as to the number of population, or the area of territory, concerning which this chapter affords the most probable estimate. As official reports they are, however, entitled to all the weight which superior opportunity for acquiring information possesses. How vast the multitude of human beings who inhabit the wide, fertile, and picturesque regions comprehended under the generic designation, INDIA! What civilised empire ever before possessed a number of subjects at all approaching that which peoples the Indian dominions of Britain?

The races which inhabit these regions are various—Hindoos, Chinese, Tartars, Affghans, Persians, Arabs, Beloochees, and other tribes of lesser influence, swell the human tide which has ebbed and flowed in so many revolutions within the boundaries of those coveted realms. The Hindoo race forms the majority of the people; its origin is lost in extreme antiquity. In the outline that will be given of ancient Indian history, the question of race will come more properly under review; it is here only necessary to say that numerically this is the prevailing tribe of the inhabitants of the peninsula. The Mohammedan conquerors of India overflowed the country from Affghan-

istan, Persia, and Central Asia. They are numerically much inferior to the Hindoos, but have maintained an impression of authority and power which, apart from their religion, distinguishes them from the Hindoo population.

The religious history of India is curious and interesting, and will fall within the scope of the political history, for the one is too intimately blended with the other for separate record. In describing with accuracy the doctrines and practices at present prevailing, an intimate knowledge of the early religious history of the country is important, for it is not possible to know thoroughly the moral influence of a religion without penetrating its philosophy, and that involves a knowledge of its origin and progress. The difficulty of ascertaining the origin of Hindooism is great, not only from the remote antiquity into which investigation must penetrate, but from the fact that the Greeks, in their accounts of India (and they are the most reliable historians of ancient India), so associate the gods of Hindoostan with those of Greece, and use the names of their own deities interchangeably with different Hindoo gods, that the theology of Hindooism has been confused, and its early history often as much clouded as illustrated, by Greek vanity, prejudice, and liberality, strangely blended.

The Hindoo people do not appear to have been the earliest inhabitants of the country now recognised as theirs. Another race, and perhaps other races, were spread over the territory before its possession by the Hindoo. Dr. Cook Taylor considers that they were barbarous tribes, who fell away before the superior knowledge of a peaceful people, who, by their science, morality, and religious propaganda, obtained the ascendancy which other peoples have acquired by arms,—that they were rather settlers than invaders. He seems to rest this opinion upon the fact of their having a language so perfect as the Sanscrit, and a priesthood so elaborately organised as the Brahminical. Neither of these grounds seems sufficient for the hypothesis. There is no proof that the early settlers, or victors, whichever they were, had an elaborately constructed hierarchy, or ritual,—nor are there any traditions among the descendants of the race who originally encroached upon the territory now called Hindoostan, to prove that they came simply as peaceful settlers; while there are many indications, even in their own traditions, that they superseded races, or a race, less aggressive and subtle. The cruel distinctions of caste which prevailed among the Hindoos of early times, although far less rigorous than that which their descendants now observe, forbids the idea of their having been a peculiarly gentle sept, leaning for power upon their moral, religious, and intellectual superiority in a propagandism of peace. They are generally supposed to have come originally from Central Asia, by way of Affghanistan and the Punjaub, rapidly multiplying in numbers, but not by fresh accessions of the original stock. The whole tribe seems to have moved at once, and gradually to have advanced, seeking more fertile lands, until it finally settled in the country now known as Hindoostan Proper.

The Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, examining the laws of caste, as laid down in the book of Menu, concluded that the lowest caste was a vanquished one, and the descendants of the original inhabitants, while the privileged castes were the descendants of the conquerors. "It is impossible not to conclude that the 'twice born' (the higher castes) were a conquering people; that the servile class were the subdued aborigines; and that the independent Sudra towns, which were in each of the small territories into which Hindoostan was divided, still retained their independence; while the whole of the tract beyond the Himalaya Mountains remained as yet untouched by the invaders, and unpenetrated by their religion." Mr. Elphinstone then suggests a doubt, whether the conquerors, instead of being a foreign people, were not a native tribe, or a spreading and aggrandizing sect of superior intelligence and energy. After giving a summary of the arguments for this view, while his own leaning is obviously to the former, he says, "The question, therefore, is still open. There is no reason for thinking that the Hindoos ever inhabited any country but their present one; and there is little for denying that they may have done so before the earliest trace of their records or traditions." Mr. Elphinstone's own mind seems to have wavered as he wrote—the conflicting evidences noted by his own pen caused his opinions to fluctuate. It seems, however, from the evidences presented by himself, that the Hindoo people were wanderers from another region, bringing with them a religion more simple and more conformable to truth than that which is professed by their descendants; and as their religion gradually became corrupt, their institutions became more unjust, and were pervaded by more of a class spirit. The question of race is so far mixed up with the origin of their religion as to render this reference to it here necessary. There can be no doubt that the tribe entered North-western India with religious ideas but little tinctured with super-

stition, at all events comparatively little. The simple but sublime faith which was borne from Ararat with the first wanderers, after the Deluge subsided, was that which mainly inspired the hope and moral life of the better instructed among the primitive Hindoos, however impotent it might be upon the hearts of the masses, who, in obedience to the migratory character of the early nations, went forth in quest of lands adapted to their wants and dispositions.

The religion of a people may be ascertained by their sacred books or written creed, if they have such—by the opinions they avow in their intercourse—by their objects and forms of worship, and by their moral feeling and practice. The Hindoos recognise two classes of books as of divine authority, which contradict one another — the Vedas and the Puranas. The former are consistent with themselves; the latter self-contradictory. The former has a tincture of the same philosophy pervading them all; the latter are incompatible with one another. The former may be accepted as a whole—as constituting together one authority on matters of religion; the latter propound opinions mutually so adverse as to necessitate the rejection of all, or the existence of a number of sects according to the portion of the proposed revelation which obtains the confidence of the students.

The Vedas are of great antiquity, and are written in a very old form of Sanscrit. Much discussion exists as to the date which should be ascribed to them, but the opinion of Sir W. Jones is that which has generally been accepted,—that they existed about fourteen hundred years before Christ. Our knowledge of them is very imperfect, only a small portion having been translated into English or any other European tongue.

Each of these Vedas is divided into two parts at least, some into three. The first is invariably devotional, containing prayers and hymns; the second moral and didactic; the third (when there is a third division) is theological, argumentative dissertations on the doctrines propounded being comprised. Where there is not a third division, the second contains the theological.

Concerning God the Vedas are polytheistic, although nothing can be more clear and distinct than the doctrine of a supreme Deity. Mr. Colebrook, the eminent oriental scholar, represents the Indian Scriptures as teaching "the unity of the Deity, in whom the universe is comprehended; and the seeming polytheism which it exhibits, offers the elements, and the stars, and planets, as gods. . . The worship of deified heroes forms no part of the system, nor are the incarnations of deities suggested in any part of the text, although such are hinted at by commentators." This statement is scarcely consistent with itself, for if it "offers the elements, and the stars, and planets as gods," it is polytheism, even although, in the language of Mr. Colebrook, "the worship of deified heroes is no part of the system."

Professor Wilson, who is at least as competent a judge as Mr. Colebrook, does not affirm the monotheism of the Vedas, although he denies that they teach idolatry, by which he means the worship of images created by the hands of man. His words are, "It is true that the prevailing character of the ritual of the Vedas is the worship of the personified elements; of Agni, or fire; Seedra, the firmament; Vaya, the air; Varanee, water; Aditya, the sun; Soma, the moon; and other elementary and planetary personages. It is also true that the worship of the Vedas is addressed to unreal personages, and not to visible types." Dr. Cook Taylor quotes portions of those passages under the heading, "Unity of the Deity Taught." Mr. Capper, usually so accurate in his representations, quoting Elphinstone, says, "The leading doctrine of the Brahminical worship is the unity of God. Their books (the Vedas) teach that there is but one deity, the Supreme Spirit, the Lord of the Universe, whose work is the universe." Mr. Capper also gives Colebrook as his authority, but that gentleman represents the doctrine of the Vedas concerning the universe to be, that it is a part of God. This is probably his reason for considering that, after all, they teach the worship of one god only, as they regard the elements to be portions of the divine nature. Professor Wilson, however, states that they personify the elements, and worship these personifications. The Hon. Mr. Elphinstone says, that while the primary doctrine of the Vedas is the divine unity, yet, "among the creatures of the Supreme Being are some superior to man, who should be adored, and from whom protection and favours may be obtained through prayer. The most frequently mentioned of these are the gods of the elements, the stars, and the planets, but other personal powers and virtues likewise appear."

It is evident that it became the fashion for writers on India, especially those having any connection with the country, to make the most of its early literature and theology. The Vedas proclaim one god, who is supreme, and many that are subordinate and derived from him. This was the form of all ancient polytheism, and scarcely any polytheistic religion, however degraded and dark, but recognises one supreme being, Lord of all, who is unity;

although the most suitable inscription they could place upon his temple would be that which the Athenians inscribed on an altar in the days of the Apostle Paul—"To the unknown God." According to Sir W. Jones, certain learned Brahmins represent the language of the Vedas as not only positive on the subject of the divine unity, but strikingly expressive and beautiful. Some specimens which he gives would adorn the pages of a Christian theological professor. Assuming the correctness of these translations, there can be no reason to question the accuracy of those given by Colebrook, Professor Wilson, and others, which represent the doctrine of an inferior degree of worship, or of several degrees of inferior worship, as belonging to creatures real or imaginary. It is asserted by some that the Hindoos in their migrations brought the Vedas with them; other writers contend that they are the expression of the popular opinion committed to writing in the land of their conquest or adoption. However this may be, the doctrines described are such as had their origin at Babylon, and thence spread over every nation of the earth. Humboldt and Prescott found them in Mexico. The Saxons brought them to Britain. The Celts of every tribe in the British Islands substantially held them, and over all Asia they prevailed. Babylon was the parent of polytheism before it became the capital of that other form of idolatry, which, with stricter accuracy of term, bears the name. Colonel Kennedy, known as a Sanscrit scholar, represents the Brahmins as having come from Babylon.*

Our knowledge of the Vedas is generally deduced from the Institutes of Menu, and these Sir W. Jones considers to have been compiled about the twelfth century before Christ; but the Hon. Mr. Elphinstone, with better reason, assigns a date three hundred years later. It is "an open question" whether Menu was a real or dramatic personage; the amount of evidence is in favour of the former opinion. It is probable that the name is derived from a root which signifies to number, and may have reference to the arrangement of times and laws, to the Hindoo calendar of religious festivals and ceremonies. The religion, as well as the code of jurisprudence of the earliest Hindoos settled in Hindoostan, is supposed by the learned in Hindooism to be found in the code of Menu, although some departure from the purity of the Vedas, both in theology and ethics, is believed to characterise the Institutes. The doctrine of a Trinity is indicated in the Vedas—Fire, Air, and the Sun,† "into some one of which the others are resolvable."* Genii, good and evil, nymphs, demons, supernatural beasts and birds, are described as belonging to the class of existences excelling man in power. Man is described as body, soul, and spirit, nearly in the phraseology of the Apostle Paul. Communion with the gods is to be maintained by personal expiations of sin, prayers, and ritual observances.

It is curious that while Elphinstone writes of the divine unity as a doctrine of the Vedas, he, in the following passage, describes the worship prescribed by them:—"The gods are worshipped by burnt-offerings of clarified butter and libations of the juice of the moon-plant, at which ceremonies they are invoked by name; but though idols are mentioned, and in one place desired to be respected, yet the adoration of them is never mentioned but with disapprobation."

According to various authorities, five sacraments are enjoined by the Vedas, which, according to the strange expression of Elphinstone, the devotees "must daily perform." It is difficult to understand what these writers mean by a sacrament, for the five mentioned do not answer to any definition of the term accepted among theologians, nor to the derivation of the word.† The five great cardinal duties referred to by this term are—studying the Veda, making oblations to the manes, and to fire in honour of the deities, giving rice to living creatures, and receiving guests with honour. The modes in which some of these, especially the first, are to be accomplished, are very perplexing, being associated with so many difficulties as to render the performance no pleasure, and very often altogether impracticable.

The morality of these sacred books is, on the whole, rather better than the theology. This is the case in all polytheistical systems in general terms, but the purer ethics so expressed are generally lost in a selfish and evasive casuistry.

The odious principle of caste is maintained in these earlier and purer writings of Hindooism. According to the Vedas there were four castes; first, the Brahmins, or priestly. All Brahmins were not necessarily priests, but all priests should be Brahmins. The office of the priesthood was not one of dignity, although it was one of sacredness. This is not usually the case in the hierarchy of reli-

* *Researches*, p. 348.

† Mr. Howitt represents the Christian doctrine of the Trinity as derived from this source. In a work entitled *Revelation the Source of all that is Good in other Systems*, the author of this History has shown that the polytheistic theories of remote antiquity derived this tenet from primitive revelation, which was obscured and defaced by superstition and vain philosophical speculation.

* Elphinstone, vol. i. ch. iv.

† *Sacramentum*, an oath.

gions, but it is so occasionally in other than the Brahminical. The Brahmin was interdicted from placing himself on a level with the ranks below his own, in a great variety of particulars. The austerities prescribed as necessary to the religious course of a Brahmin were numerous, foolish, and severe. His life was divided into four periods, the last only was exempt from penances and mortifications; constant contemplation was its work. The privileges of this order were also very great. They alone possessed the right to explain, or even read, the Vedas. Under certain restrictions the next two classes were allowed their perusal. As these books are the source of theology, religious light was the prerogative of the Brahmin; being the source of law, the judges must belong to the class who alone had unrestrained access to them, and the privilege and power to expound them. All sickness being considered as the result of sin, the Vedas alone prescribed the proper treatment of the invalid; the Brahmin was necessarily the only physician. All other classes were bound to treat Brahmins with the most pious reverence. A Sudra, the lowest class, must submit to the most contumelious treatment from them, and feel honoured by any notice, even if it consisted in personal chastisement. The Veysias were bound to make presents to the Brahmins, and see that they wanted for nothing; the Kshatryas, to support their cause and defend them. For a man of any other class to overpower a Brahmin in argument, subjected him to a fine. To kill a Brahmin was an inexpiable sin. Kings were bound not to reprove, but to entreat them, even when obviously in the wrong. Their persons and property were free from impost, and if they required anything, none from whom they asked it should refuse, "for to refuse them anything is impiety." If a Brahmin committed the most heinous offence against the law, or against nature, he must not be punished capitally; yet for the smallest infraction of their own caste obligations the heaviest penalties were imposed. They had power over the gods, and it was dangerous for a deity to refuse a Brahmin's prayer. The second order was the Kshatryas, or military class. To this kings and governors belonged, although not unfrequently in the earlier ages these offices were held by men of the first class. The Brahmins were jealous of this caste, and the jealousy was mutual. The third was the Veysias, or merchant class, who were bound to devote themselves to trade and husbandry. This caste was more numerous than both the former together. The fourth was the Sudras, or servile class. These were to seek service with a Brahmin, failing to obtain which, they were to seek it with a Kshatrya or a Veysia, and if able to obtain it with none of them, they were to find subsistence as they best could. Elphinstone, Capper, and other writers, affirm that the condition of villains under the feudal system was much worse than that of the Sudra, because the personal independence and property of the latter were secured. But of what avail was this recognition when he was brought up under the conviction that he had no moral right to acquire property; that the ambition to do so was sinful; that he was born to be a servant, and ought in all things to seek conformity to this destiny; and that his chief hope of a happy transmigration hereafter depended upon fidelity in his service to a Brahmin? No class of human beings were ever imbued with so humiliating an appreciation of themselves both for time and eternity. To submit to all manner of hard treatment and contempt was the virtue most inculcated upon them; and at every step, from the cradle to death, the ceremonials of Hindooism stamped the Sudra, spiritually and morally, as well as physically and socially, a degraded being. The Veda was not to be read in his presence, and "it was pollution to teach him its sublime doctrines." He was to be fed with the leavings of his master. Should any one kill a Sudra, he was to be fined, or undergo a penance, the same in amount or degree as if he had killed a dog. Such are the doctrines of the much lauded Vedas concerning him; and the constitution of Menu, based upon these Vedas, was designed to render stringent practically every invidious tenet of the sacred books.

There was one peculiarity of his degradation which perhaps pressed harder on the Sudra than all the rest. Members of the three superior castes were, at a certain age, in virtue of certain ceremonies, invested with the sacred cord, upon which occasion they were said to be born again. The term, "a twice-born man," is a generic phrase, which comprises members of all castes except that of the Sudra. The effect of this distinction was to lower the Sudra almost to a level with the brute—at all events to place him on the verge of the unholy world, to which Hindoo sanctity and privilege could not be extended. If it did not place him out of the pale of salvation, it was, in the phraseology of certain modern bigoted schismatics, to "hand him over to the *uncovenanted* mercies of God."

The origin of this custom of the twice born is a subject of inquiry very interesting to Christians, as the expression occurs in the third chapter of St. John's Gospel, in our Lord's conversation with Nicodemus,—"Ve-

rily, verily, I say unto you, unless a man be born again, he cannot enter the kingdom of heaven." There can be little doubt that the idea was derived by the Hindoos from Babylon, whether the theory of Colonel Kennedy be correct or erroneous as to their having themselves come thence.

That the doctrine of regeneration of the heart by the instrumentality of truth, under the gracious influence of God, was a doctrine of the patriarchal world, is obvious to all persons acquainted with the Scriptures, however ignorant of this tenet the generality of the Jews were, even of the better instructed, in the days of the Saviour. That Noah taught it to his children and their descendants is equally plain to the Bible student. But this truth, like all others propagated by him, became clouded by human speculation. Men, wise in their own conceits, became fools, "turned the truth of God into a lie," and perverted alike the theory and facts of primeval religion. Babylon became the great centre of corruption, and the germs of human apostasy may all be found in the theogonies and philosophies which emanated thence, and spread throughout the world. The original doctrine of revelation, here noticed, was perverted among the rest; that which was spiritual in essence and in operation was perverted into the mere ceremonial, while to the ceremony itself was attributed supernatural power.

In the Babylonian mysteries the commemoration of the Flood, of Noah, and of the Ark, was mingled with idolatrous worship. Noah was deified under the titles of Saturn, Osiris, or Janus, "the god of gods," in most of the early nations. In Babylon all this had its birth. Noah, as having lived in two worlds, was called Dephnes, or "twice born." It was believed that all who went through the prescribed ceremonial would become like Noah—regenerate, made anew, made righteous by the process through which they passed—"twice born." * Humboldt and Prescott found this idea prevailing in Mexico as it prevailed at Babylon. There would be no difficulty in tracing it through all the superstitions of nations, as an original doctrine of revelation perverted to pagan purposes.

It is not necessary to dwell further upon the ancient religion of the Vedas, and the Institutions of Menu; for although in these rests the basis of Hindooism, that religious system became greatly modified through the lapse of so vast a period of time as has passed since the Book of Menu developed, and, as it were, consolidated, the laws and tenets of the older writings.

The simple polytheism of the Vedas, which was itself a corruption of the primitive doctrine of God, became clouded and polluted by innumerable superstitions, and, except in the institution of caste, the Hindoo religion of the present day bears but little resemblance to that of the age of the Vedas or of Menu. Even caste is not maintained in its primitive simplicity. As the doctrines became less pure, the ritual became more strict: prayers, penances, sacrifices, increased with the number of the gods; and the rigidity of caste, in certain ceremonial acts, became more stern as the morality upon which it professedly rested ceased to be observed with primitive exactness.

The deterioration of the Hindoo religion was gradual. From the personification of the elements, the people descended to the representation of the personifications in works of human skill. They made to themselves the likeness of things in the heavens above, the earth beneath, and the waters under the earth; they bowed down to them, and worshipped them, until the thing represented was itself lost sight of in the visible emblem. The images themselves were made more and more grotesque, hideous, and absurd, as the imagination became less pure, the understanding less vigorous, and the moral purpose less determinate. The grossness of the image re-acted upon the ideal of the deities, until the satire of Augustine upon another people became applicable—"The same gods are adored in the temple, and laughed at in the theatre." Hindooism sunk from its philosophical and theistical speculations to a filthy and sanguinary idolatry. Nothing became too mean out of which to make a god, and no conception was too hideous as the ideal of its fabrication. In the shaded groves of that bright land—by the retired inlets of its rolling rivers—on the shores of every placid and silent lake—within the public and sumptuous temple and the retired and picturesque sanctuary—stand the frightful forms of innumerable gods, before whose presence licentious orgies, self-torture, and human sacrifice, are no less acts of devotion than meaningless forms, mutterings, and ablutions. Hindooism has had its apologists, even among modern historians of reputation (for what form of apostasy has not its apologists among the learned and the great?); but the religion of modern Hindooism is no better, and in many respects

* In a work entitled the *Moral Identity of Babylon and Rome*, the author mentions that the name Shinar, given to Babylon in the Scriptures, is expressive of this idea. Read without points, Shinar is Shenor, which he derives from *shenè*, to repent, and *noër*, childhood. "The land of Shinar" is thus made "the land of regeneration."

much worse, than the forms of idolatry against which the anathema of sacred Scripture is pronounced, and to it as well as to them the curse of Jehovah goes forth—"Confounded be they who serve graven images, that boast themselves of idols."

The deterioration of Hindooism is strikingly marked in the writings of the Paranas. The Brahmins profess to believe, and the mass of the people really do believe, that the Paranas were written by the authors of the Vedas. Evidence is not wanting to prove that they are the productions of various periods, some of these writings being scarcely three hundred years old, although others may possibly be a thousand. These books were, however, the arrangement and embodiment of the popular belief. The corruptions formed material for the Paranas. These too faithfully reflected the general opinion, not to be received with popular favour. The causes which produced the general declension of religion are thus ingeniously set forth by Dr. Cooke Taylor:—"The simple and primitive form of worship was succeeded in some remote and unknown age by the adoration of images and types, and of historical personages elevated to the rank of divinities, which swelled into the most cumbrous body of legend and mythology to be found in any pagan nation.* It is probable that the religious revolution was the work of the poets; the story of the Rama Yana, and the Mhaha Bharrat, turns wholly upon the doctrine of incarnation, all the leading personages being incarnate gods, demigods, and celestial spirits. We know that a similar change was wrought in ancient Greece by Homer and Hesiod, for previous to the appearance of their theogonies the objects of worship were the Titans, who were properly elementary deities, like the gods of the Asiatic nations. The legends which now constitute the Hindoo mythology are collected in the Paranas, works believed to have been written or compiled in the tenth century of our era, when the original religion had been corrupted, and the ancient system of civilisation had fallen into decay." It is remarkable that the best things under heaven become the worst when abused. No arts have contributed so much to the solace and civilisation of man as poetry, painting, sculpture, and music,—and these have been the grand instruments in creating and sustaining idolatrous systems. It may, however, be doubted whether his love of classic analogy did not lead the learned doctor to attribute too great an influence to the poets of the Hindoos. At all events, the Paranas depict faithfully the religion of heathen Hindoostan, and the study of these writings, and of the worship and opinion of the people, presents a religion which only in some of its fundamental ideas resembles the ancient faith of the Vedas.

The present system of Hindoo religion is glaringly polytheistic and idolatrous. In the progress from early polytheism it would appear that three principle deities engaged the popular worship—Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva. The first is the Creator, the second the Preserver, the third the Destroyer. Although Vishnu is second in the order of the triad, he was before Brahma in order of being. Vishnu, the Preserver, slept upon the face of the waters which submerged the ruins of a former world. While thus in repose, a lotus sprang from his body, from which Brahma, the Creator, was produced. He created the elements and the world, and, among his other great works, produced Siva, the Destroyer, and the race of man. From his head he created the Brahmins (sacerdotal and noble); from his arms, the Kshatryas (warriors); from his thighs, the Veysias (merchants); from his feet, the Sudras (labourers). Brahma is but little reverenced, Vishnu and Siva receiving the worship formerly paid to the whole triad. Brahma is represented with four heads, on each a mitre resembling that worn by a Latin or rather Greek prelate. He has four hands, in one of which is held a spoon, in another a string of beads, in the third a water-jug, and in the fourth the sacred Vedas. His image is painted in golden and vermillion colours. Vishnu is generally figured as reposing on a lotus, or on the many-headed serpent Amanta (Eternity). His image is painted of some dark colour or black. Siva, although in the unamiable character of a destroyer, is a greater god than those from whom he sprang. Eternity (Maha Kali) is, however, represented as his conqueror. He is depicted upon a throne, or riding on the bull Nandi, and painted in white or bright colours. His image is occasionally made with five heads, but more generally with one head, having three eyes, the third in the centre of the forehead. These eyes symbolically express his omniscience—time past, present, and future, being open to his glance. These deities have had various incarnations and manifestations, are the subjects of many absurd legends, and the parents of numerous offspring of gods and men. Siva is most generally represented with his consort Parvadi, who was a very warlike lady or divinity,

* The Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone denies that the number of gods accepted by the orthodox Hindoos is by any means so numerous as is generally represented, and accounts for the misapprehension. It is doubtful whether the gods and the legends of Greece and Rome were not more numerous than those of India.

having encountered and killed a great giant, and performed many other exploits equally bellicose.

In the doctrines of the triad there is evidently a vague conception of the original doctrine of a Trinity in Unity. In the early ages of apostasy, after the Deluge, Noah and his three sons were transformed into the supreme being, and a triune offspring. The story of Vishnu, the Preserver, resting on the face of the waters, after the destruction of a previous world, when Brahma, the Creator, came forth, is evidently a tradition of the Scripture passage—"The Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters," when creation came forth from the chaos of a previous state. With that tradition is mixed up the story of Noah in the Ark floating upon the Deluge above the wreck of the submerged world, and coming out of the Ark to re-people and replenish the earth. The serpent-throne of the god is a vague traditionary notion of the great serpent of Paradise, over whom the promised seed was ordained to triumph; the serpent, first dreaded, became at last worshipped.

Many of the other gods were, in earlier ages, only different forms and names of these three gods, but came at last to be regarded as separate deities. Thus, the Preserver, Vishnu, enthroned on the lotus leaf, and floating on the troubled seas, is represented under another name, as part man, part fish, the same attributes being attributed to him.

There is in all this, additional proof of the Chaldee origin of the Indian polytheism. In the Babylonian triune God, the three persons were—the Eternal Father, the Spirit of God incarnate in a human mother, and a Divine Son, the fruit of that incarnation.

Many of the legends concerning the other gods mix up ideas of the first promise in Eden with the earliest forms of Babylonian polytheism. Thus, Surya, or the Sun, is represented as becoming incarnate for the purpose of subduing the enemies of the gods, who must be subdued, according to the divine destinies, by one human born. The Babylonian polytheism made Taumuz the god incarnate, the Child of the Sun, the great object of Babylonian homage.

The form of half-man, half-fish, is precisely that of the Dagon of the Philistines, and the origin of that god was Babylonian. Bunsen, in his *Egypt*, quotes Barossus, the Chaldean historian, to show that the worship of this deity was founded upon a legend, that when men were very barbarous, there came up a beast from the Red Sea, half man, half fish, that civilised the Babylonians, taught them arts and sciences, and instructed them in politics and religion.

The queen-wife of Vishnu is also worshipped under the name of Lakshmi. Her worship and her name are supposed by certain antiquarians and philologists to be of Chaldean origin.

The worship of a woman as a great queen pervades all early polytheistic nations. This is traced to Semiramis, the Queen of Nimrod, the first great conqueror. It is maintained by a writer of great ability that, as Shemir is the Persian name of Semiramis, and Lhaka means beautiful, Lhakshmi means "the beautiful Shemir," or Semiramis. It is remarkable that the services of the Babylonian Shemir were conducted without sacrifices; her worshippers poured out drink-offerings, burnt incense, and offered cakes before her. This is the precise character of the services to the great Indian goddess.*

There is a god Rama, who is the offspring of Vishnu, and was King of Oude, an historical personage, who is by many of his worshippers confounded with Vishnu, or declared to be an incarnation of that god. Rama had a son, Chrishna, who is the favourite deity of modern Hindooism. He is the boy-god of India. This is plainly another version of the Babylonian god Taumuz.

The doctrine that the seed of the woman should bruise the head of the serpent, taught by Noah and his offspring, inspired the ambition of the infamous but beautiful and intellectual Semiramis to set up her son Taumuz as that promised seed, who became worshipped through her influence and his own exploits, and finally the mother, as well as the son, were made objects of adoration. That is the probable origin of the confused traditions of every ancient land, leading them to set up some beautiful ideal queen as the object of worship, and her son the incarnation of the supreme deity, the deliverer of gods and men, as also to be adored. It is the kernel-thought of primitive apostasy—the great blasphemy which runs through all heathen religions—the delusion which Satan has propagated and kept up to divert men from the doctrine of the true Messiah. Even the Jews were denounced by the prophets for wandering into this all-prevalent oriental idolatry. That the children gathered the sticks, and the women baked cakes to offer to the queen of heaven—that all classes joined in her adoration on occasion of a very general apostasy to this idolatry, is the complaint of the great prophet of the Hebrews. The picture is a fair portrait of the people of India at this day.

It would require more space than can be afforded in this work, to describe at greater

* "No sanguinary sacrifices are offered."—COLEMAN'S *Asiatic Researches*.

length the objects of idolatrous worship in India. Let it suffice to say, that while Colonel Kennedy, in his researches, recounts seventeen chief gods, and admits that the lesser ones are legion, some have ventured to affirm that 3,000,000 deities are worshipped.

Amongst the material terrestrial objects adored, the river Ganges has the chief place. Its waters cleanse from sin, and sanctify many dubious deeds. The chief doctrines treat of the modes by which the gods are to be appeased and worshipped, which are innumerable and horrible. All conceivable methods of self-inflicted torture are deemed necessary or desirable. The devotee will sit in a particular posture, with uplifted arm, until it stiffens and remains fixed; the hands are clenched and pressed until the nails grow through the flesh; hooks are placed in the muscles of the back, and the wretched sufferer is swung round with fearful rapidity, by ropes from poles fixed at a suitable elevation.

The world beyond the grave is portrayed in a manner calculated to affect the oriental imagination with supreme terror or delight. Each chief god has a heaven for his especial votaries—some are composed of gold and precious stones; and all the attributes of wealth and grandeur await the beatified. Others are fields of flowers, where pellucid waters roll through the fairy land; fragrant airs breathe eternal perfumes; light beams with unclouded glory, but with no fervid ray; exulting multitudes witness the achievments of gods and genii, and behold their enemies chased through worlds of despair by pursuers, whose looks and instruments of vengeance inspire immortal terror. By transmigrations in certain successions the spirits of the departed are blessed or punished; some are at last assimilated to the divinity, while others, losing all consciousness of a separate existence from deity, live and move and have their being in him. The most horrible acts of cruelty are deemed acceptable to God, even self-immolation. Thus the Hindoo mother leaves her female child by the waters of the Ganges, to be devoured by the alligators, or borne away by the rising waters. The contempt for female life, common to all superstitious creeds, uncivilised countries, and nations which, although having attained a high civilisation of circumstance, have a low civilisation of feeling, enables the Hindoo woman to forget her maternity, and tear from her bosom that which had its being there, to leave it to perish by the dark river and beneath the solitary heaven. Aged relatives, felt to be a burden, are, in their sickness, doomed to a similar fate.

The East India Company, by its humane exertions and authority, has succeeded in suppressing infanticide, and desertion of the sick and the aged; but their interference in the cause of humanity excited the superstitious animosity of the various castes.

The most terrible of all the religious cruelties of India is the Suttee. The poet Campbell has described this barbarous custom in a single couplet—

"The widowed Indian, when her lord expires,
Mounts the dread pile, and braves the funeral fires."

An eminent writer thus notices this practice:—"Of the modes adopted by the Hindoos of sacrificing themselves to the divine powers, none however has more excited the attention of the Europeans than the burning of the wives on the funeral piles of their husbands. To this cruel sacrifice the highest virtues are ascribed. 'The wife who commits herself to the flames with her husband's corpse, shall equal Arundhati, and reside in Swarga; accompanying her husband, she shall reside so long in Swarga as are the thirty-five millions of hairs on the human body. As the snake-catcher forcibly drags the serpent from his earth, so, bearing her husband from hell, with him she shall enjoy the delights of heaven while fourteen Indras reign. If her husband had killed a Brahmana, broken the ties of gratitude, or murdered his friend, she expiates the crime.' Though the widow has the alternative of leading a life of chastity, of mortification, denied to the pleasures of dress, never sleeping on a bed, never exceeding one meal a day, nor eating any other than simple food, it is held her duty to burn herself along with her husband."*

This atrocity is not to be supposed as confined to the ignorant. "The Hindoo legislators," says Mr. Colebrooke, "have shown themselves disposed to encourage this barbarous sacrifice."

The institutes of Akbar were translated under the patronage of the Honourable East India Company, and they contain the following passage:—"If the deceased leaves a son, *he* sets fire to the pile, otherwise his younger brother, or also his elder brother. All his wives embrace the corpse, and notwithstanding their relations advise them against it, expire in the flames with the greatest cheerfulness. A Hindoo wife who is burnt with her husband, is either actuated by motives of real affection, or she thinks it her duty to conform to *custom*, or she consents to avoid *reproach*, or else she is forced to it by her relations. If the wife be pregnant at the time of her husband's death, she is not allowed to burn till after her delivery. If he dies on

* Mill's *India*, vol. i. pp. 274, 275. Quarto edition.

a journey, the wives burn themselves along with his clothes, or anything else that belonged to him. Some women who have been prevailed upon by their relations, or have persuaded themselves against burning with the corpse, have found themselves so unhappy, that they have cheerfully submitted to expire on the flames before the next day."

The East India Company has succeeded in nearly suppressing Suttee in their territory, but in several of the native states it is still, to a limited extent, practised. This interposition excited much opposition on the part of the natives; but success followed. Their noble exertions deserve the application of the poet's words—

> "Children of Brahma! then was mercy nigh
> To wash the stain of blood's eternal dye?
> Did peace descend to triumph and to save,
> When free-born Britons cross the Indian wave?"*

Whatever the faults or errors of our Indian administration, these beautiful lines are appropriate. So far as India is rescued from herself, from her own sins, and laws, and customs, and religious rites, it was well for her that Britons crossed the Indian wave. No evil of temporary misgovernment is a feather in the scale against the ponderous crimes and oppressions of the native creed and custom. The words of the prophet may be truly addressed to the people of India as they were of old to Israel—"The prophets prophecy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means, and the people will have it so, saith the Lord of Hosts."

The services of Juggernaut are attended by terrible immolations. All the battles fought by England in Hindoostan, or for Hindoostan, could not furnish returns of slain equal to those crushed beneath the ponderous car of this horrid idol. It has many shrines, but the principal one is at Orissa. On occasion of the festival the god is drawn forth—a colossal idol thirty feet high: men, women, and children, yoke themselves to the heavy car upon which it is placed, shouting with frantic fanaticism. Many, alas! also fling themselves beneath the huge wheels, and are crushed in an instant to death, their blood and brains being scattered upon the surviving devotees, whose maniacal devotions are rendered more fanatical and exulting by the sanguinary scene. Surely the philosophy of sacred Scripture is vindicated in the History of India—"The dark places of the earth are the abodes of cruelty."

The extravagance of rich devotees on occasions of the public festivals is incredible: a wealthy native has been known to expend as much as £20,000. It is not uncommon for these feasts to cost men of property at least £1000. The feast of the goddess Durga Parja is one of expensive magnificence.

As is the case with all superstitious religions, the fanaticism of the people is kept up by men who either profit by being entirely set apart for religious services, or give themselves wholly up to such, under the impression of thereby securing their own salvation. Men of this sort blend infatuation with imposture, and, with the assumption of superior spirituality, display carnal feelings and persecuting animosities. What the Celtic Irish call *voteens* (small and contemptible devotees) abound in India, and do much to infuriate the zealotry of the people, to sow sedition, and, by their idleness, mendicity, filth, and horrid personal exposures, to demoralise and impoverish the poorer classes. The fakeers, by submission to extraordinary penances, by which they are maimed, crippled, and otherwise deformed, are regarded by the people as persons of peculiar sanctity. They live by begging, and carry disease and infection with them throughout the country.

There are various monastic orders connected with the temples and services of particular gods. These orders are regarded as circles of holiness, and their members as endowed with peculiar sanctity. They are a curse to the country, and do more to promote the common degradation than any other class or cause, always excepting the institution of caste. There is no visible head of the Hindoo religion, nor are there always chiefs or principals of the monastic institutions. In some cases there are leaders or presidents, who maintain their position by prescriptive right.

It is common for members of the order to shave the head in a manner similar to the monks of Europe. The Buddhists (a sect to be noticed hereafter) are especially noted for this observance. The origin of the usage was purely Babylonian. It was the symbol of inauguration of those who were thus shaven in the priesthood of Bacchus, the son of the queen of heaven. The high priest of "the mysteries" was a tonsured personage. From the Babylonians other oriental peoples of antiquity derived it. Thus, it is related by an ancient historian that "the Arabians acknowledge no other gods than Bacchus and Urania,* and they say that their hair is cut in the same way as Bacchus's is cut; they cut it in a circular form, shaving it around the temples."† The priests of Osiris, the Egyptian Bacchus, were also distinguished

* Campbell.

* The mother of Bacchus.

† Herodotus, lib. iii. 8.

by this tonsure.* The custom was certainly imported into India with the same ideas. When the usage began to be observed it is not easy, perhaps not possible, to trace, but Gotama Buddha, the founder of the sect or religion of the Buddhists, is represented as having more strictly enjoined it than others. It is not confined to his followers; but one of the Paranas, or new Indian scriptures, thus writes of Buddha and his followers:—"The shaved head, that he might the better perform the orders of Vishnu, formed a number of disciples, and of shaved heads like himself." This circle was intended to represent the sun, and the seed of the promise—the sun, or light incarnate. The hope of the promised seed was, as shown on a former page, thus blasphemously used by Semiramis and her abettors, to make of her son the fulfilment of that prophecy, and to have him deified. The following by a popular writer in the *British Messenger*, places the origin of the Hindoo tonsure in its true light, and serves to illustrate what is written in this chapter concerning the Babylonish origin of the practices as well as doctrines of the Hindoo religion:—"It can be shown that among the Chaldeans the one term 'Zero' signifies at once 'a circle' and 'the seed.' Suro, 'the seed' in India, was the sun divinity incarnate. When that 'seed' was represented in human form, to identify him with the sun, he was represented with the circle, the well-known emblem of the sun's annual course, on some part of his person. Thus, our own god Thor was represented with a blazing circle on his breast. In Persia and Assyria the sun-god was marked out nearly in the same way. In India the circle is represented at the tip of his finger. Hence 'the circle' became the emblem of Taumuz, or 'the seed,' and therefore was called by the same name, 'Zero.' Moreover, by a marvellous providence, the circle is still called by the same name in everyday speech among ourselves; for what is Zero, the cipher, but just a circle? This name Zero has indubitably come to us from the Arabians, who again derived it from the Chaldeans, the original cultivators at once of idolatry, astronomy, and arithmetic. The *circular* tonsure of Bacchus was doubtless intended to point him out as 'Zero,' or 'the seed,' the Grand Deliverer; and the *circle* of light round the head of the so-called pictures of Christ was evidently just a different form of the very same thing, and borrowed from the very same source."

In few respects is the degeneracy of the Hindoo religion more seen than in the multiplication of castes. According to the Vedas, as already shown, there were but four castes. The members of these different classes, as Mr. Elphinstone prefers to call them, intermarried, and questions of nice casuistry began to arise as to what class the offspring of these marriages belonged. Hence new castes arose, and these were multiplied as human pride and exclusiveness found scope, until trade castes were established, and men were hereditarily confined to the calling of their ancestors, however special and peculiar those callings. Thus, water-carriers are to remain water-carriers, and grass-cutters to continue grass-cutters, from father to son for ever. The ceremonies, abstinences, privileges, and disqualifications peculiar to each are so numerous, that to state and explain them, trace their origin, and mark their effects, would fill a volume as large as one of those devoted to this History. The Brahmins declare that the other three classes have become extinct from various causes, but this the others refuse to admit; even the Sudras are desirous to maintain the purity of their derivation from the original servile Sudra stock.

Mohammedanism has been a means of breaking up old castes, and introducing new ones. The English and other foreigners, even when most unwilling to interfere with the national customs, have, by the introduction of new habits, wants, and ideas, influenced the process of caste revolution. But however broken up by internal changes or foreign influences, the thing still lives; like the severed worm, each part has its own vitality, whatever repugnance to the beholder is excited by the process of the phenomenon. The more the tree of caste is "slipped," the wider its kind extends, however diversified the qualities of the various shoots. With all its corruptions, dismemberment, and confusion, the caste system of Hindoostan, as to its spirit, and prejudice, and moral mischief, is as potent and persistent as ever. The prescribed calling of the several castes has not provided its members with uniform subsistence, and many are glad to find an opportunity of exercising skill or labour in avocations ceremonially beneath them. Even the mean and proud Brahmins, who considered labour degrading, and begging sacred and respectable, now follow various professions and trades, and are to be found in the ranks of the common soldiers, in the service of the company and of native chiefs. The Sudras have in many cases become respectable occupiers of land; very many of them are merchants and officials; and in the Mahratta states they espouse the warrior class, where generals and rajahs are often of the Sudras

* Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, lib. i. cap. 23.

caste. In the Bombay army they are often enlisted in the ranks.

The Gosayens, and other orders of monasticism, are supplanting the Brahmins in their influence over the people in the Gangetic provinces. In fact, it is as in the middle ages in Europe, when the regular almost deposed the secular clergy in their influence over the consciences of individuals and the affairs of families. It must not be supposed that the influence of the Brahmins has much declined; their *spiritual* influence has, but their caste precedence is still maintained by themselves, and recognised by all others. The Rajpoots and Mahrattas regard them with less respect than they are regarded elsewhere.

So sternly, however, are the requisitions of caste maintained at the present time, that a general officer, famed through the world for his deeds of policy and arms, has, in private conversation, assured the author of this History that he has seen the Brahmin dash away his cooking apparatus, and his untasted meal, because an unfortunate Sudra happened to be ordered to perform some military duty within an uncanonical proximity to the spot.

The loss of caste is the most terrible thing known to the Brahmin. It is temporal and eternal death in some cases; it is in all cases legal and civil death. The evidence of such a man cannot be received; his property is confiscated; his parents, children, and wife, must repudiate him, or be subjected to penalties the heaviest that can be conceived by Hindoo imagination. Loss of caste may in most cases be expiated, but in some it cannot.

The number of castes now existing it would be impossible to tell. In the *Asiatic Researches* estimates of different writers are given, but these are contradictory and unreliable. They have increased to a very great number, although the four original classes may be said to comprise generically all the species into which caste is divided. Among them all the same oppressive or abject spirit prevails, according to the extent of their debasement. The interests of the many are sacrificed to the prejudices of the few. Inexorable tyranny is met by reptile-like deceit and treachery. Superstitions, changing in everything else, are immutable in their cruelty and darkness. Such are the effects of caste. In some cases personal slavery is engendered by it. According to the Vedas and the Institutions of Menu, and, probably, even in accordance with the Puranas, all castes are free, so far as personal freedom is concerned, and the legal right to offer their services to whomsoever they please, but, practically, men of the Sudra class in some places are subjected to bondage. In the south of India there are, or were until lately, predial slaves. In some of the mountain and forest districts Elphinstone records that, in 1849, there were bondsmen. It is tolerably certain that there are such now. Some years earlier they were still more numerous in the south of India. A gentleman well acquainted with Madras and Bombay says—"There are six sorts of Chemurs, or slaves, like the Pariar of Madras, and no other caste is bought or sold in Malabar. They are said to have been caught and domesticated by Parasu Rama, for the use of the Brahmins, and are probably the descendants of the aborigines conquered by the Chola kings, and driven into the jungles, but at last compelled to prefer slavery and rice to freedom and starvation. They are generally, but not always, sold with the land, two slaves being reckoned equal to four buffaloes; they are also let out and pledged. Their pay is an allowance of rice and cloth. They sometimes run away, but never shake off their servile condition; and if reclaimed, the children they may have had during their wandering are divided between the old master from whom they fled and the new one to whom they resorted." This description would suit the subject of the social condition of India as fitly as the religious, but so closely are the religious and social conditions of every people associated, that the characteristics of the latter may be predicated from a knowledge of the former. Caste is at once a religious and social institution; it is at one and the same time an exhibition of religious doctrine, and its practical social effect.

The same careful writer describes the Cuniun, or Cunishun, as a caste of Malabar, whose profession is astrology; "besides," he relates, "they make umbrellas, and cultivate the earth. In many parts of India the astrologer, or wise man, whatever his caste may be, is called Cunishun. They are of so low a caste, that if a Cuniun come within twenty-four feet of a Brahmin, the latter must purify himself by prayer and ablution. They are said to possess powerful *mantras* (charms) from fragments of the fourth Veda, which is usually alleged to be lost. The towns along the sea-coast are chiefly inhabited by Moplays, who were originally imported from Arabia, and probably have traded to the Red Sea since the time of Alexander the Great. They were early converted to the Mohammedan faith, and are fanatics; yet they have retained or adopted many original Malabar customs, which seem at variance with the

maxims of the Prophet. They are cunning traders, desperate robbers, serve as irregular infantry, possess land, and turn their hands to anything. They hate the Hindoo idolaters, and are reciprocally detested. The Tiars and Mucuars are very industrious classes—the first on shore, and the latter afloat—as boat and fishermen; there are no weavers or manufacturers deserving of notice."

These glimpses of Hindooism, penetrating by its caste influence a circle of religionists who hate idolatry, strikingly illustrate how adapted caste is to the tyranny, pride, meanness, and servility which are curiously blended in the native mind, and how ingeniously the social theory of the Hindoo religion was formed to harmonise with the psychological and habitual sympathy of the Hindoo race. Mr. Hamilton, in his description of the castes of Malabar, gives the following graphic and particular account:—

"The region of Malabar being intersected by many rivers, and bounded by the sea and high mountains, presented so many obstacles to invaders, that it escaped subjugation by the Mohammedans until it was attacked by Hyder, in 1766; the original manners and customs of the Hindoos have consequently been preserved in greater purity than in most parts of India. The other inhabitants of this province are Moplays (or Mohammedans), Christians, and Jews; but their number collectively is inferior to that of the Hindoos, some of whose most remarkable manners, customs, and institutions, shall be here described.

"The rank of caste on the Malabar coast is as follows:—

"First. Namburies, or Brahmins.

"Second. The Nairs, of various denominations.

"Third. The Teers, or Tiars, who are cultivators of the land, and freemen.

"Fourth. The Malears, who are musicians and conjurors, and also freemen.

"Fifth. The Poliars, who are slaves, or bondsmen, and attached to the soil.

"The system of distances to be observed by these castes is specified below:—

"1. A Nair may approach, but must not touch a Brahmin. A Tiar must remain thirty yards off. A Poliar ninety-six steps off.

"2. A Tiar is to remain twelve steps distant from a Nair. A Malear three or four steps further. A Poliar ninety-six steps.

"3 A Malear may approach, but not touch a Tiar.

"4. A Poliar is not to come near even to a Malear, or to any other caste. If he wishes to speak to a Brahmin, Nair, Tiar, or Malear, he must stand at the above prescribed distance, and cry aloud to them. If a Poliar touch a Brahmin, the latter must make expiation by immediately bathing, reading much of the divine books, and changing his Brahminical thread. If a Poliar touch a Nair, or any other caste, bathing is sufficient. In some parts of the province Churmun is a term applied to slaves in general, whatever their caste be, but it is in some other parts confined peculiarly to Poliars. Even among these wretched creatures the pride of caste has full influence; and if a Poliar be touched by another slave of the Pariar tribe, he is defiled, and must wash his head, and pray.

"The Parian, in the plural Pariar, belong to a tribe of Malabar below all caste, all of whom are slaves.

"In Malabar the Pariars acknowledge the superiority even of the Niadis, but pretend to be higher than two other races. This tribe eat carrion, and even beef, so that they are looked upon as equally impure with the Mohammedans and Christians.

"The Niadis are an outcast tribe, common in Malabar, but not numerous. They are reckoned so very impure, that even a slave of caste will not touch them. They have some miserable huts, built under trees, but they generally wander about in companies of ten or twelve, keeping a little distance from the roads, and when they see any passenger they set up a howl like dogs that are hungry. Those who are moved by compassion lay down what they are inclined to bestow, and go away; the Niadis afterwards approach, and pick up what has been left. They have no marriage ceremony, but one man and one woman always associate together. They kill tortoises, and sometimes alligators, both of which they eat, and consider most excellent food.

"The Brahmins here are both fewer in number, and less civilised, than in the other provinces of India south of the Krishna. They subsist by agriculture, priestcraft, and other devices, but are not employed as revenue servants, this being probably the only province of the south where the Brahmins do not keep the accounts.

"The next most remarkable caste are the Nairs, who are the pure Sudras of Malabar, and all pretend to be born soldiers, but they are of various ranks and professions. The highest in rank are the Kirit, or Kirum Nairs, who on all public occasions act as cooks, which, among Hindoos, is a sure mark of transcendent rank, for every person may eat food prepared by a person of higher rank than himself. The second rank of Nairs are more particularly named Sudras, but the

whole acknowledge themselves, and are allowed to be, of pure Sudra origin. There are altogether eleven ranks of Nairs. This caste formed the militia of Malabar, directed by the Brahmins, and governed by rajahs, before the country was disturbed by foreign invasion; their submission to their superiors was great, but they exacted deference with an arrogance rarely practised by Hindoos in their state of dependence. A Nair was expected instantly to cut down a Tiar (cultivator) or Mucua (fisherman) who presumed to defile him by touching his person; and a similar fate awaited a Poliar or Pariar who did not turn out of his road as a Nair passed. The peculiar deity of the Nair caste is Vishnu, but they wear in their forehead the mark of Siva. The proper road to heaven they describe as follows:—The votary must go to Benares, and afterwards perform the ceremony in commemoration of his deceased ancestors at Gaya. He must then take up water from the Ganges, and having journeyed over an immense space of country, pour it on the image of Siva, at Rameswara, in the Straits of Ceylon. After this he must visit the principal places of pilgrimage—such as Juggernaut, in Orissa, and Tripetty, in the Carnatic. He must always speak the truth (to a native a hard penance), give much charity to poor and learned Brahmins, and, lastly, he must frequently fast and pray, and be very chaste in his conduct."

The state of things described in the foregoing quotations has been modified, so far as slavery, personal or predial, is concerned, the powerful hand of the East India Company having been put forth on behalf of the unhappy and oppressed; but so far as the spirit of caste operates, it is still the same—remorseless, vain, and spiritually assuming.

The influence of this feature of the religion of India may be seen perhaps in the character of its soldiery as much as in any other way. From the pride and exclusiveness of caste, it must be obvious that it would prove a serious impediment to the good discipline of a native army. Mutinies have frequently occurred in consequence of the rules of a soldier's duty interfering, or appearing to interfere, with the prerogatives and obligations of caste. The recent revolt of the Bengal army had its origin in such a cause. It is unnecessary in this place to enter into the question whether the greased cartridges distributed to the men was the sole cause, or whether a Mohammedan conspiracy had not existed, which found a fortunate occasion in the cartridge question for enlisting the sympathy of the Brahmins. This matter was itself sufficient to inflame the bigotry of the whole Bengal army, and it ought to have been known to the officials that it was so. Among the prejudices of the Brahmin is a conviction that to taste the fat of kine is ceremonially unclean, and deprives him of caste, although abstinence from it is not enforced by the Vedas. The Mussulmen of every caste (for the Mohammedans of India have to a certain extent adopted the distinctions and rules of caste) regard swine's flesh in the same light. The cartridges distributed to the Bengal army were, or, which is the same thing in the matter, were supposed to be, greased with both these objectionable materials, and when the allegation that such was the case became known to the troops, they revolted, *preferring death to loss of caste!*

Many ingenious arguments have been used to prove that the objection of the Brahmins was assumed rather than real, but it is clear to any impartial person that this single cause was sufficient for the revolt. The argument chiefly used to prove that it was not, is the use of these very cartridges by the revolters against the British. This admits of two replies—first, in all superstitious creeds, that which is supposed to be wrong ceremonially, and even morally, ceases to be so when the church or religion of the devotees is served by the infraction; the end sanctifies, or justifies, or at all events excuses the deed. To use the unclean cartridge in the service of the infidel would be loss of caste—death—worse than death; to use it in the name and service of religion against the infidel, and against the infidel in the very matter of an attempt to enforce its use upon the faithful, would expiate the deprivation of caste involved, and restore the unwilling delinquent: in the one case he would be regarded as an apostate, in the other a confessor. But, independent of that reply, there is a second—the revolters did not use the teeth, nor taste the forbidden thing; they used the hand, a less expeditious way of loading, but it saved caste. The rules of the British service compelled the use of the teeth; the soldier could not, therefore, load with the regulation cartridge without violating conscience, which the Honourable East India Company promised to respect. The sepoy upon whom this violation of conscience was enforced, regarded the compact between him and the company as broken, and, as a persecuted man, he revolted. He was not in his own opinion false to his salt, but the government was, as he believed, false to him. The words of the military regulation for loading are as follow:—"First bring the cartridge to *the mouth*, holding it between

the forefinger and thumb, with the ball in the hand, and bite off the top elbow close to the body." When the suspicions of the sepoys had been excited, in consequence of the cartridges being greased, General Heresey recommended the adaptation of "a new mode of drill," recommended by Major Boniteux, commanding the depot of musketry at Dum Dum. His words were, "breaking the cartridge with the hand instead of by biting it." * It is remarkable that the native artillerymen never objected to *handling* the grease applied to the gun-wheels. Had there been a regulation order for them to put it to their teeth or lips, they would have revolted in consequence, as certainly as did the infantry, and portions of the cavalry, from the like cause. It was in sympathy with the infantry that the cavalry in some cases, and the artillery in many cases, joined the revolt. The artillery made no complaints nor demands, and no murmurs were heard among them. They joined in the struggle, so far as they did join, for the aid of their persecuted brethren, as they regarded them, and in defence of their religion.

The mutiny of Vellore, which figures so largely in the history of India, was not provoked by a cause so intensely irritating as the question of the greased cartridges, and yet no one now denies that that revolt was caused by an apprehension that the government desired to tamper with the religion of the soldiers. At first the cry of conspiracy was raised then as now, but it was soon dissipated, and the language of Professor Wilson sets the question outside the circle of argument:—"Upon considering, therefore, the utter improbability of any combined co-operation of the Mohammedan princes of the Deccan with the sons of Tippoo, the absence of all proof of its existence, the extension of the discontent to places where no political influence in their favour could have been exerted, the prevalence of disaffection among the Hindoos as well as the Mohammedans, and, finally, admitting the entire adequacy of the cause to the effect, there can be no reason to seek for any other origin of the mutiny than dread of religious change inspired by the military orders. Here, however, in fairness to the question of the conversion of the natives of India to Christianity, the nature of the panic which spread amongst the sepoys requires to be candidly appreciated. It is a great error to suppose that the people of India are so sensitive upon the subject of their religion, either Hindoo or Mohammedan, as to suffer no approach of controversy, or to encounter adverse opinions with no other arguments than insurrection and murder. On the contrary, great latitude of belief and practice has always prevailed among them, and especially among the troops, in whose ranks will be found seceders of various denominations from the orthodox systems. It was not, therefore, the dissemination of Christian doctrines that excited the angry apprehensions of the sepoys on the melancholy occasion which has called for these observations, nor does it appear that any unusual activity in the propagation of those doctrines was exercised by Christian missionaries at the period of its occurrence. It was not conversion which the troops dreaded, it was compulsion; it was not the reasoning or the persuasion of the missionary which they feared, but the arbitrary interposition of authority. They believed, of course erroneously, that the government was about to compel them to become Christians, and they resisted compulsory conversion by violence. The lesson is one of great seriousness, and should never be lost sight of as long as the relative position of the British government and its Indian subjects remains unaltered. It is not sufficient that the authority of the ruling power should never interpose in matters of religious belief; it should carefully avoid furnishing grounds of suspicion that it even intends to interfere." * Had the warning given by the astute and learned professor been heeded, the question of the greased cartridges would never have arisen, and the Bengal army would not have been lost. That Mussulmen conspiracies existed in various places is probable, and that a general impatience of the authority of the Christians prevailed among the Mohammedans, is as indisputable as that they took the earliest occasion of turning the revolt to their own account; but that the inexorable rules of caste, placed in opposition to an imprudent, stupid, and unintentional attempt to violate it, caused the revolt, is a verdict to which most men must come who read the records of the military rebellion of 1857 in the Bengal presidency. The rapid spread of disaffection does not require the theory of a pre-existing conspiracy to account for it. In the nature of things the like would occur when the revolt in the first instance had a caste origin. The philosophy of its rapid extension was expressed by Sir Charles Napier in a single paragraph when writing of the probability of military insurrection in India:—"In all mutinies some men more

* Appendix to Papers, &c., pp. 36—38; Letter from the Governor-general in Council to the Court of Directors, April 8, 1857; *Mutinies in the East Indies*, pp. 3, 4.

* *India*, Mill and Wilson, vol. vii. p. 140.

daring than others are allowed to take the lead, while the more wary prepare to profit when time suits. A few men in a few corps, a few corps in an army, begin; if successful, they are joined by their more calculating and by their more timid comrades."

The imprudence and oversight of British officials made the occasion of the revolt, the operating principle was caste. The following extract from the deposition of a jemadar of native infantry depicts the state of mind of the soldiers, the despair of preserving their fealty with their honour and their caste, and the cruel vindictiveness which a sense of the greatest injury conceivable by them inspired: "On the night of the 5th instant (February, 1857), soon after eight o'clock, roll-call, two or three men (sepoys) came to me, and made me accompany them to the parade-ground, where I found a great crowd assembled, composed, to the best of my belief, of the men of the different regiments at this station. They had their heads tied up with cloths, having only a small part of the face exposed. They asked me to join them, and I asked them what I was to join them in. They replied that they were willing to die for their religion, and that if they could make an arrangement that evening, the next night, February 6th, 1857, they would plunder the station, and kill all the Europeans, and then go where they liked." The institution of caste must always be a source of insubordination in the army, and danger to the state.

The native princes, Hindoo and Mohammedan, are so much under caste prejudices, and so enslaved by superstitious observances, that they lead lives as puerile as their retainers, and exhibit a judgment on matters of conscience and religion utterly feeble. Even princes of the Sudra caste have crouched to the Brahmin, and subjected themselves to the most abject ceremonies. The following specimen of the superstitious thraldom of a prince rendered infamous by his cruelties, will exhibit the weak and absurd religious character even of men of vigour in other relations of life. This picture is drawn by no unfriendly hand, but by one rather disposed to palliate and soften down the inexcusable folly and hard features of the superstition. The sanguinary Nana Sahib, whose butcheries at Cawnpore have filled the world with horror, is the subject of the sketch. *Ex uno disce omnes.* "Here sat the maharajah on a Turkey carpet, and reclining slightly on a huge bolster. In front of him were his hookah, a sword, and several nosegays. His highness rose, came forward, took my hand, led me to the carpet, and begged of me to be seated on a cane-bottomed arm-chair, which had evidently been placed ready for my especial ease and occupancy. A hookah is called for by the rajah, and then at least a dozen voices repeat the order—'*Hookah lao sahib ke waste*' (bring a hookah for the sahib). Presently the hookah is brought in; it is rather a grand affair, but old, and has evidently belonged to some European of extravagant habits. . . . . While I am pulling away at the hookah, the mensahibs, or favourites of the rajah, flatter me in very audible whispers. 'How well he smokes!'—'What a fine forehead he has!'—'And his eyes! how they sparkle!'—'No wonder he is so clever!'—'He will be governor-general some day.'—'Khuda-Kuriu' (God will have it so). . . . . *Native rajah (in a loud voice).* 'Moonshee!'—*Moonshee (who is close at hand).* 'Maharaj, protector of the poor!'—*Native rajah.* 'Bring the petition that I have laid before the governor-general.' The moonshee produces the petition, and, at the instance of the rajah, reads, or rather sings it aloud. The rajah listens with pleasure to its recital of his own wrongs, and I affect to be astounded that so much injustice can possibly exist. During my rambles in India I have been the guest of some scores of rajahs, great and small, and I never knew one who had not a grievance. He had either been wronged by the government, or by some judge whose decision had been against him. In the matter of the government it was a sheer love of oppression that led to the evil of which he complained; in the matter of the judge, that functionary had been bribed by the other party. It was with great difficulty that I kept my eyes open while the petition—a very long one—was read aloud. Shortly after it was finished I craved permission to retire, and was conducted by a bearer to the sleeping-room. . . . . The maharajah invited me to accompany him to Cawnpore. I acquiesced, and the carriage was ordered. The carriage was English built—a very handsome landau, and the horses were English. But the harness! It was country made, and of the very commonest kind, and worn out, for one of the traces was a piece of rope. The coachman was filthy in his dress, and the whip that he carried in his hand was an old broken buggy whip, which some European gentleman must have thrown away. On the box, on either side of the coachman, sat a warlike retainer, armed with a sword and a dagger. In the rumble were two other retainers, armed in the same manner. Besides the rajah and myself there were three others (natives, and relatives of the rajah) in the vehicle. On the road the rajah talked incessantly, and among things that he told

me was this in reference to the praises that I bestowed on his equipage:—'Not long ago I had a carriage and horses very superior to these. They cost me 25,000 rupees, but I had to burn the carriage, and kill the horses.' —'Why so?'—'The child of a certain sahib in Cawnpore was very sick, and the sahib and the mensahib were bringing the child to Bithoor for a change of air. I sent my big carriage for them. On the road the child died, and of course, as a dead body had been in the carriage, and as the horses had drawn that dead body in that carriage, I could never use them again.' The reader must understand that a native of any rank considers it a disgrace to sell property. 'But could you not have given the horses to some friend, a Christian or a Mussulman?'—'No; had I done so it might have come to the knowledge of the sahib, and his feelings would have been hurt at having occasioned me such a loss.' Such was the maharajah commonly known as Nana Sahib. He appears to be not a man of ability, nor a fool. He was selfish, but what native is not? He seemed to be far from a bigot in matters of religion; and although he was compelled to be so very particular about the destruction of his carriage and horses, I am quite satisfied that he drank brandy, and that he smoked hemp in the chillum of his hookah."

Terrible as was the practice of Suttee, which was abolished by the government in December of the year 1829, and oppressive as the bondage of India was, which continued with little mitigation until August, 1838, when the government suppressed it, neither of these aspects of the character of the religion of the Hindoos surpassed in barbarity the robbery and assassination which, under the name of Thug, and various other designations, exist to this day. Caste, which is not merely a social institution or an enactment of Hindoo civil law, but a religious institution, dependent upon the creed of those who observe it, is answerable for these foul deeds. "The Hindoos have some peculiarities that do not admit of classification. As they have castes for all the trades, they have also castes for thieves, and men are brought up to consider robbing as their hereditary occupation. Most of the hill tribes bordering on cultivated countries are of this description; and even throughout the plains there are castes more notorious for theft and robbery than gipsies used to be for pilfering in Europe. In their case hereditary professions seem favourable to skill, for there are nowhere such dextrous thieves as in India. Travellers are full of stories of the patience, perseverance, and address with which they will steal, unperceived, through the midst of guards, and carry off their prize in the most dangerous situations. Some dig holes in the earth, and come up within the wall of a well-closed house; others, by whatever way they enter, always open a door or two to secure a retreat, and proceed to plunder, naked, smeared with oil, and armed with a dagger, so that it is as dangerous to seize as it is difficult to hold them. One class, called Thugs, continually travel about the country, assuming different disguises—an art in which they are perfect masters. Their practice is to insinuate themselves into the society of travellers whom they hear to be possessed of property, and to accompany them till they have an opportunity of administering a stupifying drug, or of throwing a noose over the neck of their unsuspecting companion. He is then murdered without blood being shed, and buried so skilfully, that a long time elapses before his fate is suspected. The Thugs invoke Bhawani, and vow a portion of their spoil to her. This mixture of religion and crime might of itself be mentioned as a peculiarity, but it is paralleled by the vows of pirates and banditti to the Madonna; and in the case of Mussulmen, who form the largest portion of the Thugs, it is like the compacts with the devil, which were believed in the days of superstition. It need scarcely be said that the long descent of the thievish castes gives them no claim on the sympathy of the rest of the community, who look on them as equally obnoxious to punishment, both in this world and the next, as if their ancestors had belonged to the most virtuous classes. The hired watchmen are generally of these castes, and are faithful and efficacious. Their presence alone is a protection against their own class, and their skill and vigilance against strangers. Gujerat is famous for one class of people of this sort, whose business it is to trace thieves by their footsteps. In a dry country a bare foot leaves little prints to common eyes, but one of these people will perceive all its peculiarities, so as to recognise it in all its circumstances, and will pursue a robber by these vestiges for a distance that seems incredible." *

The religious condition of considerable numbers of the people in the remoter parts of India, and in places less accessible, is not so much influenced by caste prejudices as that of the people in the rich and cultivated portions of the country, or near the great cities and centres of native or English government. This circumstance has led many public men to state that the distinction of caste was altogether on the wane. The Rev. Mr. Miall,

* Elphinstone, lib. III. cap. xi. p. 191.

the talented editor of the *Nonconformist* newspaper, and late member for Rochdale, boldly affirmed, at a public meeting in 1857, that caste was perishing all over India, and would have died out before now, but for the support given to it by the government of the East India Company. This view receives a seeming support from the fact that the members of particular castes, soldiers of native regiments in the company's service, have sometimes agreed to dispense with the customary observances which their caste prescribed. It is, however, a delusion to suppose that, in the main, the power of the institution is shaken, however inconsistent the casuistry of particular bodies of men may appear, when acting under a strong temptation to set some of its rules aside. No person well acquainted with the condition of India, as a whole, or with the mental habits of the races which people it, would support the opinion expressed by Mr. Miall, and which, upon the faith of his statement, many not conversant with India are likely to receive. The vast multitudes of Hindoostan cling tenaciously to the prescriptions and distinctions of this institution. There are, however, in Central India more particularly, predatory tribes who, unless they consider themselves of the thief or of the Thug class, do not observe caste at all, but who are sunk in the grossest idolatry, brutality, and crime:—"The hills and forests in the centre of India are inhabited by a people differing widely from those who occupy the plains. They are small, black, slender, but active, with peculiar features, and a quick restless eye. They wear few clothes, are armed with bows and arrows, make open profession of plunder, and, unless the government is strong, are always at war with all their neighbours. When invaded, they conduct their operations with secrecy and celerity, and shower their arrows from rocks and thickets, whence they can escape before they can be attacked, and often before they can be seen. They live in scattered, and sometimes movable hamlets, are divided into small communities, and allow great power to their chiefs. They subsist on the product of their own imperfect cultivation, and on what they obtain by exchanges or plunder from the plains. They occasionally kill game, but do not depend on that for their support. In many parts the berries of the mahua-tree form an important part of their food. Besides one or two of the Hindoo gods, they have many of their own, who dispense particular blessings or calamities. The one who presides over the smallpox is, in most places, looked on with peculiar awe. They sacrifice fowls, pour libations before eating, are guided by inspired magicians, and not by priests, bury their dead, and have some ceremonies on the birth of children, marriages, and funerals, in common. They are all much addicted to spirituous liquors, and most of them kill and eat oxen. Their great abode is in the Vindaya Mountains, which run east and west from the Ganges to Gujerat, and the broad tract of forest which extends north and south from the neighbourhood of Allahabad to the latitude of Masulipatam, and, with interruptions, almost to Cape Comorin. In some places the forest has been encroached on by cultivation, and the inhabitants have remained in the plains as village watchmen, hunters, and other trades suited to their habits. In a few places their devastations have restored the clear country to the forest, and the remains of villages are seen among the haunts of wild beasts." *

These representations of the low condition and sanguinary habits of the native populations are not overdrawn. Our knowledge of the various rude tribes, and of the castes in the more civilised districts, is imperfect; but the more we are acquainted with them, the better authenticated and the more enlarged our means of information, the more does it become obvious that the condition of the people is barbarous and horrible—as when the geologist brings to light some fragment of an antediluvian monster, men are astonished at the proportions, but it is only when the other fragments are found, and the huge skeleton stands to view in its completeness, that the idea of its monstrosity can be thoroughly realised.

Whatever be the moral condition of the Hindoo people, however superstitious their ideas of religion, and of religious services, they have been munificent in erecting shrines to their idolatry, and their temples greatly add to the picturesque features of the land. Some of the religious edifices are called Cave Temples. They are generally excavations from the rock, and assume proportions of magnitude and grandeur. They are extremely numerous; the rocks of Cashmere contain, it is alleged, more than twelve thousand of them. Notwithstanding their number, the vastness of many of them is sublime. They are not all devoted to the Hindoo religion, many being temples of Buddha, as are those of Ellora.

The caves of Ajunta are more vast, and there is a solemnity in their appearance which amounts to awe. These caves are not mere excavations, they are architecturally hewn in the Ghauts. Indian columns and pillars of vast size and elaborate design support, divide,

* Elphinstone, lib. III. cap. xi. p. 198.

and decorate the spacious compartments. On these pillars protruding and receding angles, rich carvings and elaborate ornaments, show the taste and devotion of the Hindoo devotees. The walls are profusely ornamented in some instances, partly by chiselled work, partly in stucco, and in some cases rather extensively in painting, both in oil and water colours. Mr. Capper, quoting the authority of an officer of the company's service, who made drawings of many of these sacred caves in Cashmere, represents the human figure as especially well executed; while Mr. Elphinstone, relying upon the Asiatic researches, and the testimony of gentlemen skilled in architectural science, declares that the human figures are more deficient in taste than any other decorative forms, and that the total ignorance of perspective, and of the faculty of artistic grouping, is remarkable. Fruit, flowers, ornament, and mythical designs, are more successfully depicted.

The same criticism may be applied to the decoration of the superstructural temples; although of them, as well as of the cave sanctuaries, it is affirmed by some admirers of everything Indian, that they far surpass in perspective, grouping, and richness of ornament the architecture and architectural paintings and carvings of Europe of corresponding antiquity.

It is becoming a more general opinion, that the temples in a complete state which most attract the notice of Europeans for their beauty and extent, are comparatively modern; although they have been so frequently referred to as illustrating the very early development of the arts and of sacred architecture in India. There is perhaps no exception to the rule that the temples display a faculty of minute detail and richness of ornament, on the part of their constructors, rather than the bold and general comprehension and design of European genius. There are no specimens of Indian temples to be compared for simple but comprehensive boldness and dignity with the temples of pagan Greece or Rome, for solemn grandeur with the swelling domes of the best mosques of the Mohammedans, or for chaste sublimity with Christian churches.

The temples of Cashmere are the finest in India, using the term India in its broad sense; but these have such evident traces of Greek origin, as to deprive the native architects of the credit of original conception in their design. The columns are what is called Arian, and very unlike any of the many varieties found elsewhere in the Indian temples.

The general architecture of places dedicated to the gods bears a nearer resemblance to that used for the same purpose in Egypt than to any other, yet the diversities are considerable. There is much difference in the size of the Hindoo temples. Sometimes only a single chamber, ornamented by a portico, covered with a pyramidical roof, curiously surmounted by metallic decorations, constitutes the temple. The devotee approaches a door, which alone opens into the inner *sanctum*, and presents his offerings. In other instances the sanctuary is surrounded by many courts, approached by passages and colonnades, lesser sanctuaries, devoted to minor gods, being comprehended within those courts. In one instance the circumvaling buildings comprise a space of four miles.

The general effect of the larger temples is imposing. They are frequently built in great cities, which they adorn. Sometimes they are erected in the retirement of forests, in lonely places on the banks of great rivers, especially the Ganges, and high up on plateaux of the Ghauts or Himalayas. The lonely grandeur of these isolated dwellings of the gods can hardly fail to impress the oriental imagination; and there is generally a tasteful keeping between the style of the edifice and the scenery in which it is placed, whether nestled amidst forest foliage, casting its shadow over the river murmuring round its walls, or lifting its tall towers from the mountain rock high up into the blazing light, as if alike inviting gods and men to meet within its solemn precincts. Alas! what horrid rites disfigure these costly altars! upon what dreadful scenes might these pictorial gods and heroes look, were they animated to behold for a moment the worshippers that gaze upon them! How the great enemy of man triumphs over prostrate reason, and deluded hopes, and fears, and feelings, within the spaces enclosed by those wreathed columns and stuccoed walls! He that studies her worship must, *à priori*, know that India is debased—that avarice, lust, and slaughter, are the passions which rage within the Hindoo heart, as flames from different sacrifices on the same altar are ever conflicting, yet blending as they rise. While the sacred Scriptures tell us that an "idol is nothing in the world,"—a thing to be counted nothing,—yet they also depict the degradation, passion, cruelty and crime which may be inspired by the associations with which the imagination surrounds the senseless block. India, in her state and in her history, confirms with startling verification the philosophy of idolatry which the Christian Scriptures reveal. It is the religion of India, but more especially the idolatrous religion of India, that make its people alike servile and tyrannical, weak and wicked. The following is perhaps as faithful

a moral picture as was ever drawn of any original. He who would understand India must comprehend that the sources of her degradation lie thus deep:—"To what cause, then, shall we attribute that prostration of mind and depravity of heart which have sunk a great people into wretchedness, and rendered them the object of political contempt and of moral abhorrence? The answer is readily obtained—to superstition, to the prevalence of a mighty system of religious imposture, as atrocious as it is extravagant, which in the same degree that it dishonours the Supreme Being corrupts and debases his rational creatures; which, upon the most outrageous absurdity, engrafts the most abominable vice, and rears a temple to false and filthy deities upon the ruins of human intellect and human virtue. It were criminal to conceal or palliate the real cause of Hindoo degeneracy. It is false religion, and nothing else. The gods whom the Hindoos worship are impersonations of all the vices and all the crimes which degrade human nature, and there is no grossness and no villany which does not receive countenance from the example of some or other of them. The vilest and most slanderous impurity pervades their mythology throughout, is interwoven with all its details, is at once its groundwork and its completion, its beginning and its end. The robber has his god, from whom he invokes a blessing on his attempt against the life and property of his neighbour. Revenge, as well as robbery, finds a kindred deity; and cruelty, the never-failing companion of idolatry, is the essence of the system. The rites and ceremonies are worthy of the faith; they may be summed up in three words—folly, licentiousness, and cruelty. Penances, silly and revolting, are the means of expiating sin. Grossness the most horrible, both in nature and in degree, from which the most abandoned characters in the most abandoned parts of Europe would recoil, enters into public worship, and the higher festivals are honoured by an increased measure of profligacy. That unhappy class of females who everywhere else are regarded with contemptuous scorn, or with painful commiseration, are in India appendages to the temples of religion. The Hindoo faith, in perfect conformity with its character, demands barbarous as well as licentious exhibitions, and torture and death are among its most acceptable modes of service. From such deities and such modes of worship what can we expect but what we find? If the sublime example of perfect purity which true religion places before its followers be calculated to win to virtue, must not universal contamination be the necessary consequence of investing pollution and crime with the garb of divinity? If men find licentiousness and cruelty associated with the ceremonies of religion, is it possible that they should believe them to be wrong? Can they be expected in private life to renounce as criminal, practices which in public they have been taught to regard as meritorious? Will they abhor in the world that which they reverence in the sanctuary? It were absurd to believe it. The Hindoo system prescribes the observance of frivolous ceremonies, and neglects to inculcate important moral duties. But its pernicious influence does not terminate there; it enforces much that is positively evil. By the institution of castes it estranges man from his fellows, and shuts up avenues of benevolence; invests one part of society with the privilege of unrestrained indulgence, casting over them the cloak of sanctity, however unworthy,—shielding them from the consequences of their actions, however flagitious, and condemns another to hopeless and perpetual debasement, without the chance of emancipation or improvement. A system more mischievous or iniquitous, better calculated to serve the interests of vice, or destroy those of virtue, seems beyond the power of the most perverted ingenuity to frame."*

Hindooism or Brahminism is not the only form of ancient religion prevailing in Hindoostan and the neighbouring countries. Buddhism approaches nearest to it in antiquity, and is far more extensively professed. The religion of Buddha is not of much influence in India proper, but in Thibet, China, Tenesserim, Pegu, Birmah, Japan, and other countries of Eastern Asia, it is the prevailing religion. In the island of Ceylon it is the religion of nearly the whole population. The founder of this new creed was born late in the seventh century before Christ, and was, or at all events is reputed to have been, the son of a Hindoo king. His name was Sakya, or Gotama, by both of which designations he is known, but is more generally called Gotama Buddha. The term Buddha seems to be a title expressive of his attainments and exalted being, for it means *intelligence*. Early in the sixth century before Christ he set up for a prophet and teacher, and for half a century exerted himself in the propagation of his doctrines, which rapidly spread through Hindoostan and the neighbouring countries. It was ultimately nearly extirpated in India by persecution on the part of the Brahmins, but it continues to this day, and is the faith of

* *India: its State and Prospects*, by Edward Thornton.

multitudes in China, Birmah, British Birmah, Japan, Ceylon, and in portions of Nepaul and Thibet. There are more votaries of this belief than of any other religion, true or false, in the world. Gotama was originally a very pious Hindoo, of the caste of the Kshatryas, and the Brahmins allege that he was moved to become an apostate by envy of the superior caste of the Brahmins, whose privileges he could not attain, although being the son of a king. His votaries say that, by a life of austerity and contemplation, he attained to the true philosophy, and reformed the errors of mankind. His creed is atheistical materialism. The being of a god is denied, the eternity of matter and its essential and inherent power to produce all organisations without any external action upon it is affirmed. Yet there is not unity of opinion among the followers of Buddha; for while in China and parts of Tartary they are atheistical, in Nepaul, Thibet, and other parts of Tartary they are theists, but deny the creation, government, and providence of God. They represent him as a being whose apathy to all external things constitutes his happiness, and they regard the attainment of a similar apathy by themselves as the perfection of life. Some sects of the Buddhists believe that God and matter are the same; that matter is the exterior of God, and its productive and reproductive power they describe as the involuntary, and, some of them say, unconscious action of the Deity. In some parts of the East they are polytheists, but this view is confined to the vulgar. In the industriously compiled and clever book on Christianity in Ceylon, written by Sir Emerson Tennant, errors of statement have arisen from a want of perception of this sectarian discrepancy.

There are in the system of Buddha various orders of superior intelligences—*i. e.* glorified men, who have made themselves what they are by penances and wisdom. The process by which such high attainment is reached is transmigration, which goes on through various worlds, and has gone on in various worlds before the subject of the mysterious changes was an inhabitant of this earth. The Buddhas are the highest order of intelligences; of them there are many, sixteen chief Buddhas having reached the highest state of felicity; the last of them was Gotama, by whom the mystery was revealed. The religious exercises consist of penances and bodily mortifications, which are systematised. The most intense devotees unite themselves into associations, as monks and nuns in Roman Catholic Christendom. Buddha is not ostensibly worshipped; he is the prophet, exemplar, and guide of men, who may, like him, be finally absorbed into the deity, so as to have no separate existence. Those who refuse to adopt any terms recognising the existence of deity in any sense, hope to attain an intellectual existence perfectly passionless, and which is happy in a serene tranquillity, which allows of no action, nor permits any action upon itself from any form of existence beyond it.

Religious houses for women have gradually disappeared, but extensive confraternities exist wherever Buddhism flourishes. The priests or monks wear robes of yellow cloth, go barefooted, live by alms, abstain from animal food, or at least from killing animals for food, and most religiously shave the head in the form of the Roman tonsure. Many wear a thin gauze on the lips and nostrils, to prevent insect life from touching them. They profess a high standard of morality—as high as that of the Vedas—probably higher than that contained in those books; but, as in the case of the Brahmins, and other professors of the Brahminical religion, a subtle and corrupt casuistry eludes the standard, and the followers of Buddha exhibit all the cruelty, treachery, licentiousness, and avarice prevailing in China, in which vices they are nearly as deeply sunk as the worshippers of Brahma.

Dr. Cooke Taylor defined Buddhism as being a philosophical, political, and religious reformation of Brahminism. It is not clear whether the learned gentleman meant that it professed to be so, as one might suppose he would, after a comparison of the two systems—for it assuredly was no improvement upon the religion of the Vedas, as it existed six centuries before Christ. The political and moral philosophy of the Vedas, and the religious theory of those books, with all their defects, are superior to the cold abstractions and miserable materialism of Buddha. When the same historian describes the new system as substituting sanctity for sacrifice, it would appear as if the pleasing alliteration of the sentence in some degree concealed the fact from the cognizance of the writer. The Hindooism of Gotama Buddha's day taught humility, reverence, and the necessity of sinful creatures approaching the divinities by media that were intercessory and expiatory. The "sanctity" of Buddhism is a frigid self-righteousness, in which, according to Mr. Hodgson, "the ascetic despises the priest, the saint scorns the aid of mediators."* The sentence of Mr. Hodgson is only applicable, however, to what he calls "genuine Buddhism," for no race of devotees

* *Asiatic Researches.*

were ever more priest-ridden by their monks than the followers of this sect; and with all their vague notions of deity, they, in some of the many nations where their belief is received, offer sacrifices both expiatory and eucharistical. Offerings of various kinds are also presented to deceased men whose virtues merited especial reverence, and sometimes even to demons, who are always represented as capable of good actions, and of ultimately purifying themselves, until they also are absorbed into the divine essence.

Dr. Taylor rather obscurely intimates that the extravagance of princes, and the popular disposition to attribute to them virtue in proportion to their lavish excesses, suggested to Gotama Buddha the idea of a reformation, by which contempt of human affairs and self-denial would become the great tests of virtue. There is no proof that such was the case. It is plain, from the Buddhist system, that, like the Brahminical, it had its origin in the Babylonian philosophy, each adopting prominently the features of that system which the other neglected—the Brahmin regarding the theological aspect of Babylonianism, the Buddhist looking rather to the philosophical. The founder had evidently studied that philosophy, and pointed it out to the people as a neglected portion of the doctrines of their fathers. He found traditions in existence which facilitated the progress of his propagandism.

Notice has been already taken of the tonsured priests or monks of Buddha, the tonsure being Babylonian in its origin. The Buddhists of Tartary use the sign of the cross as a charm to dispel invisible dangers, and reverence the form of the cross in many ways, proving the Babylonish origin of the system. The mystic Tau, the initial of the name Taumuz (or Tammuz) was originially written ☥. This was marked on the foreheads of the worshippers when they were admitted to the mysteries. The Tau was half the labarum, the idolatrous standard of early pagan nations—the other half being the crescent. The former was the emblem of the Babylonian Bacchus—the latter of Astarte, the Queen of Heaven. In every nation possessing a creed or a philosophy the same sign has been used, having the same derivation. At Nineveh it was found among the ruins as a sacred emblem.* In Egypt it was similarly used, as is well known.† The Spanish priests were astounded to find the cross worshipped in Mexico.‡ These were all streams from the same fountain—Babylon. The monasteries which are so numerous among the Buddhists, and the nunneries which, although fallen into disrepute in India proper, still exist in Buddhist countries, were purely Babylonian in their origin. The monasteries of Babylon were devoted to the Babylonian Messiah, and the nunneries to the Madonna. The vestal virgins of Rome, the Scandinavian priestesses of Freya, who vowed perpetual virginity,* and the lady virgins of Peru;† were all copies of the same original. Prescott, in his *Peru*, expresses his astonishment at finding that the institutions of ancient Rome were to be found among the South American Indians. It is still more surprising that both are not traced more generally to their real source, that from which the Buddhists derived theirs—ancient Babylon.

The Buddhists are not considered idolaters by any writers of reputation, yet it would be an error to suppose that they are free from the superstitious use of idols. The original idolatry of Babylon, consisted in paying a *relative* honour of a sacred kind to the images of the divine beings or attributes thus represented. The primitive idolatry of the Brahminical religion was the same. Buddhism adopts practically the same theory. It reverences its chief ascetics, as the Brahmins do their minor gods; and it makes images of the Buddhas, and images emblematical of the transmigrations and chief facts in the spiritual history of its saints. A recent correspondent of the *Times* London newspaper relates the surprise he felt at discovering idolatry and a species of atheistical materialism as prevailing together, and professed even by the same persons, in the year 1857. Indeed, atheism of the Buddhist order is strangely mixed up in the minds of most of the Chinese with idolatrous superstitions of Babylonian origin, and probably by way of Hindoostan. The following letter from the China correspondent of the journal just mentioned confirms the above remarks as to the genius and practical character of Buddhism. The letter is dated village of Seehoo, August 14th, 1857:—

"Our days were passed in the great Buddhist temples and in the monasteries of the Bonzes. They take us to the Temple of the Great Buddha—a mighty bust forty feet high, carved out of the rock, and gilt; thence to a still larger temple, where a moving pagoda and forty-nine colossal idols commemorate the forty-nine transmigrations of Buddha. These temples, however, great as they are in size and gorgeous grotesqueness, are but as little Welsh churches compared to the wonders of the 'Yun Lin,' the 'Cloudy Forest.' This is not so much a temple as a region of temples. It is suggestive of the scenes of those ancient pagan mysteries where

* Layard. † Bryant. ‡ Prescott.

* Maillet's *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 120.
† Prescott's *Peru*, vol. i. p. 103.

the faith and fortitude of neophytes were tried, and their souls purified by successive terrors. It is a limestone district, abounding in caves and far-reaching dark galleries, and mysterious internal waters. These natural opportunities are improved by a priest and an altar in every cave, gigantic idols cut into the rock in unexpected places, rays of heavenly light which only the faithful votary ought to be able to see, but which, as they come through holes bored through the hill, sceptics sometimes catch sight of; inscriptions two thousand years old,* but deepened as time wears them. The place is a labyrinth of carved rocks, a happy valley of laughing Buddhas, and queens of Heaven, and squatting Buddhas, and hideous hook-nosed gods of India. There is a pervading smell of frankincense, and the single priest found here and there in solitary places, moaning his ritual, makes the place yet more lonely; and through this strange scene you pass through narrow paths to the foot of the colossal terrace steps which mount to the great temple itself. The wild birds are flying about this vast echoing hall of Buddha; the idols are still bigger, and still more richly gilt. In the great 'gallery of five hundred gods' all that can be done by art, laborious, but ignorant of beauty, reaches its climax. The cowled but tonsured bonzes come forth to greet us. Excellent tea and great choice of sweetmeats await us in the refectory.

"The wonders of this Hangchow Lake deserve better description than the object of these letters will allow me to attempt. The temple and tomb of the faithful minister of state, Yo Fei, occupy acres of ground and thousands of tons of monumental wood, stone, and iron. The imperial palace upon the lake, with its garden of rock-work and green ponds, its large library of unused books, its dim metal mirrors, richly embroidered cushions, and ricketty old chairs, opened to us with great difficulty, and under the immediate pressure of the almighty dollar. I hope some one under less imperative obligation to eschew the merely picturesque, and to seek only for facts which may have a practicable bearing, may yet describe these objects. My favourite eventide occupation was to ascend one of these hills, and sit at the foot of one of these half-burnt pagodas which stand about like blasted cypress-trees, and look down upon the Hangchow. The famous city lies like a map beneath me. Not a curl of smoke—not a building more lofty than the orthodox two-storied joss-house. I can see not only public temples, but also many of those private ancestral temples, which are to a Chinese gentleman what the chancel of his parish church is to an English squire. Little gardens, perhaps not forty feet square, full of weeds, and rockwork, and little ponds; an oblong pavilion, with tablets upon the walls, descriptive of the names and achievements of the ancestors,—a kneeling-stool, an incense vase, candlesticks, a brazier to burn paper made in imitation of Sycee silver, and a sacrificial tub—such is a Chinaman's private chapel. Here he comes on solemn days, and, the garden being weeded, and all things painted and renewed for the occasion, he prays and sacrifices to his ancestors, and feasts with his friends. If the Chinaman has a superstition, this is it. His Buddhism is a ceremonial to the many, and a speculative philosophy to the adept, no more.

"Mr. Edkins' object in visiting the temples of the lake was to hold controversy with the priests, so I had more opportunity of hearing what they really believe than usually falls to the lot of travellers who cannot read the Pali books. They did not feel his arguments against idolatry. They treat their grotesque gods with as much contempt as we do. They divide the votaries into three classes. First come the learned men, who perform the ritual, and observe the abstinence from animal food, merely as a matter of discipline, but place their religion in absolute mental abstraction, tending to that perfection which shall fit them to be absorbed into that something which, as they say, faith can conceive, but words cannot describe. Secondly come those who, unable to mount to this intellectual yearning after purification from all human sentiments, strive by devotion to fit themselves for the heaven of the western Buddha, where transmigration shall cease, and they shall for all eternity sit upon a lotus-flower, and gaze upon Buddha, drawing happiness from his presence. Thirdly follow the vulgar, whose devotion can rise no higher than the sensual ceremonies, who strike their foreheads upon the steps of the temples, who burn incense, offer candles made from the tallow-tree, and save up their cash for festival days. So far as my experience goes, this class is confined almost entirely to old women, and the priests say that their one unvarying aspiration is that at their next transmigration they may become men.

"Such is Buddhism as we see it in China. But this is not all. A Chinese poet, who eight hundred years ago built an ugly straight-down in this beautiful Lake of Seehoo about the same time invented the Ten

* This is probably an error; Buddhism has been proved incontestably to be no older than the date ascribed to it in this History. These temples were erected since Anno Domini.

Gods of Hell, and grafted them upon the Buddhist faith to terrify men from crime. There is also a reformed sect of Buddhists, who call themselves 'Do-nothings,' and who place the perfection of man in abstaining from all worship, all virtue, and all vice. When the Jesuit missionaries saw the mitres, the tonsure, the incense, the choir, and the statues of the Queen of Heaven, they exclaimed that the devil had been allowed to burlesque their religion. We Protestants may almost say the same. These reformed Buddhists deduce their origin from a teacher who was crucified in the province of Shantung some six hundred years ago, and they shock the missionaries by blasphemous parallels. I have heard that the present Bishop of Victoria investigated this sect, and sent home an account of them, but, for some reason, the statement was suppressed.

"Then we have the Taoists, or cultivators of perfect reason, which is a philosophy having also its temples and its ceremonies. We have the worship of Heaven, which is the prerogative of the emperor, and we have the state religion, the philosophy of Confucius, which is but metaphysics and ethics.

"All these may form good subject of discussion to laboriously idle men, but they are of very little practical importance. They are speculations, not superstitions. They are thought over, they are not felt. They inspire no fanaticism, they create no zeal, they make no martyrs, they generate no intolerance. They are not faiths that men will fight for, or die for, or even feel zealous for. Your Chinese doctor is a man of great subtlety, of great politeness, but of the coldest indifference. He is a most pachydermatous beast, so far as the zeal of the Christian missionary is concerned. 'Do you believe in Jesus Christ?' asks the missionary after long teaching, patiently heard. 'Certainly I do,' coldly answers the hearer. 'But why do you believe? Are you convinced—do you feel that what I have been saying is true?'—'I believe it because you say so,' is the polite and hopeless answer.

"It is this which makes the earnest missionary despond. A Chinaman has no superstition.* He has nothing that can be overthrown, and leave a void. He will chin his joss, burn crackers before he starts on a voyage, or light a candle for a partner or a useful clerk who may be in danger of death. But it's only hope of 'good luck,' or fear of 'bad luck.' The feeling is no deeper than that which in religious and enlightened England causes so many horse-shoes to be nailed up to keep out witches, or which makes decent housewives, who can read and write, separate crossed knives, throw pinches of salt over their shoulder, and avoid walking under a ladder.

"Clustered upon this hill, within the walls of Hangchow, are temples of all these varied forms of paganism, and perhaps within the year the same idolater has bowed in all of them. Two lofty green mounds are perhaps too large for mere private tombs, and mark the spot of some public hero-worship; but in other cases the architecture of the sacred and public edifices is all alike, and you cannot distinguish temples from custom-houses or mandarin offices."

The illustration of Buddhism afforded by the foregoing extract is very remarkable. No modern traveller has probably possessed similar opportunities of witnessing the Buddhist religion in its full practical exhibition as the writer, and it affords a singular and striking exhibition of what Buddhism is where its power is unchecked.

Another religion of Hindoostan is that of the Jains. Dr. Cooke Taylor calls their religion a branch of Brahminism; it might with more propriety be termed a branch of Buddhism. In most of their doctrines these two religions agree, and in very many of their practices. Yet the Jains adopt and multiply the Hindoo gods. They, however, regard all the gods of Hindooism—even the *dies majora*—as inferior to certain saints of their own, whom they call Tirtankeras, of whom there are seventy-two.* They erect temples, and have colossal images of their Tirtankeras placed in them, also marble altars, and likenesses of their saints above them in relief.

There is one peculiarity which strikes Europeans, and particularly Roman Catholic Europeans,—the practice of auricular confession. This prevailed in ancient Babylon, like all, or nearly all, the chief superstitions of heathen nations. The Tartars are represented as using the confessional by Humboldt, and the Mexicans by Prescott. Humboldt did not seem to be aware that the Tartars whom he represents thus were of the sect of the Jains; some of them were probably Buddhists, or professing a mixture of Jainism and Buddhism. Dr. Stevenson, of Bombay, has proved that the Jains extensively adopt this exercise. Dr. Cooke Taylor represents them as having no priests; Mr. Elphinstone, on the contrary, describes their religious leaders by that name. There are no bloody

* The writer furnishes abundant proof that the Buddhist is almost as much a slave to superstition as the Brahmins, although there is less of heart in his religion.

* Dr. Cooke Taylor represents them as twenty-four, but this is an error; there are three sets of Tirtankeras, each twenty-four in number.

sacrifices among them, but bloodless offerings are presented to their saints, and to the gods of the Hindoo Pantheon, by officials sacredly set apart for such purposes. They are as much priests as those of the Hindoo religion.

The Jains' religion originated about the sixth century of our era. It attained the acme of its elevation and influence in the twelfth, and, after maintaining its position for about one hundred and fifty years, rapidly declined. Their chief seats of power are in the west of India. They are much addicted to commercial pursuits and banking. Several very rich bankers are numbered among them. The Brahmins persecuted them, as they did the Buddhists, and with similar success; indeed, with the exception of the Mohammedans, the followers of Brahma are the most bigoted and persecuting of any sect in India.

Brahminism, Buddhism, and Jainism, are represented as religions of Hindoo origin, but other systems which have existence in India are generally described as of foreign origin. Buddhism and Jainism certainly originated in Hindoostan, but Brahminism, in its ancient and peculiar characteristics, was known in Persia* in times as remote as any of which we have an account in Hindoo history.

Gheberism was imported into Hindoostan from Persia, of which country it is supposed to have been the most ancient form of religion. Its votaries are known in India by the name of Parsees. These people are scattered through various parts of India, and are few in number as compared with the other sects. The object of their adoration is the sun, and fire as supposed to come from that source. Their prophet is Zoroaster. The origin of fire-worship is Babylonian; it is another stream of idolatry from the great source.

The Ghebers trace their doctrines to "Malek Gheber" (the mighty king); and he is undoubtedly identical with Nimrod, the first who began to be mighty (Gheber), and the first Molech, or king. The title which Berosus, the Chaldean historian, gives to Nimrod is Al-orus (the god of fire). During the lifetime of Nimrod he assumed to be the Bolken,† or priest, of the sun, or priest of Baal. Fire being the representation of the sun, it was also worshipped as emanating from the one god, which the sun was then considered to be. When Taumuz, the son of Nimrod, was deified, Nimrod himself was made a god. The story of Phaeton driving the chariot of the sun, and the consequent catastrophe, is but the story of Taumuz, his sudden death, and the temporary cessation of the worship of the sun and the heavenly bodies. Zoroaster was Taumuz—the word being originally Zero-ashta, the seed of the woman, referring to the promise in Eden. The Zoroaster who lived in the time of Darius Hystaspes must not be confounded with the primitive Zoroaster.*

The author of the *Moral Identity of Rome and Babylon* thus writes on this subject:—"The identity of Bacchus and Zoroaster is easily proved. The very epithet Pyrisporus bestowed on Bacchus in the Orphic Hymns (Hymn xliv. 1) goes far to establish that identity. When the primeval promise of Eden began to be forgotten, the meaning of the name Zero-ashta was lost to all who knew only the *exoteric* doctrine of paganism; and as *ashta* signified the 'fire' in Chaldee as well as 'the woman,' and the rites of Taumuz had much to do with fire-worship, Zero-ashta came to be rendered 'the seed of fire,' and hence the epithet 'Pyrisporus,' or Ignigena, 'fire-born,' as applied to Bacchus. From this misunderstanding of the meaning of the name Zero-ashta came the whole story about the unborn infant Bacchus having been rescued from the flames that consumed his mother Semele, when Jupiter came in his glory to visit her. Now there was another name by which Zoroaster was known, which is not a little instructive, and that is Zoro-ades, or 'the only seed.' The ancient pagans, while they recognised supremely one only God, knew also that there was one only *seed*, on whom the hopes of the world depended. In almost all nations not only was a great god known under the name of Zero or Zer, 'the seed,' and a great goddess under the name of Ashta or Isha, 'the woman,' but the great god Zero is frequently characterised by some epithet that implies that he is the 'only one.' Now what can account for such names and epithets? Genesis iii. 15, can account for them; nothing else can. The name Zoro-ades also strikingly illustrates the saying of Paul—'He saith not, And to seeds, as of many; but as of *one*, And to thy seed, which is Christ.'"

In Persia, and portions of Central Asia, Affghanistan, and Thibet, the worshippers of fire are scattered as a persecuted sect. Those who bear the crescent as their ensign pursue with vindictive sword those whose ensign and idol are the sun. The Mohammedans seem to have been raised up in the retributive providence of God to execute his wrath upon all forms of idolatry, and the votaries of fire have not been spared.

* Sir John Malcolm.

† Hence the Roman Vulcan.

* Wilson's *Parsee Religion*, p. 398.

The Parsees hold tenaciously by their creed and deity—

> "As the sunflower turns to her god when he sets
> The same look which she gave when he rose."

Among the Parsees of India are many wealthy men, as merchants and bankers. As a class, they are much superior to the other natives, and are more loyal and faithful.

The Sikhs are confined to the Punjaub; their religion is modern, and is a mixture of Mohammedanism and Brahminism. The Sikh people hate both, and are ever ready to arm against the Hindoos and Mohammedans, whose ascendancy they dread much more than that of the British. Before the conquest of the Punjaub, the Sikh country was governed by a sort of theocracy. The nation was the Khalsa, or church. The maharajah was head over both. The Maharajah Dhuleep Singh is now in England; and since the conquest of his territory for crimes in which he had no part, he has been a loyal British subject, as also he is an accomplished gentleman and sincere Christian. Dr. Sir William Logan is the agent of the East India Company to whose care in this country the maharajah is committed, and who participates in those enlightened principles which his illustrious and amiable charge has happily espoused.

Such are the heathen systems of India. A writer in a recent number of *Blackwood's Magazine* remarks—"Polytheism, and its never-failing attendant, idolatry, which in modern times disappeared so much from the face of the earth, still exist in pristine vigour in the Indian peninsula." Unhappily there are large portions of the face of the earth where polytheism and idolatry still prevail; but the opinion is a just one, that it is in the Indian peninsula that both polytheism and idolatry prevail in pristine force. However erroneous the doctrine may be that the worship of idols necessarily attends polytheism, it is a sequence so general as to justify the inference that where the one prevails the other will probably exist. The same writer justly observes that had the Jewish people, in the days of monotheistic orthodoxy, known the idolatry of India, their prophets would have uttered still more terrible anathemas against it than they uttered against the systems of surrounding nations. "The lowlands of Tyre and Philistia might bow to the false gods of Dagon; the banks of Abana and Pharpar, and the groves of the Orontes, might be gay with the licentious rites of Ashtaroth; memories of the gods of Egypt stood recorded in the Pentateuch; and in the dark hours of the captivity the Hebrews looked with heightened hatred upon the nobler symbol-worship of Assyria; but not Assyria and Egypt combined would have equalled that stupendous development of paganism and idolatry which still exists as a spectacle for man's humiliation in India." It is, however, some relief to this picture that the progressive character of Hindoo idolatry seems to have ceased. The doctrine of development, so great a favourite with the doctors of the Christian Church when desirous to defend or commend some favourite heresy, was a prevalent one among the ministers of Indian idolatries. The systems accordingly went on developing themselves, until the cumbrous structures of ethics and devotion, raised by the adventurous casuists and theorists, became too ponderous to bear further accumulation. There are few new temples erecting for any of the systems of idolatry in India; and the existing temples, of whatever style—whether the rock temples of the ghauts, or the lofty domed topes of Ceylon, dedicated to Buddha, or the "tall elliptical temples of Orissa," the glory of Juggernaut—are barely preserved in repair. No new accessions of gods or shrines seem to be now made; and there is in this a sign strikingly indicative that the idolatry of India has reached its culminating point, and that the depraved imagination of its people has reached the extent of its creative power in the department of polytheistic idolatry. Indeed, the land is covered with temples: in Conjeveram alone there are one hundred and twenty-five edifices devoted to idols, of which the horrid god Siva has one hundred and eight.

Long since there seemed to be a cessation of progress in the invention of gods and erection of temples, there yet continued a minor activity of the imagination in devising representations of the previously recognised deities. The makers of idols were numerous; in all the cities and villages the craftsmen might be seen idol-making. The manufacture was as varied as extensive. Gods for an English halfpenny or an Indian rupee could be obtained, according to the quality of the image; but if the idols obtained consecration, then the price was rather according to the quality of the god. Consecrated, and even unconsecrated idols, were purchased by the rich at a great cost. The consecration, as to its costliness, depends upon the popularity of the deity, which generally involves a greater number of texts, prayers, and ceremonies in proportion as the god has a great reputation. The idol finally, in most cases, receives a sort of baptism in the Ganges, and becomes a proper household god. Deities of this sort, made of gold and silver, executed

in a superior manner, and richly decorated with precious stones, are to be found in the houses of the wealthy. It is observable, however, that the progressive character of this god-manufacture, which produced such countless varieties of representations, has received a check. The carving, sculpture, and architecture of Hindoo, Jain, Buddhist, and Gheber, have to a great extent lost their originality,—nor is there the same inclination to bestow large sums on household images. It is impossible not to regard this fact as hopeful, in forming an opinion of the prospects of the heathen religions of India.

In all the pagan superstitions of the peninsula the doctrines of penance, as an expiation of sin, and of self-torture, for the purpose of raising human nature to the divine, are held. To such an extent is this carried, that, whether Buddhist, Jain, or Brahmin, all hope to rise to a god-like existence hereafter, by making their existence, for the most part, miserable here. A clergyman well acquainted with India describes this process as leading to the following absurd and degrading exhibitions:—"Some were interred, others, with the head downwards, the legs, from the knees, remaining above ground; some sat on iron spikes; others performed the penance of the five fires, being seated in the midst of four, while the burning sun poured its rays upon the naked head." *

Another feature common to the heathenism of India is licentiousness. The doctrines of Buddha, as professed by Buddhists proper and by Jains, are adverse to this, but so also are the doctrines of pure Brahminism. The practice over all India, and under all its superstitions, is, however, at variance with the better ethics of the religious theories which are professed. Various superstitious reasons are found for a licentiousness the most abominable; whatever the moral philosophy pervading the creeds, the low character of the deities degrades the worshippers and the worship, and inspires impurity. In Bruce's *Sights and Scenes in the East*, a description is given of the voluptuous dances before the idol of the goddess Durga, such as ought to silence the European apologists for the "innocent superstitions of the East." In the hills, among the Khonds, intoxication is indulged as a stimulus to lasciviousness, which is supposed to be acceptable to the "earth goddess," who bears various names.

Among the false religions of India, Mohammedanism holds a prominent place—not so much from the numerical proportion of its votaries, as from their relative power.

* *The Land of the Vedas*, by the Rev. P. Percival.

In another publication * the author of this History gave a summary of the history and religion of Mohammed, so concise and complete as to suit this account of the religions of India.

Mohammedanism is summed up in this sentence—"There is one God, and Mohammed is his prophet." Early in the seventh century an Arabian enthusiast conceived the idea of a reformation among his pagan countrymen. It appears that he was moved by patriotic and conscientious motives. In his inquiries and reflections he became tolerably acquainted with the Christian and Jewish scriptures, the inspiration of which he did not fully recognise, or formed only vague notions of its nature and character. To the Jews he took an aversion on account of their venality, intolerance, and pride of race. The Christians did not exemplify their religion any better than the Jews did theirs; and as he became estranged from the idolatry of his fathers, he was increasingly shocked by the idolatry of the Christians, and concluded that theirs could not be the ultimate faith of the servants of God in this world. Thus reasoning, he became as zealous to overthrow the idolatry of the Christian altars as that of the pagan, which once he served and finding some to sympathise with him in his views of the simplicity of worship and the unity of God, he conceived the idea of a great reformation. So plain did the amount of truth he had gathered appear to him, that he could not believe in any sincere resistance to it; and reasoning like other bigots before and since, that he who opposed truth opposed God, and ought to be punished, the doctrine of force became an essential part of his system. He soon found obstacles from pagans, Jews, and Christians, not to be surmounted without address, and he resorted to policy and pious frauds akin to such as he perceived to be so successful in the hands of pagan and Christian priests, and Jewish rabbis. Here the faithful historian becomes baffled in his attempts to discover where sincerity ends and imposture begins, and where the strong man's mental vision becomes itself deranged in the tumults of his imaginations, his projects, and his sufferings. And as success crowned his deeds and misdeeds, his sincere iconoclasm, love of justice, and earnest promulgation of fundamental religious truth, become more inextricably mingled with signs of mental aberration, all-devouring ambition, and cunning imposture.

* Nolan's *Illustrated History of the War against Russia*. London: J. S. Virtue, City Road and Ivy Lane. Dedicated by permission to His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge.

It is the habit of writers to treat of the life of Mohammed with as much of the *odium theologicum* as would season the keenest ecclesiastical controversy; and he is praised, and the Koran, which he professed to give by inspiration, is lauded as a literary and ethical miracle, or he is denounced as an unmitigated impostor, and his book as a farago of nonsense and fraud. The book, however, was very much in character with the man—with a man of strong mind, of ambitious enterprise—a religious reformer in a dark age, ignorant of the Gospel, willing to do a supposed good by deceptive means, feigning an inspiration he did not feel, and fancying an inspiration that was not real. Thus constituted and actuated, he propounded, as the book of a prophet, that which was only the dream or the device of a fanatic. It is likely that Jewish and Christian aid were afforded him in its composition, and that aid none of the best. He succeeded among an imaginative people by the overwhelming force of his imagination, among a simple people by the amazing directness of his object, among a brave people by his unexampled intrepidity, amongst a roving people by his passion for adventure, and in a superstitious and ignorant age by the display of superior knowledge and more sacred pretensions than other men, and withal by a deep sympathy with the current prejudices of his race and of humanity. He taught that Moses was a prophet, the forerunner of Christ, and Christ a prophet, the forerunner of himself; he supposed, or affected to believe, that he was the promised Comforter—the Paraclete foretold by Christ as the teacher of all things, and the consummator of divine revelation.

The ecclesiastical system of Mohammed is simple. Other religions are tolerated, this is established. It is a religion without a priesthood; no sacrifices bleed within its temples, and no altars are reared. Its ministers are rulers and doctors; they govern the faithful according to the Koran, offer devotions, and instruct. Within the mosque all believers may pray, even aloud, but only believers must enter. To proselyte to the true faith is a virtue, if disdain for the infidel does not operate as a bar to the effort. To abandon the true faith is sacrilege, and its penalty death. Even the proselyte who apostatizes dies.

The social condition of the people who profess it is formed by their religion and their political institutions, as, indeed, is the case with all nations, whatever their creed.

The Mohammedans of India differ very much from their brethren in Western and Northern Asia, as well as from those in Europe and Africa. Everywhere else, except so far as sectarian differences divide, the features of Mohammedan faith and character possess a clear identity; in India they are so modified by caste, and by the heathenism which holds so tenaciously its position, that Indo-Mohammedanism has a distinctive character. The various inroads of the Prophet's followers were followed by extensive efforts at proselytism; force, guile, and gold, were all freely used to bring over the heathen to Islam; and all were so far successful, that multitudes joined, bearing into their new circle of religious fellowship the love, and, as far as possible, the practice of their old superstitions. The result has been that while the Mohammedan and heathen populations hate one another, and the monotheism of the followers of the Prophet is rigid and uncompromising, they yet adopt castes and customs that are Brahminical, and which give to the social life of the Indo-Mohammedans peculiarities of character very dissimilar from those of their fellow-disciples elsewhere. The Patans and Affghans retain the simpler and sterner service of the old faith, but in Southern Hindoostan so strong a leaven of pagan custom has insinuated itself into the social life of Mohammedans, that but for their pure theism they might be mistaken for Hindoos. The festivals of Mohammedan India strikingly illustrate this; no Turk, or even Affghan, would take part in scenes of such levity. Even fasts and solemnities (so-called) assume much of the wild and exuberant gaiety which characterises the festivals of the Hindoos. Processions, garlands, pyrotechnic displays, &c., mark these occasions. The boat processions on the Ganges by night are scenes of remarkable beauty and boisterous mirth. On these occasions rafts are towed along, bearing fantastic palaces, towers, pagodas, triumphal arches, all hung with brilliant lamps, while rockets shoot up in glittering flight, and the ruffled waters gleam in the broken reflections of the many-coloured lamps and artificial fires. The Hindoos crowd the river's bank, utter their joyous acclamations, beat their rude drums, and express their excited sympathy.* It is the political action, and what they deem ceremonial uncleanness of the Islamites, that excite in the high caste Hindoos repugnance to Mohammedans. Where the latter, by conformity to caste, and adoption of Hindoo customs, relax their antipathies to Hindooism, even the Brahmins give a certain countenance to their religious rites, especially their festivals. Whatever of their general character the Mohammedans of India have lost, they retain the

* Missionary reports.

fierce intolerance which they everywhere else exhibit, and the desire to attain power as a religious duty, by means no matter how repulsive and sanguinary. Tyrants everywhere, they are in India as despotic as the genius of their creed might be supposed to make them, and their history on every stage exhibits them.

Besides heathens and Mohammedans, there are Jews in India. The Beni-Israel constitute an interesting class. They are a remnant of the ten tribes carried away in the great and final captivity. They are, however, too inconsiderable in number or influence to require notice at any length in this place.

There are Christians of various oriental sects among the population of the peninsula. Most of these hold opinions obscured by superstition. There are Armenian, Copt, and Syrian Christians. The last-named are most numerous, and allege themselves to be disciples of St. Thomas the apostle.

There are many Roman Catholics among the natives, in the portions of the country where the Portuguese and French settled. The Jesuits of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries put forth extraordinary efforts to make proselytes. Many of their modes of procedure were most praiseworthy; they studied the languages of the people with indefatigable industry, and exposed themselves fearlessly to the climate, and to every hardship necessary to their great task. Some of their proceedings cannot be too much censured. They pretended to be Brahmins of the highest caste, having in their own country enjoyed the religion of the Vedas. They accordingly assumed the dress and modes of living of the "Suniassi," the most perfect order of the Brahmins in those days, and united with them in ceremonies which no enlightened and honest conscience could allow its possessor to participate. Where guile failed, force was resorted to, and the history of the inquisition at Goa is as horrible as that of Juggernaut at Orissa,—at all events, when we recollect that the cruel and sanguinary deeds done in connection with the former were in the name of the all-merciful Saviour. The native Roman Catholic population, except at Pondicherry, where they are under the instruction of enlightened French priests, is as degraded as that of the Mohammedans and heathens. The Portuguese erected many fine churches, the ruins of which alone remain. At Goa, Bassein, Chaul, and various other places, extensive ruins of this description exist. Dr. Taylor affirms that such remains at Bassein are comparable to those of Pompeii.

The early Protestant missionaries do not appear to have been very successful, but they refrained from all deceptive methods, such as the Jesuits adopted to make proselytes. The Dutch, however, although they avoided the affectation of sympathy with the Brahmins, which the Jesuits assumed, yet, like them, they resorted to persecution, but of a much milder form. Bribery, however, they practised in common with the Jesuits, refusing all civil offices, however unimportant, to natives, unless they submitted to baptism. Numbers complied, and made an ostensible profession of Christianity for the advantages which they derived, but fell away as soon as these temporal benefits were withdrawn. A writer, who imparts his own religious prejudices into his relation of the missionary history of India, remarks with an air of triumph—"The descendants of the Jesuit and Presbyterian converts have long since disappeared from the land, and are only remembered in musty ecclesiastical records." * To whatever extent this may be true of the descendants of the proselytes made by the Dutch, it is not correct as to those made by the Jesuits, whose numbers are still considerable.

The first Protestant missionary was sent to India in 1705, under the auspices of the King of Denmark. He established himself at Tranquebar, then a Danish settlement, where he founded a church and school, and laboured with assiduity and zeal, which were attended with partial success. Schwartz, and other like-minded men, under the auspices of Denmark, preached the gospel in India, and promoted Christian education, with gradually-increasing advantage, during the first half of the eighteenth century. At the close of that period, Kiemander was employed by the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge. He established a school at Cuddapore, in the presidency of Madras, and laboured there for eight years, with some fruits attending his ministry; but found that, at every step, caste was the grand obstruction to the gospel. In 1758, he proceeded to Calcutta, and organised there more efficient means of conducting his enterprise. In 1770 he erected a church, and soon had several hundred native children, and some adults, in attendance. Towards the close of the century, William Carey, a native of Northamptonshire, a baptist minister, proceeded to Calcutta, where he attempted to preach the gospel and establish schools; but so fierce was the opposition of the East India Company to him, that he was obliged to take refuge in Serampore, under the protection of

* Capper, p. 442.

Denmark—the government of that country was then more favourable than that of England to religious efforts for the enlightenment of the heathen, and Mr. Carey received protection, encouragement, and support. Mr. Carey being a man of most determined will, and believing that he was in the path of duty, persevered in his efforts to do good to the natives, and to conquer the opposition of the East India Company. His educational efforts at Serampore were very successful, and he was so upheld by the religious community in England, that the company became partly ashamed and partly afraid in connection with their hostility to missions. Mr. Carey became even an influential man at Calcutta, for the gifted Marquis of Wellesley was so sensible of his moral worth, knowledge of India, remarkable good sense, and extensive acquirements, that he appointed the invincible missionary to a professorship in the College of Fort William.

At this juncture, the East India Company supported the Hindoo idolatry by public grants of money, and in every conceivable way trimmed to the Brahmins. Even in the educational institutions of the company there seemed a greater desire to foster the religion of the Hindoos than of Christ: happily, such a spirit has passed away from that body, but it was long and obstinately fostered, and, at the period when the Serampore mission began its work, and for long after, remained in full force. In the year 1793, the renewal of the company's charter came before the Houses of Parliament, and a formidable opposition to the religious policy of that body was organised. Mr. Wilberforce, although bigotedly hostile to the repeal of the corporation and test acts, was a strenuous friend to the baptist missions, and to all evangelical efforts among the heathen. He succeeded in passing a series of resolutions, that missionaries and schoolmasters should be provided for the Christian instruction of the natives of India. The resolutions were, however, impracticable. They were not cordially supported by the religious public of England, nor by the "voluntary" missionary societies. All persons who had an extensive acquaintance with India, declared that such measures "went too fast and too far," and would, if practically attempted, excite opposition on the part of the natives of a formidable character, especially as the agents of Roman Catholic powers would not fail to represent the movement to the natives in the light of a forcible interference with their religion. These views, the want of unanimous support on the part of the friends of missions, and the remonstrances of the company, caused the government to hesitate in adopting such a policy, and the resolutions remained in abeyance. It was generally believed that the government yielded to the influence of Mr. Wilberforce in the Commons, but never intended to act upon his views. It soon became known in India that the resolutions of Wilberforce were not to be carried out, and a renewed and fierce persecution against the Serampore mission was the result. Its tracts were called in and burnt by order of the governor in council, who also prohibited the printing of any books whatever in the Danish settlements by English subjects. The British Christian missionaries were not understood by the governor or council; and they might as well have sought to prohibit by law the blowing of the monsoons. The Serampore mission took no heed to the interdicts of the anti-gospel confederacy at Calcutta, and the few Christian ministers in that city pursued their labours with unabated zeal. The governor and council became enraged at this obstinacy, and prohibited all preaching to the natives, and the issuing of all books or tracts having a tendency to make proselytes to the Christian religion. The conduct of the government was more befitting a club of atheists, than a council of men professing to be Christians. The person then presiding over the councils of India was Lord Minto. He was not only the bitter enemy of the extension of the Christian religion by even the most fair, honourable, and politic means, but he was the patron of Hindoo "laws, literature, and religion." He was a bad politician, and a worse Christian. As devil-worship is a part of the religion of India, it is no exaggeration to say that the noble lord would have patronised the worship of the devil to promote his ill-conceived policy. The government at home was not, however, much more honest, earnest, or enlightened on religious subjects than his lordship: he, on the whole, very fairly represented them.

In 1799, the Serampore mission was reinforced by a fresh accession of missionaries; money, printing-presses, and various other instrumentality of usefulness were liberally sent to it from England, and the edicts of the governor-general and his council produced no more effect upon its plans and purposes than upon the waters of the Indian Ocean. The good work went on, and the moral influence of the friends of the missionaries in England became too powerful for the government. In 1813, the consent of parliament was obtained for ecclesiastical establishments according to the English and Scottish churches. In the reign of William III. promise had been made that chaplains should be *provided, and*

that they should be instructed in the languages of the people, in order to facilitate their usefulness. The government in 1813 was only returning to the principles espoused a century and a quarter before by the hero of the revolution.

The first bishop of the Church of England who was appointed in virtue of the new order of things was Dr. Middleton. At the close of 1814, he accepted *all India* as his diocese. On his arrival there he found fifteen chaplains in Bengal, twelve in the presidency of Madras, and five in that of Bombay. He immediately appointed an archdeacon for each presidency, and increased the number of clergymen in them all. He patronised the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, and that for the Propagation of the Gospel. Under his auspices a mission college was founded in Calcutta. He died on the 8th of July, 1822, having laid the foundation for the modern episcopal church of British India.

It was not difficult to find a suitable successor to Dr. Middleton, although many at the time believed it impossible. Eminently qualified men abounded in England then, as now, for any enterprise; and provided there were impartiality in their selection, there could be no difficulty in obtaining such. The choice fell upon the amiable and gifted Heber, who arrived in Calcutta in October, 1823. In 1824 he proceeded thence on a tour of inspection through the upper provinces, returning by Bombay, Ceylon, and Madras. These journeys were of much importance to the religious interests of India, as information was obtained by which subsequent religious operations were guided. On April 2, 1826, while heated, this remarkable man took a cold bath, by which his life was suddenly terminated. His genius, piety, and usefulness will ever be cherished in the memory of his country and the church of God.

Heber was succeeded by Dr. Turner, who arrived at Calcutta in 1829, and died the year following. On the 7th of April, Dr. Daniel Wilson, rector of Islington, was appointed Bishop of Calcutta, and reached the sphere of his labours early in October following. He had been a man of great popularity and usefulness as a parochial minister, and the promise which was thus excited as to his activity and zeal in India was fulfilled; he laboured for many years, visiting nearly every part of India, and, by his example and wisdom, stimulating and directing the zeal, not only of the ministers of his own church, but of the various other evangelical communities, by all of whom he was respected and loved. If Dr. Wilson lays down his labours from ill health, he will, it is alleged, be succeeded by his son, who has also held the rectory of Islington since his father's promotion to the bishopric of Calcutta.

When the East India Company's charter was altered in 1834, it was arranged that two additional bishops should be appointed, one for Madras and one for Bombay. Dr. Corrie, the archdeacon of Madras, was nominated to that bishopric, after nearly thirty years' residence in India. He held his newly-acquired honour scarcely a year, when he died, regretted by all the European inhabitants, not only of the presidency, but of India. Dr. Carr, the archdeacon of Bombay, was appointed to the new diocese in that presidency: he was installed in February, 1838, and resigned from ill health in 1851.

In the arrangements of 1813, it was agreed that two clergymen of the Church of Scotland should be appointed as chaplains in each presidency. This number has been since increased.

The renewal of the company's charter opened the way for all Christian missionaries in India, for the free circulation of the word of God, and of religious tracts and books. After forty years' experience, it has been proved beyond controversy that the fears of free discussion entertained by the government were groundless, and that good has been produced, in proportion as the efforts of the missionaries were unconnected with government in any form. As Professor Wilson has clearly shown, the natives have no unconquerable jealousy of the voluntary labours of missionaries; it is of the action of government in that way that they are invariably jealous and vigilant.

Missionaries now labour unimpeded by government in every part of India, and they have established educational institutions in which the young are trained in the knowledge of Christ. This is the more important, as in the schools and colleges instituted by government the mention of Christianity is prohibited. No book is allowed within them in which Christ is named. If any of the pupils become converts to Christianity they are dismissed.* According to one authority, if any officer of a government college pen an article for a religious periodical, he is subjected to censure, perhaps to dismission. It is important, however angry the protests of many zealous men, that the government should refuse to identify itself with proselytism; but if a native, whether in its colleges, serving in its army, or numbered among its civil servants, chooses to avow Christianity, it is unjust to lay him therefore

* *Government Education in India*, by W. Knighton, A.M.

under disqualifications. While the censors of the East India Company are eager to fix upon it the consequences of any error in its regulations to secure the appearance and reality of impartiality to the natives, they omit to show the many instances in which, of late years, missionary societies have been favoured and aided by the company, even at the hazard of a charge of partiality from other quarters. This has been more particularly the case in connection with the missions of the Established Church: the aid afforded to the Church Missionary Society in their educational efforts among the Santals is an instance. Soon after the suppression of the Santal insurrection of 1855, the director of instruction in Bengal addressed a letter to the corresponding committee of the Church Missionary Society in Calcutta, stating that the government were willing to give liberal assistance for the establishment of schools among the Santals, if the society would undertake their establishment and management. The corresponding committee accepted the offer. After various communications respecting the proposed plan, the secretary to the government of India officially announced to the society, under date of November 28th, 1856, the principle upon which all such grants would be made; and the communication furnishes a complete refutation of the alleged hostility of the company to the religious education of the natives. What the company protests against is, even the semblance of proselytism in the government schools.

"The governor-general in council, viewing the proposed measure as a grant-in-aid to a missionary body for the secular education of an uncivilised tribe, considers it entirely in accordance with the views expressed in the honourable court's despatch of the 19th of July, 1854, and differing in degree only, not in kind, from the grants already made to individual missionaries for like purposes with the honourable court's full approbation and sanction. His lordship in council is of opinion that if the Church Missionary Society, or if any respectable person or body of persons, undertakes to establish good schools among the Santals, the government is bound to render very liberal assistance, in proportion to the extent to which the work may be carried, subject only to the inspection of the officers of the education department, and upon the condition that the government in no way interferes with the religious instruction given, and that the expense of such instruction is borne by those who impart it. His lordship in council accordingly sanctions the proposed scheme as a wise and perfectly legitimate application of the principle of grants-in-aid, and authorises the lieutenant-governor to carry it out forthwith."

The efforts of several of the missionary societies to commit the company to a course which the natives would regard as one of official proselytism have been frequent. Such a course the people of England are not prepared to support. The company goes as far as public opinion in England would justify, as the above official letter shows. That the conduct of the company in this matter is appreciated by the religious community of India attached to the Church of England is evident from the charge delivered by the Bishop of Madras, September 29th, 1856:—"The government 'grants-in-aid' will be of great service to the cause of missions. When it is considered that there are little less than twenty thousand young people under religious instruction, and how much the societies are crippled for want of means in imparting a thoroughly good education to these young people, I think you will agree with me that it will indeed be a seasonable and happy help."*

As soon as freedom of missionary effort was recognised, many societies sent forth labourers into the vast field. The following is a list of the principal associations for this purpose:—

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.
The Church Missionary Society.
The London Missionary Society.
The Baptist Missionary Society.
The General Baptist Missionary Society.
The Scotch Church Missionary Society.
The Free Church of Scotland Missionary Society.
The Wesleyan Missionary Society.
The American Missionary Society.
The German Missionary Society.

Dr. Cooke Taylor thus describes the characteristics of the labourers, and their labours:—"The chief characteristic of the missionaries is the love of maximising and belauding all their own efforts, in order to secure the advantages of their position. Yet their success as preachers is not great, for it is difficult to induce the natives to adopt the systems of men who have no principle in common with themselves. The natives stand aloof, or if they approach the European padre, it is to receive a present—a bribe—or some particle of instruction on points of which they were previously ignorant."

Very seldom has a more unjust verdict been pronounced than this upon any men honestly engaged in a good work, and it can only be reconciled with the integrity of Dr. Taylor by supposing that he had given very inadequate attention to the subject upon

* *Church Missionary Record*, July, 1857.

which he thus so decidedly pronounced. That there have been agents of some of the societies who effected little in India, and who clung to their positions there because they would never have obtained an equally respectable ministerial position at home, is, unhappily, certain. That such men should be tempted to colour their reports to the home directories is natural. No one will deny that this has occurred many times during the labours of the last half-century. But that it should have occurred so seldom is surprising, and that it should at all occur hereafter, is next to impossible, from the number in the field, the mutual contact of the agents of different societies and sects, and the absolute certainty that the press of India would detect and expose misrepresentations of any kind. To describe as "the chief characteristic of the missionaries" a desire to belaud themselves or their labours—to distort or misstate them in any way—is as gross a slander as ever was written by one who attained the reputation of impartiality. Many missionaries in India have taken too desponding a view of things. It has actually been "the chief characteristic of the missionaries" sent there to minimise, not to "maximise"—adopting Dr. Taylor's own phraseology. A careful perusal of missionary letters and statements will prove this. The compilation of the home reports does not rest with the missionary, but with committees and secretaries in London; the missionary does not determine how few or how many of his own letters shall be given to the public, nor what extracts from any letter may be given or withheld. No doubt the peculiar constitution of the man, or his view of things on the whole, will influence a secretary in making these selections. He may deem it necessary to exclude the less hopeful views of his correspondent in the field of work, and in his own more sanguine temperament select the more buoyant anticipations of the faithful labourer for the perusal of the members of the society. But the charge would not be just as against societies any more than as against missionaries, that there existed a disposition to give a false colouring, for venal or other personal purposes, to the experiences gleaned in the scene of religious effort. A perusal of the reports of all the societies engaged in the noble cause will leave with any impartial man the conviction that the charge of Dr. Taylor, reiterated by so many others, is without foundation in fact.

The amount of effort put forth by the religious societies previous to the revolt is a subject of great interest, not only to the Christian Church, but to the political and commercial world, influenced as governments and as commerce must ever be by the moral condition of the governed

The fifty-seventh report of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East affords the following interesting statistics:—

BOMBAY AND WESTERN INDIA MISSION.*

MISSION ESTABLISHMENT.

13 Ordained European Missionaries.
4 Ordained Native Missionaries.
2 European Catechists and Teachers.
1 European Female Teacher.
2 East-Indian Teachers.
5 Native Catechists and Readers.
26 Native Assistants and Teachers.

At Nasik there is a native Christian colony and an industrial institution. Several young natives of education have been converted, and are disposed to be useful to their fellow-countrymen.

SUMMARY OF THE BOMBAY AND WESTERN INDIA MISSION.

| | |
|---|---|
| Stations | 6 |
| Communicants | 73 |
| Native Christians | 260 |
| Schools, including the Robert-Money School | 28 |
| Scholars | 1780 |

CALCUTTA AND NORTH INDIA MISSION.†

MISSION ESTABLISHMENT.

45 Ordained European Missionaries.
1 Ordained Native Missionary.
6 European Catechists and Teachers.
2 European Female Teachers.
5 East-Indian Catechists and Teachers.
33 Native Catechists.
66 Native Scripture-Readers.
307 Native Teachers and Schoolmasters.
26 Native Schoolmistresses.

The North India mission field occupies the greatest extent of country, and numbers the largest staff of European missionaries of any of the society's missions. The distance between its extreme stations is fifteen hundred miles; but by the wonderful facilities of modern intercommunication the whole district will soon be traversed in a few days, as a message is even now sent in a few minutes.

SUMMARY OF THE CALCUTTA AND NORTH INDIA MISSION.

| | |
|---|---|
| Stations | 27 |
| Communicants | 1119 |
| Native Christians | 7409 |
| Seminaries and Schools | 119 |
| Seminarists and Scholars | 7027 |

MADRAS AND SOUTH INDIA MISSION.‡

MISSION ESTABLISHMENT.

33 Ordained European Missionaries.
3 Ordained East-Indian Missionaries.

* European missionaries first arrived in 1820.
† European missionaries first arrived in 1816.
‡ European missionaries first arrived in 1814.

15 Ordained Native Missionaries.
8 European Catechists and Teachers.
2 European Printers and Agents.
2 European Female Teachers.
8 East-Indian Catechists and Teachers.
2 East-Indian Female Teachers.
70 Native Catechists.
171 Native Scripture-Readers.
374 Native Teachers and Schoolmasters.
106 Native Schoolmistresses.

The statistical tables of the South India mission at the close of the year 1856 exhibited a very gratifying result; while there was a steady increase in the number of the baptised converts, and in the number of communicants, there had also been a large accession of more than two thousand to the number of those who had renounced idolatry, and placed themselves under Christian instruction. The whole number of converts, baptised and unbaptised, had risen from 33,121 to 35,799. The communicants had increased from 5201 to 5344. In the number of school children there had been a small decrease, from 11,617 to 11,294, in consequence of the introduction of fees.

SUMMARY OF THE MADRAS AND SOUTH INDIA MISSION.

| | |
|---|---|
| Stations | 27 |
| Communicants | 5,344 |
| Seminaries and Schools | 451 |
| Seminarists and Scholars | 11,060 |
| Natives under Christian instruction— | |
| Baptised | 23,398 |
| Unbaptised | 12,401 |
| | 35,799 |

## CEYLON MISSION.*

MISSION ESTABLISHMENT.

9 Ordained European Missionaries.
2 Ordained Native Missionaries.
3 European Catechists and Teachers.
31 Native Catechists.
4 Native Scripture-Readers.
78 Native Teachers and Schoolmasters.
28 Native Schoolmistresses.

SUMMARY OF THE CEYLON MISSION.

| | |
|---|---|
| Stations | 7 |
| Communicants | 364 |
| Schools, including Cotta Institution | 87 |
| Seminarists and Scholars | 2959 |
| Native Christians | 2344 |

The London Missionary Society, chiefly sustained and served by congregationalists, was among the earliest in the path of missionary labour, and selected India as one of the fields of its benevolent enterprise. At present its efforts there may be statistically represented by the following statement:—

NORTHERN INDIA.

| | |
|---|---|
| Churches | 8 |
| Communicants | 200 |
| Juvenile Day and Boarding Schools, and other Educational Institutions | 28 |
| Scholars receiving Education in the Society's Seminaries | 2211 |

PENINSULAR INDIA.

| | |
|---|---|
| Churches | 12 |
| Communicants | 551 |
| Schools, &c. | 95 |
| Scholars | 4118 |

TRAVANCORE.

| | |
|---|---|
| Churches | 7 |
| Communicants | 937 |
| Schools | 211 |
| Scholars | 7000 |

The missionaries are not quite so numerous as the churches, but ministers and native teachers, computed together, considerably exceed the members of such Christian assemblies. The society, by its constitution, cannot receive government support even for its educational agencies, but individual members of the government have been its liberal contributors. Mr. Colvin, late governor of the north-west provinces, was a supporter of the schools at Benares, and Lord Harris, the governor of Madras, presided at the last annual examination of the society's educational institution in the capital of that presidency.

The Wesleyan Missionary Society conducts important operations in India. According to its last annual report, it extensively employs native Christians as catechists, and even as ministers.

The Baptists, as previously shown, were the first British missionaries to devote attention to India. Smaller in numbers, and weaker in resources than the great bodies whose labours are shown in the foregoing tables, they do not employ so many agents as either of them; but their work has been most honourable; they bravely pioneered the way for others, and the names of Carey and Marshman (father-in-law of the gallant Havelock of Lucknow) will ever be held in honour as amongst the best benefactors of India.

The Scottish missionary societies are also inferior in resources to the great English societies; but Dr. Duff and other eminent men have gone forth from them, and rendered great service to the cause of Christian education.

The churches of the United States of America have been also zealous in efforts to extend the gospel in India. The Presbyterian board of foreign missions alone has thirty missionaries there, and several hundred native families are attached to their communion in the north-west provinces.

For a considerable number of years, versions of the Bible, and of portions of the Bible, in the various languages and dialects of India

* European missionaries first arrived in 1818.

have been in circulation, and lately, renewed and vigorous exertion has been put forth to secure correct translations by men eminent in their reputation for knowledge of these languages. The following is the society's report as to the auxiliaries in India, and the number of copies which each has distributed:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Calcutta Bible Society, instituted 1811 . | 919,350 |
| Serampore Missionaries . . . . . | 200,000 |
| North India Bible Society, at Agra, instituted 1845 . . . . . | 75,528 |
| Madras Bible Society, instituted 1820 . . | 1,028,996 |
| Bombay Bible Society, instituted 1813 . | 222,718 |
| Colombo Bible Society, instituted 1812, with various Branches in Ceylon . . | 42,605 |
| Jaffna Bible Society . . . . . | 113,115 |

The Religious Tract Society has sent gratuitously, or sold at reduced prices, copies of works in the various languages of India, which are supposed to be written on subjects most calculated to draw the attention of the natives to the great themes of the Christian religion. It is remarkable that all these societies work in the most complete harmony. British, Americans, and Germans, whatever their nationality; churchmen and dissenters, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Methodists, whatever their sect, are one in spirit for the great work of evangelising the heathen. That an extensive influence is being produced is obvious to all observers capable of forming an opinion. Many of the natives are beginning to inquire; and there are symptoms in the decay of old institutions, that the cumbrous fabrics of idolatry are beginning to give way. Christianity is operating among them in two ways; it exhibits its own glorious life amidst the decadence of antique idolatries, they grow old, and are stricken by the touch of ever-changing time, while Christianity puts forth the vitality and vigour of perennial youth; and while it is itself lifeful, and healthful as it is beautiful, it is gradually contributing to the decay of all the old superstitions that yet stand in ponderous and gloomy magnitude around it. The beautiful banyan-tree grows and thrives amidst ruins, the dilapidation of which it hastens; flourishing in its bloom above the time-smitten temple or pagoda, it strikes its roots beneath their foundations, and at last brings the proud trophies of past ages in rubbish around it. Such will be the history of Christianity in India. The idol-cars and temples will be shattered, and known only in the memory of the mischiefs they created, while the imperishable truth of God triumphs. It is the decree of God for India and for every land, "*Magna est veritas prevalebit.*"

LANGUAGES, LITERATURE, &c.

The languages of India are numerous, and in the hill countries, among the wild and but partially subdued tribes already noticed, those spoken are scarcely known to Europeans. There are no books extant in those tongues, nor are they even organised, their character and construction being as little known to intelligent Indians as to English.

The ancient language of India, at all events of the prevailing race, was Sanscrit, which, as all scholars are aware, is one of the most ancient in the world. It is probably as old as the date of the confusion of tongues at Babel. From the Sanscrit the Indo-European family of languages is mainly derived. The languages of southern India are not, however, derived from that stock. The Tamil is supposed to be the oldest of these. There are Sanscrit derivatives in them all, but not to a great extent. The great antiquity of the Sanscrit may be illustrated by the circumstance that the Hymns of the Rigveda are asserted by the great Sanscrit scholar, Professor Wilson, to have been written at least fifteen centuries prior to the Christian era, so they may be even as ancient as the writings of Moses. A more complete and comprehensive study of the languages of India and the neighbouring countries is a desideratum not only for the enrichment of philological learning, but as important to ethnological inquiry. One of the greatest of living philosophers has written:—"Languages compared together, and considered as objects of the natural history of the mind, and when separated into families according to the analogies existing in their internal structure, have become a rich source of historical knowledge; and this is probably one of the most brilliant results of modern study in the last sixty or seventy years. From the very fact of their being products of the intellectual force of mankind, they lead us, by means of the elements of their organism, into an obscure distance, unreached by traditionary records. The comparative study of languages shows us that races now separated by vast tracts of land are allied together, and have migrated from one common primitive seat; it indicates the course and direction of all migrations, and in tracing the leading epochs of development, recognises, by means of the more or less changed structure of the language, in the permanence of certain forms, or in the more or less advanced destruction of the formative system, *which* race has retained most nearly the language common to all who had emigrated from the general seat of origin."*

* *Cosmos*: Otté's translation, vol. ii. p. 471.

Of the three distinct families into which the languages of the world are divided by philologists—the Semitic, the Japhetic, or Indo-European (called also Iranian and Arian), and the Hamitic—the Sanscrit is identified with the second. Most profound philologists concur in deriving these three families of languages from a common origin, which is supposed to be lost. The Chevalier Bunsen describes the Iranian "stock," or family of languages, as having eight more or less extensive branches. The first and most ancient he considers to be the Celtic; the second, the Thracian or Illyrian; the third, the Armenian; the fourth, the Iranian or Arian; the fifth, the Greek and Roman; the sixth, the Sclavonic.

The class to which the most eminent languages of India and Persia belong is, according to the chevalier, only fourth on the list as to antiquity. His remarks on this subject are as interesting as appropriate. "The fourth formation we propose to call the Arian,* or the Iranian, as presented in Iran proper. Here we must establish two great subdivisions: the one comprises the nations of Iran proper, or the Arian stock, the languages of Media and Persia. Its most primitive representative is the *Zend*. We designate by this name both the language of the most ancient cuneiform inscriptions (or Persian inscriptions in Assyrian characters) of the sixth and fifth century, B.C., and that of the ancient parts of the Zend-Avesta, or the sacred books of the Parsees, as explained by Burnouf and Lassen. We take the one as the latest specimen of the western dialect of the ancient Persian and Median (for the two nations had one tongue), in its evanescent state, as a dead language; the other as an ancient specimen of its eastern dialect, preserved for ages by tradition, and therefore not quite pure in its vocalism, but most complete in its system of forms. The younger representatives of the Persian language are the Pehlevi (the language of the Sassanians) and the Pazend, the mother of the present, or modern Persian tongue, which is represented in its purity by Ferdusi, about the year 1000 [of our era]. The Pushtu, or language of the Affghans, belongs to the same branch. The second subdivision embraces the Arian languages of India, represented by the Sanscrit and its daughters." †

Dr. Max Müller considers the languages which are spoken by many of the nations around India as derived from the Chinese. He describes the Tartaric branch as having spread in a northern, and the Bhotya in a southern direction: "the former spreading through Asia towards the European peninsula, and the seats of political civilisation; the latter tending toward the Indian peninsula, and encircling the native land of the Brahmanic Arians." Upon this the Chevalier Bunsen observes:—"The study of the Tibetan or Bhotya language, and that of the Burmese, offers the nearest link between the Chinese and the more recent formations; but even a comparison of Sanscrit roots is indicated by our method. For it is the characteristics of the noblest languages and nations, that they preserve most of the ancient heirlooms of humanity, remodelling and universalising it at the same time with productive originality."

The Sanscrit is exceedingly perfect, and, at the time of the invasion of Alexander the Great, was spoken by a large proportion of the people, certainly by all the superior classes. The names of places and objects, handed down by the Greeks, are all of Sanscrit origin. It is that in which the Brahminical books are written. Sir William Jones considered it the most finished of all the dead languages, more complete, copious, and refined than either Latin or Greek.

The Pali is the sacred language of the Buddhists. The Sanscrit and Pali have been frequently represented as bearing a relation to one another, similar to that which the Greek and Latin now do in Europe.

The chief languages of India derived from the Sanscrit are—"Bengâli, Assamese, Orissan, and Tirhutîya, spoken in the eastern provinces; Nepâlese, Câshmiri, and Doguri, prevailing in the north; Punjabi, Multani, Sindi, Kutchi, Guzerati, and Kunkuna, found on the western side; Bikanera, Marwara, Jayapura, Udayapura, Haruli, Braja Bhaka, Malavi, Bundelakhandi, Maghada, and Mahratta, all spoken in the south." In the central provinces the Hinduwee is the parent of a class of dialects, provincial and local, such as the Menwa and other dialects of Rajpootana; Mahratta is the vernacular in the whole of Candleish, Aurungabad, and some remote districts into which it was introduced by the incursions of the Mahrattas. Hindustanee is the principal of the Hinduwee family of dialects, and it is spoken throughout the whole of Northern India, and generally by those even who use more frequently some provincial or local dialect. The languages in Southern India, not derived from the Sanscrit, are, as to their origin, subjects of keen discussion among philologists. It is contended by many who have given much attention to the philosophy of language, that they are not derivable from any existing

* He uses the words Arian and Iranian both in a generic and specific sense.

† *Outlines of the Philosophy of Universal History applied to Language and Religion*, vol. ii. p. 6.

language. The Tamil is the vernacular in the Carnatic; the Teloogoo prevailing coastwise from Madras to Orissa; Kamata (or Canarese) extending from the basin of the upper Cavery to the Mangera arm of the Godavery; Tuluva on the Canara coast; and Malayalim along the coast from Canara to Cape Comorin, and is commonly called the Malabar tongue.

The Prakrit, which appears to have been the first corruption of the Sanscrit, is a dead language; there is a Prakrit literature as well as a Sanscrit, and it is popularly more read, but the Brahmins cultivate acquaintance more intimately with the parent language.

The literature of India is interesting. Beside the sacred books in the Sanscrit and Prakrit, there are poems of considerable value, sacred and heroic epics, and hymns to the deities. Concerning the poetry of the Hindoos, oriental scholars differ very much in their estimate: some praising them as rivalling the works of Homer; others describing them as ornate and tasteless, abounding in vapid thoughts and puerile repetitions. Some of the specimens translated into English deserve a higher reputation than Mr. Colebrooke and others are disposed to concede; nor are there wanting passages of exquisite beauty, written with rhetorical effect and artistic arrangement.

There are few translations of the choice works of Indian literature in the English language. The French, Germans, Italians, Russians, and even the modern Greeks, have translations of various productions of merit, originally written in the old tongue of India, of which there is no English translation. There are many scraps, and detached portions of these works, in various periodicals published in Calcutta and Bombay, but the government of India has done scarcely anything to promote in England a knowledge of Indian literature. The Honourable East India Company throws the blame of this neglect upon the royal government. The Board of Control, it is alleged, has systematically opposed all pecuniary outlay for such purposes. England is indebted to the enterprise of individuals for what she knows of Sanscrit literature, and to no one more than Professor Wilson.

There are two great epic poems in the Sanscrit which have obtained the praise of oriental scholars—the *Rama Yana* and the *Mahabharat*. Rama was son of the King of Oude, and possessed of extraordinary physical strength and audacious courage. His wife, Sita, was abducted by a sorcerer king, whose kingdom was the island of Ceylon. Rama, having formed an alliance with Hanuman, chief of the monkeys, made war upon the sorcerer; they constructed a bridge of a miraculous nature across the sea from the peninsula to Ceylon. Over this, the allied Hindoos and monkeys being joined by celestial spirits, proceeded, and attacked the sorcerer and his army of demons with complete success. Marvellous achievements were necessary to this triumph, and these are narrated with so much power in some places, and puerility in others, that it might be doubted whether it was not the work of various minds.

The drama is better known to the English literary public than other portions of Hindoo literature. The learned librarian of the India-House has translated several of the best specimens. The chief piece, *Sacoutala*, was translated by Sir William Jones. The number of the dramatic compositions known to us does not exceed sixty. Some of these are of very ancient date, and some are modern. It would appear that each play was performed but once—on occasion of some great festival—in the hall or court of a palace; the people, generally, probably from this cause, know nothing of this department of their literature, the most learned Brahmins being acquainted only with certain portions, which do not appear to have been remembered for their literary merit so much as from circumstantial reasons. There is no longer any taste for this description of literature among the Brahmins.

Almost all classes of the people are familiar with passages from the *Rama Yana*, which they seem never tired of repeating. This has been adduced as a proof of its great literary merits, but the fact arises mainly from the sympathy of the native mind with the superstitions, absurdities, and atrocities which are the subjects of the poem.

There are some good pastorals, and a few descriptive pieces that have peculiar merits; but generally the specimens of poetry which remain, and almost all of modern composition, are devoid of energy, imagination, or delicacy of taste.

It is observable that while the Hindoos have obtained a character in Europe for gentleness, or had prior to the late horrible revolt acquired such, the passages in their poetic works which are chiefly, if not exclusively, marked by energy, are those which give expression to revenge. It would be hardly possible to cull from any language more profound and eager utterances of vengeance than may be selected from the Hindoo poetry. In one of the dramas, Rakshasa, a Brahmin, is thus made to exult in the destruction of Nanda:—

"'Tis known to all the world
I vowed the death of Nanda, and I slew him;
The current of a vow will work its way,
And cannot be resisted. What is done
Is spread abroad, and I no more have power
To stop the tale. Why should I? Be it known
The fires of my wrath alone expire,
Like the fierce conflagration of a forest,
From lack of fuel, not of weariness.
The flames of my just anger have consumed
The branching ornaments of Nanda's stem,
Abandoned by the frightened priests and people,
They have enveloped in a shower of ashes
The blighted tree of his ambitious councils;
And they have overcast with sorrow's clouds
The smiling heaven of those moon-like looks,
That shed the light of love upon my foes."

The spirit of vengeance which fires every sentiment, suggests every image, and entwines itself in every graceful and delicate turn of expression, in this elegant and poetical passage, generally pervades the productions of Hindoo authors of any ability.

The efforts of the government to promote the education of the native youth of India have been referred to when describing its religious condition. It is more than a hundred years since the first attempt was made, by voluntary Christian benevolence, for the education of indigent *Christian* children in India. Out of this effort arose the free school of Calcutta. In 1781 Mr. Hastings founded the Mohammedan college of Calcutta. In 1795 a Sanscrit college was founded at Benares, by an act of the imperial parliament. The educational efforts of the Baptist missionaries were pursued steadily at Serampore during the latter part of the last century, and the foundation was laid for subsequent and more efficient efforts of the same kind. In 1821 the Hindoo college of Calcutta was established. Government grants and individual benevolence contributed to make this an institution worthy of the object. A few wealthy natives took an interest in the undertaking, and one of some celebrity, Rammohun Roy, became its benefactor. In 1830 the Rev. Dr. Duff, a missionary, opened a school or college for the instruction of the natives, under the auspices of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. This institution professed to give instruction on Christian principles, which was not permitted in the government college. The friends of each censured the other, but both were right in the courses respectively adopted. The government acted wisely in abstaining from all interference in religious matters, thereby not only avoiding the jealousy of the natives, but the mutual jealousies of different Christian denominations. Dr. Duff, as the representative of a particular religious community, and his mission to India being essentially of a religious character, acted wisely in basing the education imparted upon the Gospel. The government at Calcutta soon after organised a general committee of public instruction, which did not work so well as was expected. In 1832 "the council of education" was appointed, instead of the previous committee of instruction. The persons composing the council were civil officers of high rank, the judge of the supreme court, two natives, and a paid secretary; the secretary, being the officer of the government, really administering the department of education, the council being merely nominal. The duties imposed upon this officer, who was a professor in the Hindoo college, physician to the fever hospital, government book agent, inspector of schools, &c. &c., were so numerous, as to throw around his office an air of the ludicrous. The impression naturally left upon an impartial observer was, that the government never seriously intended a man with such a multitude of appointments to do anything; in fact, the secretary of the council appeared to be a sort of autocrat, from whose decisions there was no appeal. The result was what might be expected, very considerable dissatisfaction among the professors of the college and the public generally. In 1835 Lord William Bentinck inaugurated a new educational policy—that of encouraging the English language, and education mainly, if not exclusively, through its medium. This has influenced the character of the instruction communicated in the government colleges, so as to revolutionise the whole system. The natives do not favour the plan; they cling to their vernacular languages, or are ambitious of becoming Sanscrit scholars, and more conversant with the literature of that language. Many are, however, desirous of learning English, as opening a way to their political advancement. In 1836 the Mohammedan college of Hadji Mohammed Moksin was made available for general instruction. It is delightfully situated on a bank of the Ganges, thirty miles from Calcutta, and in the midst of a considerable population. The system is the same as in the chief colleges at Calcutta and Benares. About the same time the college at Dacca was established. Since then, at Kishnagur, Agra, and Delhi, other institutions of a similar nature have been founded. Schools have also been opened there by government, but in many cases too much prominence has been given to the English language. There are nearly two hundred government educational institutions in the Bengal presidency, and the north-west provinces connected with it. The amount of money expended upon them is not far short of £100,000 annually. This includes

the medical college of Calcutta, which is the best managed and most successful in the presidency, perhaps in India.

The educational efforts of the government in the Bombay presidency are considerable, as compared with the other presidencies and the proportion of population. The Elphinstone Institution, comprising a college and high and low school; the Grant Medical College; and the Poonah Sanscrit College,—are all highly respectable, and professors of eminent reputation are employed in them. The district and village vernacular schools are about two hundred and fifty in number. About £20,000 per annum is spent for educational purposes in the Bombay presidency.

Madras is less provided with means of superior instruction than the sister presidencies, so far as government is concerned. The University High School in the city of Madras, is the only institution where education in the English tongue is afforded. There are but few vernacular schools in the presidency, and scarcely £6000 a year is expended for educational purposes. It is, however, a pleasing fact, that where the government has done least, voluntary effort has done most. If in Madras only a few thousand pupils receive instruction under the patronage of the state, the voluntary religious and educational societies have established one thousand schools, and are educating one hundred thousand children. Bombay has rather less than one hundred voluntary schools, in which there are about six thousand five hundred scholars, not quite half the number to which the government affords instruction in that presidency. Bengal has not many more voluntary schools than Bombay, but they are better attended, the proportion being about three to one. Besides these general schools, there are boarding schools for the orphans of native Christians, especially recent converts, who endure much persecution if of the higher castes.

The education in all these schools is confined to boys. The nature of the institutions, and the habits of the people, confine the attendance upon them to male children and youths. The prejudice against female education is very strong in the native mind. Woman is held in contempt throughout India, as in all other heathen countries. In this contemptuous feeling woman herself is acquiescent. The voluntary societies have instituted nearly four hundred schools throughout India for female children, exclusive of about one hundred boarding schools. The females in the orphan schools have been generally either the daughters of converts, or children saved from famine, or from the destruction to which female infants are subjected in various parts of India. These humane exertions for the female population have been chiefly made in Southern India, within the presidency of Madras. Few efforts have as yet been made to impart religious or other intelligence to the adult female population: the difficulties in the way, arising from oriental jealousy and prejudice, are great, yet not altogether insurmountable.

The system of education adopted in the government schools is obsolete, and the progress made by the scholars not very encouraging. Many of the teachers are natives, and few appear to take to their work heartily. The same may be said of the native professors in the higher schools. Impartial observers have described them as listless, and exercising but small beneficial influence.

Since the introduction of the government colleges and high schools, many of the natives educated in them have become infidels. It would not be very difficult to make a Jain a deist, or a Buddhist an atheist; the Brahmin is not so ready a convert to any form of infidelity. The education of the more respectable natives in European knowledge has hitherto not improved them much in any way, except the acquisition of English, French, and a smattering of science. Their vanity and assumption of learning would be incredible, if not so well attested. The merest nonsense is published, by "Young Bengal" especially, as if the creations of unrivalled genius. In a much less degree a similar effect is observed upon the pupils of the schools, not one in twenty of whom make any acquisitions of a solid kind. In the voluntary schools there is this advantage, that the elements of the Christian religion are communicated, however little may be received of whatever else is taught.

It is a remarkable fact, that few native youths educated in the government colleges remain loyal to the government. As all literature of a religious complexion is necessarily prohibited by the authorities, the young men find no access to such; but infidel books of the worst character are obtained, as the libraries are not regulated with sufficient stringency in this respect. "Young India," as they leave their Alma Mater,—great English and French scholars in their own esteem,—are generally concealed infidels and open rebels. At the various associations of which they are members, subjects of discussion are constantly selected for the purpose of displaying the indignation which they profess to feel that foreigners should govern their country. The speeches made on these occasions betray the most inflated self-conceit, gross ignorance of

moral and political philosophy, and a spirit and principle thoroughly adverse to British rule. The following graphic sketch by an eye-witness will enlighten our readers as to some of the causes which operate in rendering of little value the school and college system of India:—"On any ordinary day the visitor will see, on a table in the midst of a small room, one of the 'professors' sitting in oriental fashion, after the manner of tailors; his head is bare, his shoulders are bare; the day is hot, and the roll of muslin which envelops his body out of doors has been removed; the ample rotundity of the stomach heaves regularly above the muslin folds which encircle the loins and thighs. The shaven crown of the worthy 'professor,' and his broad quivering back, glow with the heat; whilst a disciple, standing behind him, plies the fan vigorously to and fro, and produces a current of wind that keeps the huge mass partially cool. Around the table are squatted numbers of dirty-looking youths, carefully enveloped in their muslin dresses, as prescribed by the rules, and droning, one by one, over a manuscript page, which is handed from one to another in succession. The majority are dozing, and well they may, for it is sleepy work—the same verses nasally intoned by one after another with unvarying monotony, and doubtless with similar errors. The 'professor' seldom speaks, for he too is dozing heavily on the table, anxiously awaiting the bell that is to release him to liberty and dinner. The same scene is being repeated in other similar rooms, where other 'professors' are similarly dozing and teaching, and other youths similarly shut up from the light of God's sun, which shines without; and of his spirit, which should shine within them."

The newspapers and other periodicals printed in the native languages are conducted in a manner in perfect keeping with the state of "Young India," as above described. Furious and bitter attacks upon the government are circulated through such media all over the land. These seldom possess satire, for which the native mind does not seem to have relish or capacity; indeed, so little are the people generally capable of comprehending it, that the keenest satire upon their own gods and superstitions are listened to with imperturbable gravity, and treated as if serious argumentations. The false statements, appeals to the pride of race, and to the superstitious feeling of the people,—with which the infidel writers themselves had no sympathy,—which have appeared in the vernacular press, did much to sow suspicion in the minds of the soldiery, and to inflame the passions and ambition of the native princes, preparing both for the revolt which has recently poured such a torrent of disorder and havoc over the country. Whatever administrative alterations may be effected in India resulting from that event, a radical change in the system of education ought to be among the most prominent.

Happily, there is a new native literature now springing up, which, although it may not as yet have had time to work much good, is, like leaven, silently and gradually operating in the mass. The Religious Tract Society has issued various works, prepared by persons well acquainted with the people, and these, distributed in most of the languages spoken in the country, are beginning to be objects of curiosity. The Roman character is now adopted in printing these works, and persons of great authority in such matters maintain that much facility to the extension of knowledge will result from the plan. The experiment has, however, yet to be tried; the benefit expected is doubtful.

The British and Foreign Bible Society, like the Tract Society, is diffusing knowledge through the medium of the vernacular languages, making the sacred Scriptures a standard book in every tongue. Dr. Yates' version of the Bengalee Bible, with Mr. Wenger's revisions, and a carefully revised Hindui version, are now being actively circulated in Bengal. Last May the printing of 20,000 copies of the Gospel, in the Hindui-Kaithi, was commenced under the superintendence of the Rev. A. Sternberg of Mozufferpore. The Hindui-Nagri Old Testament has been completed and issued at Allahabad, by the Rev. J. Owen, of the American Presbyterian Mission, under the auspices of the Agra Bible Society. The Old Testament, in Pwo-Karem, is in progress. It is being conducted by the American missionaries in Pegu; a grant of £500 to the object has been voted by the London Society. Whatever be the character of the education given in the existing schools, the people are being taught to read, and can therefore use the books circulated. In view of this fact the North India Bible Society issued, a few months ago, the following remarkable and spirited address:—"Education is making considerable advance. The people are becoming better able to read our books, and we hope more interested in searching into our religion. The country is also rapidly filling up with missionaries, who are the main instruments in spreading our books among the people. The past year has given us considerable accessions, and we have now within what may be called the bounds of our society, about 100 missionaries of various

denominations, most of whom will look to this society for their supplies. It is also gratifying to be able to state, that there are scattered over the country an apparently increasing number of laymen, who are desirous of distributing the Bible, and who are frequently making demands upon our stock. The field of our operations also, though already of vast extent, is continually widening. During the past year, Oude has given to us three millions of immortal souls, and the course of events shows that it cannot be long before the gates of Affghanistan will be thrown open for the entrance of the Gospel."

The district in which this society operates is immense, reaching from the undefined limit in the east, where the Bengalee language meets the Hindoo, stretching thence across the centre of India to the Marathai speaking tribes, and thence including Rajpootana to the northern bounds of India, comprising a population of not less than sixty millions.

Mr. Hoerule has just finished the revision of the Urdu New Testament, in the Arabic character. An edition of the New Testament in the same language, in the Roman character, published in 1845, has been revised by Messrs. Mather, Smith, and Leupolt, the original translators. The Bombay auxiliary Bible Society has just issued a complete edition (5000 copies) of the Scriptures in the Marathai. Of the Gujurati New Testament they have lately issued 6000 copies, and since then 5000 copies of the whole Bible in that dialect.

A gratifying exemplification of the way in which the progress of education, and the circulation of books of a useful character, act upon one another, has occurred in connection with the labours of the friends of education and Bible distribution in Ceylon. During the years 1856-7, the issues of the Singhalese and Indo-Portuguese Scriptures amounted to 3342. A person writing from Colombo, says :—"Much attention is paid to the native educational establishments, and it is the wish of the committee that all the schools should be furnished with the entire New Testament. The Central School commission has purchased 500 copies of the Gospel of St. Luke and the Acts of the Apostles, recently printed for the use of the government vernacular schools." In Ceylon it is not so necessary for the government to avoid the charge of interfering with the religion of the people. The prevailing superstition being that of Buddha, there does not exist the same popular jealousy of government propagandism. The labours of these voluntary associations in Ceylon have so impressed the present governor, that he has become the patron of the auxiliary Bible Society. Sir George Grey has ordered the remission of duty on paper, and other material sent out for the auxiliaries' use. The local committee, encouraged by these tokens of appreciation and support, recently passed a resolution to present as a gift from the society a Bible, in the vernacular, to every newly-married couple among the native Christians.

The countries around India proper are receiving similar benefits from the operation of educational and book societies. An edition of 5000 copies of the Gospel according to St. Luke has been completed in Punjabee, and an edition equally large of the Gospel of Matthew is issuing in the same dialect.

The Persian language being understood by many in the north-west provinces as well as in Persia, the Bible in that language is distributed in those countries as opportunity allows. The Gospel of Matthew has been translated into Thibetian. Types have been prepared at Secundra, and the interesting country of Thibet will be penetrated by adventurous men, desirous to circulate the word of God in its remote regions. The Rev. Mr. Clarke, of Peshawur, has translated into Pushtoo the Gospel of St. John, and the society has ordered two thousand copies in lithograph. A committee of gentlemen acquainted with the language has been formed at Peshawur, for the purpose of preparing translations of other portions of the Bible.

Both the Bible and Tract Societies have extended their operations to Assam, Tenesserim, and Pegu, where, from various circumstances, the people are likely to welcome books. In the Tenesserim provinces the poonjies (a poonjie is a sort of priest and schoolmaster) teach the people reading, writing, and arithmetic for the payment of a little labour in the rice-field. Nearly every village has its *kioung*, or school. The government has established schools of a superior character, and the missionaries, especially the American, have supplemented them, and teach the Christian Scriptures. The American Baptists have opened eight boarding and day-schools at Moulmein, with an average attendance of five hundred scholars. In the other provinces eighteen similar schools have been established, and a very considerable number of rudimental schools taught by natives. Throughout the interesting territory of Pegu the Baptist American Mission is labouring, not only to preach the Gospel to the people, but to elevate them by education. Native preachers and teachers are employed with success, and a new vernacular literature is being rapidly supplied.

The British press in India is acquiring rapidly

increasing influence. If the measure of Lord Canning, in restricting the liberty of the press during the late revolt were a necessary policy, it proves that the English language must have made great progress among the natives. Not many years ago it would have been of no consequence whatever to the government what the English press in India published, so far as any influence it might exercise upon the natives might be taken into consideration. If, however, as many allege, the real object was to stifle discussion as to the acts of the government, it proves that the English press is no longer the subservient tool of any Indian administration as it was wont to be considered, but that its independence and power are felt at government house. It is likely that both the motives glanced at operated with the governor-general and council; it is no longer a matter of indifference to them either as regards the public opinion of Europeans in India, or that of the natives, what the Anglo-Indian press contains in its columns.

There are now many papers in India of large circulation, guided by great talent, and maintaining high principles; such as the *Calcutta Englishman*, *Friend of India*, *Indian Charter*, *Bombay Times*, *Bombay Gazette*, *Madras Spectator*, the *Mofussilite of Meerut*, &c. The following estimate of the press of India by a gentleman who had himself been editor of the *Ceylon Examiner*, is, it may be hoped, to be received with favourable qualifications, as the language employed is severe:—"If the press of India cannot be said to rank either in talent or tone with that of the parent country, it must be confessed by impartial witnesses that it is as good as it can afford to be; and looking at all the circumstances of the case, as good and as moral as could be expected. If it is not quite so intellectual, nor nearly so high-minded, nor yet so independent, as journalism in England, let the Anglo-Indian public ask who they have to thank but themselves. The Indian press is as worthy a reflex of the state of society in that part of the world, as is the condition of English society mirrored in the journals of this country. The *Times* or *Daily News*, published in the presidencies, would be as much out of place as would the *Quarterly* among the Esquimaux. Papers are not usually established for any higher motive than profit; and in such a question of pounds, shillings, and pence, no man having any knowledge of India would attempt to print such a paper as the London *Examiner* or *Spectator*, even had he the ability at his command to enable him to do so. Editors in India know their readers pretty well; they generally understand the sort of writing which is acceptable to them, and minister accordingly. One of the most successful journals throughout India is the *Mofussilite*, a bi-weekly journal, published at Meerut, in Bengal. It was established some dozen years since, and, by a judicious catering to the reading wants of the community, it has reached the highest position amongst Indian papers, both as regards circulation and income. Few topics escape its notice, yet these are all handled in such a light and pleasant manner, that even the most uninteresting matters rivet the attention of the Anglo-Indian, whilst in England its columns would possibly be voted 'frivolous.'"

In this chapter considerable space has been occupied with the religion, languages, and literature of India; no subject connected with its vast population could deserve more attention. The state of religion and education in any country forms the bases for legislation and government. Even commerce must keep in view the principles, conscience, and intelligence of a people whose shores are sought in the friendly and profitable exchanges of trade; certainly, at the present juncture, no theme connected with India could more earnestly require the attention of the British people than that which has occupied this chapter.

## CHAPTER III.

### PROVINCES—CHIEF CITIES.

BEFORE describing the state of the arts, the antiquities and customs, the commerce and government of the country, it is proper that some notice should be taken of its different tracts, and of its chief cities. In the general view given of India in the first chapter a description of its leading natural divisions, as separated by mountain or river, was necessary, and this was conducted to a sufficient extent to render a very particular account of the provinces and districts undesirable.

Bengal is the chief presidency. It is divided into three provinces—the lower, central, and upper, or western. The climate

and natural productions vary with the latitude, soil, and local peculiarities. The whole presidency lies between longitude 74° and 96° east, and latitude 16° and 31° north. The three provinces comprise as the chief divisions and districts Calcutta, Patna, Moorshedabad, Dacca, Benares, Bareilly, Assam, &c.

The general appearance of the lower province is flat and uniform. Sameness and richness characterise the face of the country. There are elevated tracts, but they are only exceptions to the general level aspect. The inundations which take place in the districts watered by the Ganges show the general descent. Hamilton derives the name Bengal from the fact that the tract of annual inundation was anciently called *Beng*, and the upper parts, which were not liable to inundation, was called *Barendra*. The presidency, from its western boundary to the sea, is watered by the Ganges, and is intersected in every direction by navigable rivers, the courses of which frequently change, in consequence of the loose nature of the soil—for if any new obstacle or large accumulation of deposit create an obstruction, the river easily forces for itself a new channel. This has been a cause of difficulty to geographical and topographical explorers, especially as the natives continue to give to the neglected channel the old name, and as long as any water remains they perform their religious ablutions in what they deem the sacred flood. These changes are attended by loss, the neighbourhood of the new courses being frequently flooded to a great extent from the shallowness of the bed through which the current rolls; and the old courses becoming marshes, spread disease, as well as leave the country around without irrigation.

The banks of the rivers, especially of the Ganges, notwithstanding the flatness of the country, exhibit considerable variety of appearance. Sometimes the current, sapping away the soft earth, the banks appear precipitous; but it is dangerous to approach them, as they frequently give way. At other parts the river washes into the land, forming deep bays, and giving a picturesque aspect to the neighbourhood. The lesser rivers of Bengal have a more winding course than the larger, and where the banks are narrowest, the current is more winding, lying along the level country like a beautiful serpent basking in the Indian sun. By this more devious flow a large extent of country is irrigated. The Ganges appears to have the least circuitous course of any of the rivers, yet, within one hundred miles it increases by its windings the distance one-fourth. That part of the river which lies in a line from Gangautic, where it flows in a small stream from the Himalayas, to Saugor Island, below Calcutta, is particularly sacred. The Hoogly river is, therefore, in the native esteem, the true Ganges; and the great branch which runs eastward to join the Brahmapootra, is by them called Puddah (Padma), or Padmawatti, and is not worshipped, although it is, in Hindoo imagination, invested with some sacredness. Wherever the Ganges runs from the south to the north, contrary to its ordinary direction, it is considered more holy than generally in other parts of its current, and is called Uttarbahini. But the most sacred spots to the worshippers of the "Ganga," are those where other rivers form a junction with it; thus, Allahabad, where the Ganges and Jumna unite, has a pre-eminent sanctity, and is called, by way of distinction, Prayag. At Hurdwar, where the river escapes from the mountains, and at Saugor Island, at the mouth of the Hoogly, it is also the object of especial adoration. In the Hindoo mythology the Ganges is described as the daughter of the great mountain Himavata; she is called Ganga on account of her flowing through *Gang*, the earth. She receives various other designations, some of which are nearly as popular, and all of mythical derivation. The Brahmapootra contributes to the irrigation of Bengal; it derives its name also from a myth, as it signifies the son of Brahma; but some Hindoo mythologists trace its derivation in a different manner, which illustrates the impurity of the Hindoo imagination under the influence of idolatry.

The great river surface in Bengal, and the low-lying, marshy coast, cause fogs and penetrating dews in the cold weather, which are unfavourable to health. Some persons, however, maintain that they are rather conducive to salubrity, being not more than sufficient to supply moisture equivalent to the daily exhaustion by the sun.

The staple productions of Bengal are sugar, tobacco, silk, cotton, indigo, and rice. The different species of the last-named are almost beyond enumeration, so varied are the influence of soil, season, and mode of cultivation. The poppy is also produced in the upper portions of the presidency. Bengal is not considered so favourable to orchard produce as other portions of India, yet the natives are fond of this cultivation, and regard with reverence trees planted by their fathers. Orchards of mango-trees diversify the aspect of the country everywhere throughout the presidency. In Bahar the palm and the date are abundant. The cocoa-nut, so useful and refreshing to the Bengalees, grows in the southern portions of the territory. In

the central districts plantations of areca are common. The northern parts nurture the bassia, which is very useful; its inflated corols are nutritious, and yield an excellent spirit on distillation; the oil expressed from its seeds is used as a substitute for butter. Clumps of bamboos, which are useful for building and profitable for sale, are noticeable by the traveller in many directions. In a single year the bamboo grows to its height; in the second year its wood acquires the requisite hardness. "It is probable," observes an old writer, "that a single acre of bamboos is more profitable than ten of any other tree."

English vegetables do not grow in Bengal so luxuriantly as in England, and are noticed by English persons on their arrival for their insipidity.* The potato, at least some species of it, thrives better than most other foreign vegetables.

Cattle are a considerable portion of the peasant's wealth. The buffalo, which is grazed at a very small expense, is a valuable animal, on account of its milk. As the flesh of kine is not available for food, in consequence of the religious prejudice against it, cattle are not so valuable as otherwise would be the case. Coarse blankets are made from the wool of the sheep, which is not valued in the market as an article of commerce. The Bengalee sheep are small, four horned, and of a dark grey colour; their flesh is much prized by Europeans.

In the woods apes and monkeys abound, and in the evening the jackalls, leaving their jungles, howl around the cities and villages. The monkey tribes enter the villages unmolested, bear away fruit, and do much mischief.

The population of Bengal has been already given on another page. The most recent computation to which the author has access, fixes it at seventy millions: this includes the population of the north-west provinces. Ever since the settlement of the English, the people have increased in numbers at a ratio before unknown. It met with some severe checks during that time. In 1770, it is alleged that one-fifth of the population perished by famine. In 1784, one in fifty persons fell a victim to a similar calamity. In 1787, an extraordinary inundation carried away a vast amount of property, and destroyed many lives in Eastern Bengal. In the following year, and consequent upon the disaster last named, there was a famine in the districts where it had prevailed. For nearly fifty years after that period, famine, or even scarcity, was unknown. Since then the rice harvest has been several times beneath its average, and there has been consequent suffering; but it does not appear that any important check has been put by those seasons of distress to the increase of population.

The following computations of the population at different periods, made by competent authorities, will indicate the rate of progress, partly by natural increase, and partly by the annexation of new territory.

In 1772, the British provinces of Bengal, then consisting of Bengal and Bahar, were stated to contain twenty millions of inhabitants.* In 1789, they were believed to contain twenty-four millions.† In 1793, including Benares, the people of the Bengal provinces were supposed to number twenty-seven millions.‡ In 1814, the result of several investigations by government, reports were published, which stated that the population amounted to thirty-nine millions.§ In 1820, more than forty millions were said to constitute the population.‖

During the last thirty-five years, the ratio of natural increase has been greater than during any period of the English occupancy, and the annexation of territories has added many millions more; and now the population of Bengal exceeds that of the whole Russian empire, the Turkish empire, or the German federation.

There are many large and populous cities within this presidency, and a great number of small ones. The large villages are almost incredibly numerous, forming as it were chains of towns along the banks of the rivers, especially of the Ganges, as numerous and populous as are said to be observed along the banks of rivers in China. A writer, who knew Bengal nearly half a century since, thus described them:—"While passing them by the inland navigation, it is pleasing to view the cheerful bustle and crowded population by land and water; men, old women, birds, and beasts, all mixed and intimate, evincing a sense of security, and appearance of happiness, seen in no part of India beyond the company's territories." This picture, so well drawn for a remoter period, answers to what existed previous to the late military revolt, which entailed most disaster in those very districts.

It will promote the clearness of the narrative, and facilitate the memory of the reader, to notice the chief cities of old Bengal, before describing those which belong to provinces which, of late years, have been added to the presidency.

The chief city of India, the seat of the supreme government as well as of the presi-

* Lord Clive. † Sir W. Jones. ‡ Mr. Colebrooke.
§ Dr. Francis Buchanan; Mr. Bayley.
‖ Walter Hamilton.

dential government of Bengal, is Calcutta, one of the largest and most picturesque cities in the world, deserving the epithet applied to it in Europe and America—"the City of Palaces."

The rise and progress of the city of Calcutta have been very rapid. Previous to the English settlement it could scarcely be said to exist, except as a village.* In 1717 it was a village belonging to the Nuddea district; the houses were in small clusters, scattered over a moderate extent of ground, and the inhabitants were the tillers of the surrounding country, and a few native traders or merchants. In the south of the Cheindsaul Ghaut a forest existed. Between it and Kidderpore there were two tolerably populous villages; their inhabitants were invited by the merchants at Calcutta to settle there. These merchants appear to have consisted chiefly of one family, named Seats, and to their enterprise the city is indebted for its first step to opulence. Where the forest and the two villages stood, Fort William, the British citadel, and the esplanade, now stand. Where now the most elegant houses of the English part of the suburbs are seen, there were then small villages of wretched houses, surrounded by pools of water. The ground between the straggling clusters of hovels was covered with jungle. A quarter of a century later it appears to have made fair progress; there were seventy English houses, the huts of the natives had increased, and several rich native merchants had good residences.† The town was then surrounded by a ditch, to protect it from the incursions of the Mahrattas. About a century ago, the ground on which the citadel now stands, and on which some of the best portions of the town are built, was dense jungle. The town was then divided into four districts—Dee Calcutta, Govindpore, Chutanutty, and Bazaar Calcutta, and contained 9451 houses, under the protection of the company, and 5267 houses, with portions of land, possessed by independent proprietors. On the land occupied by those houses there were smaller tenements, sub-let by the proprietors, which would extend the list of habitations to nearly fifty thousand. Writers, whose accounts were given soon after, estimate the number of inhabitants at four hundred thousand,‡ which appears to be in considerable excess of the fact, notwithstanding the great increase of population. Towards the close of the last century the power and population of the town were of much greater magnitude. According to government reports, the houses, shops, and other habitations, not the property of the East India Company, were in number as follow:—

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|---|---|
| British subjects | 4,300 |
| Armenians, Greeks, and Christians of other sects and nations | 8,290 |
| Mohammedans | 14,700 |
| Hindoos | 56,460 |
| Chinese | 10 |
| Total | 78,760 |

From the beginning of the present century the population and resources of the town have augmented. In 1802 the reports made to government represented the population as six hundred thousand, and the neighbouring country as so thickly populated, that a circle of twenty miles from government house would comprise two and a quarter millions of persons. Half a century since the extension of the superior parts of the city, and its increase in wealth, were remarkable. Calcutta had become the great capital of a great empire. Mr. Hamilton describes its condition at that time in the following general terms:—"The modern town of Calcutta extends along the east side of the river above six miles, but the breadth varies very much at different places. The esplanade, between the town and Fort William, leaves a grand opening, along the edge of which is placed the new government house, erected by the Marquis Wellesley, and continued on in a line with that edifice is a range of magnificent houses, ornamented with spacious verandahs. Chouringhee, formerly a collection of native huts, is now a district of palaces, extending for a considerable distance into the country. The architecture of the houses is Grecian, which does not appear the best adapted for the country or climate, as the pillars of the verandahs are too much elevated to keep out the sun during the morning and evening, yet at both these times, especially the latter, the heat is excessive within doors. In the rainy season this style of architecture causes other inconveniences. Perhaps a more confined style of building, Hindoo in its character, would be found of more practical comfort. The black town extends along the river to the north, and exhibits a remarkable contrast to the part inhabited by the Europeans. Persons who have only seen the latter have little conception of the remainder of the city; but those who have been there will bear witness to the wretched condition of at least six in eight parts of this externally magnificent city. The streets here are narrow, dirty, and unpaved; the houses of two stories are of brick, with flat terraced roofs, but the great majority are mud cottages, covered with small tiles, with side walls of mats, bamboos,

* Hamilton. † Orme. ‡ Holwell.

and other combustible materials, the whole, within and without, swarming with population. Fires, as may be inferred from the construction, are of frequent occurrence, but do not in the least affect the European quarter, which, from the mode of building, is completely incombustible. In this division the houses stand detached from each other in spaces inclosed by walls, the general approach being by a flight of steps under a large verandah; their whole appearance is uncommonly elegant and respectable."

The increase in the wealth and power of the great Indian capital advanced with the century. In 1810 the population was computed at a million by the chief judge,* but he professed to include the environs in this enumeration, and as he did not make a very distinct report as to the principle upon which he added the population of various surrounding villages, the report must be held as a very loose return. About the same period General Kyd calculated the inhabitants of the city as not more than five hundred thousand, but admitted that the population of the suburbs was very numerous.

The present aspect of the city is magnificent; its population, wealth, the number and magnitude of its public buildings, the shipping in the river, the increase of commerce, the grandeur and luxury of rich natives, of Europeans, and of the government, throw an air of splendour over the place which fascinates all who come within its influence. The modern town of Calcutta is situated on the east side of the Hoogly, and extends along it about six miles. The approach by the river from the sea is exceedingly interesting, the Hoogly being one of the most picturesque of Indian rivers, and its most beautiful spots are in the vicinity of the great city, both on the side upon which the city is built, and on the opposite bank. The course of the river is somewhat devious, a distance of sixty miles by land being by the river's course nearly eighty. As upon the Ganges proper, the water in many places washes into the land, forming deep bays, and sometimes bold jutting promontories, which, clothed with oriental foliage to their summits, arrest the traveller's attention. The beauty of the trees which flourish in Bengal is seen to singular advantage along the Hoogly. The bamboo, with its long and graceful branches; the palm, of many species, towering aloft in its dignity; the peepul, finding space for its roots in the smallest crevices of rocks, or in the partially decayed walls of buildings, displays on high its light green foliage; the babool, with its golden balls and soft rich perfume; the beautiful magnolia, and various species of the acacia;—all find their suitable places, cast their shadows upon the sparkling river, and wave, as it were, their welcome to the adventurous voyager who has sought their native groves from far-off lands. If the traveller disembarks anywhere, and passes into the surrounding country, he will find it clothed in eternal verdure; for even while the sun of India pours its vertical rays upon the plains of Bengal, so well watered is it, that the verdure still retains its freshness. All persons passing on the river are much struck with the pleasant ghauts, or landing-places. These consist of many steps, especially where the banks are precipitous, and there is architectural taste displayed in their construction. The steps are wide, with fine balustrades. It is found convenient to build temples or pagodas near them, because the natives can glide along in their boats from considerable distances without much fatigue or trouble, when the sun pours his fierce and burning radiance on river, wood, and plain. The small Hindoo temples, called mhuts, are very commonly erected near these ghauts, in groups which are picturesque rather from the skilful grouping than from their individual form, which is beehive. The Mohammedans, as well as the heathen, have erected their temples by the ghauts of the Hoogly. Their beautiful domes and minarets may be seen glistening in the vivid Indian light through the feathery foliage of the palm and bamboo. Both Mohammedans and heathens take great pains to make the neighbourhood of these temple-crowned ghauts picturesque. The stairs to the water's edge are strewn with flowers of the richest perfumes and the brightest hues; the balustrades bear entwined garlands of the double-flowered Indian jessamine, and other graceful creeping plants which serve as pendants; and, floating along the shining river, these fair offerings to false gods, or wreaths in honour of the prophet of Islam, spread their odours, and adorn the current. Thus the banks of the Hoogly seem fairy land, and its stream fairy waters; the most glowing light, the sweetest perfumes, the most graceful forms of architecture and of the forest, the richest profusion of colour reflected from foliage, flowers, and blossoms of infinite variety, the river itself at intervals so covered with these last-named offspring of beauty, that one might suppose they drew their life from its bosom. Such is the scene by day, and as night approaches there is still beauty inexpressible, however changed its aspects. The setting sun throws upon the foliage and river the richest tints; the first shadows of night fall upon innumerable circles

* Sir Henry Russell.

of fireflies, which, with their golden and emerald light, play amid the trees, and flash along the margin of the waters; and the innumerable lamps, gleaming from temples, pagodas, and mosques through the thick trees and brushwood, give an air of enchantment to the night scenes of the Hoogly. Happy is he whose leisure admits of his working up or gliding down the Hoogly in the slow-sailing budgerow, for in few lands can scenery so soft, soothing, and calmly beautiful be found.

When the European visitor approaches Calcutta, it is not discerned for any considerable distance; hidden by the thickly clustering trees, the course of the river, and the level site, it is not seen from the river until it suddenly bursts upon the view in all its splendour. The *coup d'œil* is most impressive, and the excitement of the stranger is increased every moment as one object of interest and grandeur after another comes rapidly in more distinctness before him. The pleasant gardens which descend to the river from the mansions of the merchants and superior officials cannot fail to arrest attention, even in view of the noble public edifices. Much attention is paid to these gardens, which are decorated by the magnificent trees and flowers of India, and enriched by its exquisite fruits. The gardens are nearly all on the left bank of the river, for the right is occupied by the botanical gardens of the Honourable East India Company, which are perhaps the most interesting of their kind in the world. In these gardens exotics from the Cape of Good Hope, the Mauritius, China, Australia, the United States of America, and Europe, are carefully cultivated. There the palm, the bamboo, the peepul, and the banyan are to be seen of the loftiest height, and in all the spreading pomp of the Indian forest tree. There are some larger banyan trees in other parts of the peninsula, but one remarkable specimen may be seen in these gardens, several acres being covered by the overbranching shadow of this king of the oriental forest.

The ghauts at Calcutta are as elegant as they are convenient, and impress the stranger as he passes them, and when he lands, with the idea not only of the grandeur of the city, but of its good government.

The grand arsenal of Fort William is distant from the city about a quarter of a mile. This noble structure deserves special notice; it has an historic interest as well as a political importance. It has been generally regarded as stronger, and, as a fortress, more regular than any other in India. It is octagonal, five of the faces being regular; the other three next the river are not so. A military man described it some years since in the following terms:—"As no approach by land is to be apprehended on this side, the river coming up to the glacis, it was merely necessary to guard against attack by water, by providing a great superiority of fire, which purpose has been attained by merely giving the citadel towards the water the form of a large salient angle, the faces of which enfilade the course of the river. From these faces the guns continue to play upon the objects until they approach very near to the city, when they would receive the fire of the batteries parallel to the river. This point is likewise defended by adjoining bastions, and a counterguard, which covers them. The five regular bastions are towards the land; the bastions have all very salient orillons, behind which are retired circular flanks, extremely spacious, and an inverse double flank at the height of the berme. This double flank would be an excellent defence, and would serve to retard the passages of the ditch, as from its form it cannot be enfiladed. The orillon preserves it from the effect of ricochet shot, and it is not to be seen from any parallel. The berme opposite to the curtain serves as a road to it, and contributes to the defence of the ditch like a fausse-bray. The ditch is dry, with a cunette in the middle, which receives the water of the river by means of two sluices, which are commanded by the fort. The counterscarp and covered way are excellent; every curtain is covered with a large half-moon, without flanks, bonnet, or redoubt, but the faces mount thirteen pieces of heavy artillery each, thus giving to the defence of these ravelins a fire of twenty-six guns. The demi-bastions which terminate the five regular fronts on each side are covered by a counterguard, of which the faces, like the half-moons, are pierced with thirteen embrasures. These counterguards are connected with two redoubts, constructed in the place of arms of the adjacent re-entering angles; the whole is faced and palisaded with care, kept in admirable condition, and capable of making a vigorous defence against any army, however formidable. The advanced works are executed on an extensive scale, and the angles of the half-moons, being extremely acute, project a great way, so as to be in view of each other beyond the flanked angle of the polygon, and capable of taking the trenches in the rear at an early period of the approach." The above description will in the main suit for the present condition of the fortress. Some alterations have been made of late years, more with a view to convenience than defence. It is the general opinion of military men that it has been planned on too extensive a scale to

answer its original intention, which was merely to serve in an extremity as a place of retreat. The number of men required to garrison it would be sufficient to keep the field against any enemy which India could furnish. Lord Clive, who designed it, is blamed for this; but Clive was not an educated soldier, he was rather one by intuition, and ought hardly to be held responsible for imperfections of military engineering. After the battle of Plassey it was natural for Clive to think that Calcutta might have to be defended, not merely against native, but European enemies, or both combined, and an army which could make head upon the plains against any native force, might not be strong enough to keep the field in the presence of native forces and European auxiliaries. Ten thousand men would be required to defend the place, and fifteen thousand can be garrisoned within it. Its cost to the company has been two millions sterling, a sum which is very far beyond its worth. The barracks are handsome, spacious, and well adapted for their purpose.

Between the fort and the town there is an extensive level space, called the esplanade. On the edge of this stands the government house, erected by the Marquis Wellesley. Continued on in a line with it is a range of fine mansions, with stuccoed fronts, and pleasant green verandahs. The government house is the most striking building in Calcutta; its appearance is much more imposing than Fort William, which has very little elevation. In the eyes of the natives, government house is of great importance, and the English residents of Calcutta are not a little proud of its splendour. It is a very extensive pile, and has four wings, one at each corner of the building, which contain the private apartments; the council-room, which occupies the north-east corner, is a splendid room, worthy of the building, and the purpose for which it is set apart. In the centre of the pile there are two rooms of very great magnificence: the lowest is paved with marble of a dark grey tint, and supported by Doric columns, *chunamed*, resembling marble; above this is the ball-room, floored with dark polished Indian wood, and supported by Ionic pillars. These rooms are lighted by superb cut glass lustres, and the ceilings are painted in a very superior style. Competent and severe critics allow that the decorations of these rooms are most tasteful. What scenes of ambition, blighted fortunes, baffled hopes, eager aspirations, unprincipled intrigue, fortunate policy, and humiliated greatness, have been witnessed within these gorgeous apartments! How often have dethroned princes passed with unshod feet, the token of defeat and extorted homage, across those flags of marble and choice Indian floors! Short as is the time since that palace has been opened for the reception of the British rulers of India, events have transpired within it full of romantic interest, and replete with the fate of thrones and dynasties, and of the mightiest empire upon which the orient sun ever shone!

Government house does not stand alone in beauty. The custom house is a good building. Bishop's College is a Gothic structure of quadrangular form; on the north side is a tower, which is sixty-five feet high, and twenty-five feet deep. The town hall is spacious, and accommodates large public meetings, which frequently assemble there, not only for civic business, but to celebrate the anniversaries of religious, philanthropic, and scientific societies. Public dinners and balls are given in it also. The courts of justice are not only important, but impressive in their exterior effect. There are a jail, an hospital, a club-house for the Bengal Club, the adjutant-general's and quartermaster-general's offices, the Jesuits' college, Hindoo and Mohammedan colleges, and many other notable edifices, among the most remarkable of which are the Metcalfe Hall, the mint, and the medical college. The Metcalfe Hall is a building which may be justly called magnificent. It contains an extensive public library, and the library and museum of the Asiatic Society—a society planned by Sir W. Jones on his way out to India. It also affords accommodation to the Agricultural Society of Bengal. This noble building was raised in commemoration of Lord Metcalfe, whose administration of government in India was so renowned. The mint is a vast building—one of the largest piles of buildings in existence for civil administrative purposes. There the "circulating medium" of India receives its form and impress. There are few specimens of architectural skill and taste in Calcutta which equal the medical college, which is as useful as its outline is attractive.

Architectural taste is not confined to buildings for educational, governmental, or other secular purposes: Hindoo temples and mosques have their peculiarities of style, and all the religious sects of Christianity have their churches, many of which are of large size and superior structure. The grandest Christian edifice in the city is the English cathedral. It owes its existence to the zeal of Dr. Wilson, Bishop of Calcutta, and cost £50,000. Her majesty presented the communion service, which is superb. She also sanctioned the bestowal of the painting of the Crucifixion, by West and Forrest, originally

designed for St. George's Chapel, Windsor, by his majesty King George III. The Honourable East India Company showed a profuse liberality in this undertaking, granting the ground on which the building stands, appointing two chaplains, to be paid from its treasury, and bestowing nearly one-third of the whole expense of the erection. It is thus described by one who has seen it:—"The style of the architecture is the English Perpendicular Gothic, with a few variations, occasioned by the climate; it is, in fact, Indo, or Christian Gothic. The tower and spire are built after the model of the admired Norwich Cathedral, with improvements suggested by that of Canterbury. Most of the details of the ornaments, externally and internally, are taken from the finest specimens of York Minster. The building is constructed of a peculiar kind of brick, specially prepared for the purpose. It is dressed with Chunar stone, and well covered and ornamented inside and out with *chunam*, which takes a polish like marble." *

The portion of Calcutta occupied by the native population lies along the river to the north. It is an extremely wretched place. Much as Europeans are accustomed to contrasts in their capitals between the quarters occupied by the rich and the poor, they can have no conception of the antithetical force of contrast in this respect presented by Calcutta. The streets are narrow—so narrow, that they are frequently only just broad enough for an elephant to pass through. They are as dirty as they are confined, and, being unpaved, are, at certain seasons, in a condition the most abominable, and sometimes, from the nuisances which abound, altogether impassable for Europeans. The better class of houses in "the native town" are built of brick, two stories high, with flat terraced roofs; these, however, bear a small proportion to the mud huts, with tiled roofs, the sides being sometimes of bamboos, often only consisting of mats. Such fragile and inflammable buildings often take fire, and fearful conflagrations spread through that part of the town; the European portion, in consequence of the site, composition, and style of the buildings, and their frequent isolation, escapes on these occasions. The sufferings of the natives are very great at such times; for although all the materials for building are plentiful, the people are extremely poor, and the division of labour occasioned by prejudices of various kinds makes all building expensive. If fires do not ravage the mansions of the Europeans, the white ant is as sure, if a slower enemy, and buildings often become insecure by its devouring energy, the beams and other timbers being completely sapped when there is no exterior appearance of mischief.

The bazaars constitute one of the peculiarities of an oriental town, and Calcutta abounds in bazaars. There the native merchants, and vendors of all conceivable commodities, practise their ingenuity; and there the most crafty European Jews would find their match in the expert operations of dealings less ingenuous than ingenious. The bazaar affords a lounge to the European disposed to pass time there; and if acquainted with a fair number of the languages of India, he may hear, and participate in, a great deal of gossip quite beyond the conception of occidental imaginations, either as to subject or manner.

The country around Calcutta is, as before noticed, champaign, rich, verdant, but little varied, except by the grouping of the woods. The rice culture makes the country swampy in many parts. The river's banks, above as well as below the town, are pretty.

About twelve miles distant, at Dum Dum, are the artillery barracks, which are spacious, pleasantly situated, and an agreeable resort from Calcutta. At a distance of sixteen miles Barrackpore is situated, where a number of native regiments, mustering the strength of a division, have cantonments. This place is also much visited from Calcutta. There are villas, and commercial settlements for various purposes, scattered over the flat country for an equal distance, to which the European residents of Calcutta make occasional journeys; but Barrackpore is perhaps the pleasantest resort, and the most frequently selected. Being partly situated on the river, its site is picturesque; the way to it by land lies through a beautiful demesne of the governor-general. From the river the landing is made by a magnificent ghaut, and in sailing past, the residence of the governor-general is visible through openings in the clumps of tall trees which crown the banks.

On the opposite side of the river is Serampore, the citadel of Christian missions in India. This place is very little resorted to from Calcutta, although to good taste more attractive than Barrackpore; but the residence of officers and their families at that station, and the frequent presence of the governor-general, give it an interest denied to its prim but pleasant neighbour on the other side of the river. The esplanade at Serampore is very fine; the buildings which range along it deserve all the appellations of commendation usually applied to them. There is no town in India where order, cleanliness, and good taste, prevail as in Serampore. This superior taste extends

* Stocqueler.

to the boats which belong to it, and which glide so gracefully past the rougher craft of the English settlements. The morality and social order of this city of the Danes is in keeping with its exterior beauty and the glory of its architecture. Truly, our Scandinavian brothers who founded this elect of the cities of India, deserve all honour for the skill, enterprise, perception of the beautiful, and value for the true, which, in their material and spiritual labours, they proved themselves to possess. There are many natives of consequence residing at Serampore; they also live in some state, their habitations displaying much grandeur, although less elegant than those of Europeans. The native dwellings are constructed more with a view to seclusion; they can, however, be seen from the river, peeping through the trees in which they are embowered, as openings are left for glimpses of the sacred flood as it rolls its heavy current along.

Calcutta and its neighbourhood constitute a subject so large, that many chapters might be exhausted upon it. Under the heads of government, commerce, customs, and manners, it will be necessary again to refer to its importance, and to the influence of those who reside within its confines upon the destinies of India and of all the East. Far over the oriental lands which bound the dominions of the East India Company, Calcutta, its beauty, pomp, and power, are talked of. In the populous cities of China, in the mountains of Nepaul and Thibet, among the Birmans, away to the west and north-west, to Teheran and Central Asia, to the shores of the Caspian, the Euxine, and the Bosphorus, men eagerly listen to fabulous tales of the grandeur, greatness, and resources of the government of India. Calcutta is associated in men's minds in all these wide-spread realms as a city of lavish splendour and exhaustless wealth.

One of the divisions of the province of Bengal is called the Sunderbunds. This is to the south of the presidency, and stretches one hundred and eighty miles along the sea-coast. It is a region of salt marshes and forests. The glance given of this district in the general description of India is sufficient for the purposes of this History. It is here only to necessary to state that all attempts to reduce this woody and marshy region to cultivation have been only partially successful. It still continues to be a wild and inhospitable region, only inhabited by a few fakeers, whose habitations are wretched, and whose lives are in constant peril. Woodcutters resort to the forest and jungle of this district, where they frequently perish in their adventurous occupation, devoured by alligators or beasts of prey. Tigers, as noticed in another page, abound in this region; they attack the woodcutters and fakeers, often making a prey of them. Even when these unfortunate men navigate the channels of water which intersect this wild place in every direction, the tiger is so ferocious, that he will swim after the boats, and frequently succeeds in the destruction of those on board. The Ganges has eight mouths in this region, and all the rivers and channels that so drearily intersect it are filled by its waters. There are two large currents, one called the Sunderbund passage, and the other the Balliaghaut passage. The former takes an extensive circuit, passing through the widest and deepest of the minor streams, and finally empties itself into the Hoogly. The Balliaghaut opens into a shallow lake to the east of Calcutta. These rivers, or passages, as they are called, flow for two hundred miles through thick forest. So narrow in some places are the channels of the rivers, and so dense the forests, that the masts of the vessels touch the branches of the trees. At other places the channels expand into broad marshy lakes, which, notwithstanding the woods within view, are monotonous and dreary.

Saugor Island, which is about twenty miles long and five broad, is situated on the east side of the Hoogly River, about latitude 21° 40′ north. It is a healthy station for the crews of ships, and formerly it had a higher reputation in this respect, when the upper part of the Hoogly was more subject to disease, arising from the rapid decomposition of vegetable matter on its banks. Various circumstances, natural and artificial, have contributed to the better sanitary condition of the part of the river near to Calcutta. This island is celebrated in India as a place of pilgrimage. Hindoos resort to it, because there the most sacred portion of the Ganges forms its junction with the sea. Here old persons, far advanced in life, and children, are offered to the river deity, and the barbarities of heathenism, and of the Hindoo form of it in particular, are exemplified. The few persons resident on the island at the beginning of this century worshipped a sage named Capila. The place seems to have had some importance in ancient Hindoo history, and remains of tanks and temples are still to be seen. The jungle and forest of the island were the cover of a peculiarly ferocious breed of the Bengal tiger. A company of Europeans and natives, under the direction of Dr. Dunlop, cleared and settled a large portion of the dry country, and drained the marshy lands.

The district of BACKERGUNGE is marked on Wylde's large map as first in his list of civil stations in the Bengal presidency. It is situated to the north-east of the Sunderbunds. At the close of the sixteenth century a combined incursion of the Mughs and Portuguese, then settled at Chittagong, laid the country waste, and it has never fully recovered from the effect of that predatory inroad. The country is, nevertheless, fertile, producing two rice crops. Wild beasts, and men whose habits would justify the designation of wild being applied to them, prowl about a considerable portion of this territory. The Dacoits, or river-pirates, have been of late years chased and punished severely, but are not exterminated. Half a century ago gangs of Dacoits committed every species of depredation, and perpetrated horrible cruelties, and the Bengal tiger roamed about, a formidable enemy to the peaceful settler. The population consists of Hindoos, Mohammedans, and Portuguese. The first, in proportion to the second, is as five to two. The Portuguese colonies are in the southern part, and the colonists are generally inferior, mentally and physically, to either Hindoos or Mohammedans. They are spare and feeble, and blacker than the native races, by whom they are much despised. This circumstance strikingly illustrates the power of a tropical climate to deteriorate Europeans in colour and physical capacity.

The district of HOOGLY, which takes its name from the Hoogly River, is not remarkable in any way, its principal characteristics being similar to those of Bengal generally. The city of Hoogly is, however, worthy of notice. It is situated on the west side of the river, twenty-six miles above Calcutta, latitude 22° 54′ north, longitude 88° 28′ east. During the reign of the Moguls this city was one of great importance. Several European powers had factories there, and the commerce was considerable. In 1632, about eight years before the English settled there, and when the Portuguese were in possession of it, a Mogul army besieged and sacked it, a few only of the Portuguese escaping by means of their ships. In 1686 an accidental quarrel arose between the English and the Mogul's people. The garrison of the English factory, aided by a ship of war, inflicted a severe chastisement upon the place, and spiked all the cannon of the Mogul garrison. Five hundred houses were consumed in the conflagration caused by the conflict. This was a remarkable incident, being the first battle fought by the British in Bengal. The power of the Mogul was however, such that the English were glad to consent to terms of peace which were humiliating. The town is not now one of great consideration, but has still a tolerably large trade and a numerous population.

NUDDEA is a district north of Calcutta, between the twenty-second and twenty-fourth degrees of north latitude. There is nothing to distinguish it so particularly from the general features of Bengal as to call for separate description. It is, however, remarkable in the British History of India as comprising within it the town of Plassey, where Clive decided in battle the fate of Bengal, and ultimately that of India.

The district of MOORSHEDABAD is only remarkable as containing the city of the same name, which was the capital of Bengal immediately before the British established their power. It is situated about one hundred and twelve miles north of Calcutta. It stands on a very sacred branch of the Ganges, called the Bhagirathi, or Cossimbuzaar River. In 1704 Moorshed Cooly Khan transferred his seat of government to it, and gave it the name it bears instead of its previous one, Mucksoosabad. It is a miserable, filthy, and unhealthy place, containing one hundred and seventy-five thousand inhabitants. There is, however, a great deal of inland traffic, and the river is usually crowded with sailing craft, except during the long dry season. The town of Cossimbuzaar may be considered a part of Moorshedabad, and the port of it, as at that spot the river traffic centres: it is only a mile from Moorshedabad. The population is very considerable, perhaps as numerous as in any inland *trading* town of the Bengal province. Its manufacture and commerce are considerable, silk being the staple commodity.

The town of Berhampore is only six miles distant from the former places, on the eastern bank of the same river. A brigade of troops occupies fine cantonments there, and, comparatively, many European gentlemen are resident there. According to competent authorities, the situation is pleasant and salubrious.

About thirty miles N.N.W. of Moorshedabad is the town of Sooty, remarkable for the defensive preparations against the English made there by Soorajah-ad-Dowlah, who believed that their ships could come up the eastern branch of the Ganges to the northern point of the Cassemba Island, and then go down the Bhagirathi to Moorshedabad. He accordingly directed piles of vast magnitude and strength to be driven into the bed of the river; this work was so effectually accomplished, that the river has ever since been unnavigable for any craft except boats, and in the dry

seasons the passage is obstructed against even them. In 1763 a battle was fought here between the troops of Meer Cossim and the English, and the latter had their usual fortune —victory.

CHITTAGONG district is on the south-east of the Bengal province, between 21° and 23° north latitude. It has long been noted for its wildness, and a large portion of it is an exception to the general flatness of the province. The Mughs, driven from Birmah, inhabit it, and are physically a finer race than the feeble Bengalees of the district, but are remarkable for their irregular features and bad expression of countenance. Various conflicts at the latter end of the last century, and beginning of the present, of a desultory nature arose there between the Birmans and British, in consequence of violation of territory by the former. The town of Islamabad, a place of some commercial importance, is in this district. It is also the habitation of the Kookies, a small but muscular race of robbers, who in features resemble the Chinese. Sundeep Isle * is situated in this district, at the mouth of the great Megna, formed by the united current of the Ganges and Brahmapootra Rivers. At the close of the sixteenth, and beginning of the seventeenth century, it was the abode or rendezvous of a set of daring pirates, chiefly Portuguese, headed by a common sailor of that nation, named Sebastian, who carried on war with surrounding princes, repeatedly defeating them, and spreading the terror of his name for a great distance in those parts of Eastern Asia. Being a coarse and brutal tyrant, he was at last an object of hatred to his own followers, who forsook him, and he finally fell before one of the native rulers whom before he had despised.

DACCA-JELALPORE district is situated between the twenty-third and twenty-fourth degrees of north latitude. This district suffered horribly in the memorable famine of 1787. At that time extensive tracts—such as Bawul, Cossimpore, and Taliabad—were utterly depopulated, and during the first half of the present century continued in a wild state, overgrown with jungle, and infested with elephants. Great progress in improved cultivation has been made in Dacca; large tracts have been cleared, villages have sprung up, temples and obelisks have been erected. Schools have been instituted by the natives themselves, in which the Bengalee is grammatically taught, and the religion and law of the Hindoos. Muslin fabrics have been manufactured extensively, but the cheap productions of England now compete with them on their own ground. This district was notorious, during the first quarter of the present century, for the public sale of slaves; on these occasions regular deeds of sale were executed. Up to a recent date the whole district was remarkable for crime of almost every kind; violence, murder, robbery, and perjury, seemed to be the chief offences. The Mohammedans were far more frequently offenders than the Hindoos in cases of violence, the latter in cases of fraud and perjury.

The town of Dacca is both a civil and military station, and is a place of much importance. It is built on a branch of the Ganges, named the Booree Gunga, or Old Ganges, which is a mile wide before the town. The water communication with the interior offers great commercial advantages, and the finest muslin which perhaps has been ever manufactured at one time formed the staple trade. By road it is one hundred and eighty miles from Calcutta. The neighbourhood is remarkable for its perpetual verdure. It is not one of the ancient cities of Bengal, although third in point of population and importance, and was at one time the capital of Eastern Bengal. In the reign of Aurungzebe it reached the acme of its splendour, vestiges of which remain in its varied and extensive ruins of public edifices. Remains of great causeways and bridges, caravanserai, gates, palaces, and mosques, are in wonderful profusion. Its vicinity appears to have been always prolific, verdant, and beautiful, for the remains of vast gardens—such as are to be found in the neighbourhood of few cities of the greatest magnitude—may be traced through the jungle by which their sites are now overrun. The city is not now inhabited by so rich a class of natives as formerly, but it is increasingly populous with the industrious classes, and is greatly expanding. It is deemed one of the most wealthy cities in India. During the reign of the Moguls it was a rendezvous for a large fleet, as many as seven hundred and sixty-eight armed cruisers having belonged to it. The superstition of the people assumes a gayer form here than in other parts of Bengal. They render most homage to river-gods, and perform various aquatic ceremonies of a picturesque and joyous kind. The Mohammedans adopt similar customs in honour of Elias, the prophet, whom they believe, or pretend, was a patron of rivers. In the Dacca district, at Changpore, the most delicious oranges in the world are produced.

SYLHET district is very unlike the southern and western parts of Bengal. It lies between the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth degrees of north latitude. It is bounded on the north and east by an elevated mountain ridge, where

* Somadwipa—the isle of the moon.

the inhabitants are in a very wild state. It has no town of much importance, Sylhet being its capital, the neighbourhood of which is studded with picturesque conical hills, crowned with wood to their summits. The district is remarkable for its varied natural productions. As shown on another page, tea-plants of an excellent quality have been discovered on the hill-sides. It contains the largest orange groves in the world, and they are only excelled by those of Changpore in excellence. Chunam (lime) is found in the mountains. Large quantities of wax, and some ivory, are also produced. Elephants are wild in some portions of the uncultivated territory. Coal has also been found near the surface. The district is well watered, and the streams, fed in the rainy season from the mountains, deluge the lower lands, so as to ensure good rice crops. Between Sylhet and China only a few hundred miles intervene, but the country is utterly wild and inhospitable.

RUNGPORE district is situated between the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth degree of north latitude. It contains little to characterise it as a district. In the neighbourhood of the town of Goalpara there are some descendants of the Portuguese settlers, who were thus described a few years ago by a gentleman acquainted with their condition:—"Here they are termed Choldar, which seems to be a corruption of soldier. None of them can either read or write; only two or three know a few words of Portuguese, and they have entirely adopted the dress of the natives. The only European customs they retain are that the women courtesy, and the men show, by the motion of the hand as they pass, that they would take off their hat if they had one. Notwithstanding the want of this distinguished covering, the men retain some portion of European activity, and are much feared by the natives, who employ them as messengers in making a demand, such as the payment of a debt, to a compliance with which they think a little fear may contribute. The females gain a subsistence chiefly by sewing, and distilling spirituous liquors, of which last article the men consume as much as they can afford, and retail the remainder. Concerning the Christian religion they appear to know little or nothing, nor have they any priests. Sometimes they go to Bawul, near Dacca, in order to procure a priest to marry them, but in general this is too expensive, and they content themselves with the public acknowledgment of their marriages." The districts and towns thus described are all that can, within the limits of a work like the present, be selected for notice in the Bengal province.

Within the presidency of Bengal is another province, that of BAHAR, called "Cooch Bahar," to distinguish it from the province of which Patna is the capital. The natural character of the province, and the social character of the people, differ too little from those of the province of Bengal and its inhabitants for particular detail. The old capital of Bahar was once the metropolis of both provinces; it is called Gour. The present town is insignificant, but the ruins of the once great city are extensive and interesting, and deserve notice here. They have been thus described by one who had the best opportunity for ascertaining the accuracy of what he wrote:—"The ruins of this town extend along the banks of the Old Ganges, and probably occupy a space of twenty square miles, which, as Indian cities are usually built, would not contain any very enormous population. Several villages now stand on its site, and eight market-places, sufficiently contiguous to form a town, have been estimated to contain three thousand houses, many of which are of brick, procured from the debris of the ancient city. Some progress has also been made in bringing the surface under cultivation, but the undertaking is much impeded by the great number of dirty tanks, swarming with alligators, musquitoes, and all sorts of vermin, and choked up with pestilential vapours. The soil is of extraordinary fertility, and well suited for the mango and mulberry. The principal ruins are a mosque, built of a black stone, called by former visitors marble, but Dr. Francis Buchanan considered it to be the black hornblende, or indurated pitstone, as he could not discover one piece of marble, either of the calcareous or of the harder kind. The bricks, which are of a most solid composition, have been sold, and carried away to Maldah, and the neighbouring towns on the Mohamanda, and even Moorshedabad has been supplied with bricks from this mass. The situation of Gour is nearly central to the populous part of Bengal and Bahar, and not far from the junction of the principal rivers which form the excellent inland navigation. Lying to the east of the Ganges, it was secured against any sudden invasion from the only quarter where hostile operations might be apprehended. No part of the site of ancient Gour is nearer to the present bank of the Ganges than four miles and a half, and some parts which were originally washed by that river are now twelve miles from it. A small stream that runs past it communicates with its west side, and is navigable during the rainy seasons. On the east, and in some places within two miles, it has the Mahamuddy River, which is always navigable, and com-

municates with the Ganges. The name of Gour is apparently derived from *gur*, which both in the ancient and modern languages of India signifies raw sugar, and from the Sanscrit term for manufactured sugar (*sarcara*) are derived the Persian, Greek, Latin, and modern European names of the cane and its produce. Goura, or, as it is commonly called, Bengalese, is the language spoken in the country of which the ancient city of Gour was the capital, and still prevails in all the districts of Bengal, excepting some tracts on the frontier, but it is spoken in the greatest purity throughout the eastern, or Dacca division of the province. Although Goura be the name of Bengal, yet the Brahmins who bear that appellation are not inhabitants of Bengal, but of Upper Hindoostan. They reside chiefly in the province of Delhi, while the Brahmins of Bengal are avowed colonists from Kanoje."

The province of BAHAR, in distinction from which the district of Bahar in the Bengal province is called "Cooch Bahar," lies to the north and north-west of the Bengal province, and within the Bengal presidency. It is situated between the twenty-second and twenty-seventh degrees of north latitude. It is one of the most fertile and populous portions of the Bengal presidency. Its principal rivers are the Ganges, the Sone, the Gunduck, the Dummodah, the Caramnassa, and the Dewah. The inhabitants are more robust than those of the Bengal province. The productions of the soil are also more in harmony with European wants and tastes, arising from the higher latitude. The religion of the people is Brahminical. Gaya, the birthplace of Buddha, is within the province, but the Buddhists were either driven out by the Brahmins, or made to feign conversion to their teaching. Pilgrims, however, repair to Gaya from great distances, whose zeal for Buddhism prompts them to seek the birthplace of the founder of their religion. The Jains also take an interest in that place, where they allege their religion flourished before that of the Buddhists, which is not probable. In South Bahar the language spoken is called Magodha; it appears to be derived from the Sanscrit, and has a close affinity also to Bengalee and Hindoostanee. One-fourth of the population profess the Mohammedan religion.

The district of TYRHOOT is situated in the north-west corner of the Bahar province. It is chiefly within the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth degrees of north latitude. The country is hilly, and the tea-plant has been recently discovered on the slopes of the hills as an indigenous production. The country is well watered but portions of it are subject to terrible inundations from the too rapid increase of the Gunduck River in the rainy season. Several instances have occurred within a few years in which the sudden rush of the flood has swept away the strongest dykes and barriers erected to resist it, carrying desolation over a large area. The ordinary depth of water in the rivers is insufficient for commercial purposes. The district is remarkable for its excellent breed of horses, in which the lower parts of Bengal are so deficient. It is considered much healthier than Bengal proper, or even the lower grounds of Bahar. The Gunduck River, by which it is chiefly watered, is, near its source, called the Salgrami, from the schistous stones, containing the remains or traces of ammonites, being found in the bed of the stream. These are small round stones, about three or four inches in diameter; they are perforated sometimes in several places by worms. The spiral retreats of antediluvian molluscas, being taken by the superstitious Hindoos for "visible traces of Vishnu," are worshipped under the designation of Salgrams. Some of these bring a great price, as much as £200 having been given by wealthy natives for one. The following is the account which Hindoo legend gives of their title to the high reverence in which they are held:—Vishnu, the Preserver, created nine planets, to regulate the destinies of the human race. Sane (Saturn) commenced his reign by proposing to Brahma that he (Brahma) should submit to his influence for twelve years. Brahma referred him to Vishnu, but he was equally averse to the baleful influence of this planet, and therefore desired him to call next day. On Saturn's departure, Vishnu meditated how he could escape the misery of a twelve years' subjugation to so inauspicious a luminary, and the result was that he assumed the form of a mountain. Next day Saturn was not able to find Vishnu, but soon discovered that he had become the mountain Gandaki, into which the persecuting Saturn immediately entered in the form of a worm, called Vagra Kita (the thunderbolt worm), and began to perforate the stones of the mountain, and in this manner he persevered in afflicting the animated mountain for the twelve years, the space of time comprised in his original demand. At the end of this suffering the deity Vishnu resumed his own form, and directed that the stones of the mountain Gandaki should be in future worshipped. On being asked by Brahma how the genuine stones might be distinguished, he said they would have twenty-one marks—the same number that were on his body. Since that time the Salgrams of the river

Gunduck* have been revered with idolatrous veneration. During the hot months the Brahmins suspend a pan, perforated with a hole, through which the water drops on the stone, and keeps it cool, and being caught below in another pan, is in the evening drank by them as an act of great piety and sanctifying efficacy. The Brahmins sell these stones, although trafficking in images is generally held by them to be dishonourable. It is forbidden in the sacred books to bathe in this river,† all devout Hindoos, therefore, abstain from ablutions there.

Of the Bahar province the principal district is the central one, which is called by the name of the province; there is not sufficient distinctive interest in the other districts to require separate notices in this general outline. The greater part of the district is level and fertile, but there are many hills, rudely broken, and naked. These are frequently insulated, rising abruptly from the plain, and producing an effect upon the landscape more peculiar than picturesque, but relieving the level sameness of the country. The heart of the district contains three distinct clusters of these hills, but they are all of little elevation. The Ganges waters the lower regions of the district, and is generally deep, nowhere fordable, and of considerable expanse, the average width being a mile. There are other rivers which also contribute their irrigating influence to the fertile plain—as the Sone, the Punpun, the Marahar, the Dardha, the Phalgu, the Loeri, the Panekene; numerous branches of these rivers flow in various directions. The climate of the Bahar district is much cooler than even the nearest neighbourhoods to the south, so that in winter the natives kindle fires to sleep by. In the early summer hot parching winds dry up every vestige of vegetation. The district is remarkable for its places of pilgrimage. There are the river Punpun, the town of Gaya, Rajagriha, Baikuntha, on the Pangchane, Lohadanda, near Giriyak, and Chuyaban Muni. The first four of these are much more frequented than the last two named.

Patna is the modern capital of Bahar. It is situated on the right bank of the Ganges, three hundred and twenty miles north-west of Calcutta, eight hundred from Bombay, and nine hundred and ten from Madras. The population numbers about three hundred and twenty thousand. This city is in many respects well situated, and of importance. The Ganges is there five miles wide, and during the rainy seasons it seems to spread into a sea, the opposite shore being scarcely discernible. Beyond the suburbs the river divides into two branches, forming an island nine miles in length. The town and neighbourhood are by no means amongst the most pleasant in India for the residence of Europeans, for in the rainy season the whole vicinage is a vast mire, such as our troops found the Crimea in the winters of their campaign; whereas in summer, like the Crimea also, the dust is blinding, and incessantly whirled about by eddying winds. The ghauts are well constructed and imposing, and the stores are extensive. Being a great centre of the opium traffic, it is a busy place, and it has also considerable trade with the interior, especially with Nepaul, whence the Patna merchants bring wax, gold-dust, bull-tails, musk, woollen cloth named *tush*, and a variety of medicinal herbs. Saltpetre is sent down to Calcutta. There used to be considerable manufacturing activity—muslin, dimity, &c., were made to a considerable extent, but since the poppy became the chief export, the produce of the loom has fallen off: the manufactures of England also come into successful competition.

The city of Gaya is a rival of Patna; it is the sacred capital of the district, as Patna is the commercial. It is divided into an old and new town. The former, inhabited chiefly by priests and other sacred persons, is built on a rock, which is elevated between a hill and the river Fulgo. The commercial portion lies in the plain by the river. Like Patna, dust in the hot weather, and mud in the rainy weather, render the lower town, at all events, intolerable. The heat is excessive, the population dense, the pilgrims numerous, noisy, and filthy, and the inhabitants seem to have a partiality for being cooped up in the narrowest streets and most unpleasant dwelling-places. The morality of the place is no better than its physical condition; it requires all the vigilance of the police to prevent the pilgrims from being plundered, many of whom arrive wearing jewels, and in possession of other wealth. The worst class of inhabitants are the priests, who are openly dissolute, and every way dishonest.

Buddha Gaya is a neighbouring place, and may be called a city of ruins. Buchanan described it as, in his time, "situated in a plain of great extent west of the Nilajan River, and consisting of immense irregular heaps of brick and stone, with some traces of having been formerly regularly arranged, but vast quantities of the interior have been removed, and

* In Northern Hindoostan the name Gunduck is a general appellation for a river.

† Some interesting papers have lately appeared in the journals of the Bombay Geographical Society in reference to the source and current of the river Gunduck, and the formation of the idolised stones, but these papers are too minute in their topographical notices, and too much in detail to give even an abstract of them in these pages.

the rest appear almost shapeless. The number of images scattered around this place for fifteen or twenty miles is astonishing, yet they appear all to have belonged to the great temple or its vicinity. Buddha Gaya was probably at one time the centre of a religion, and residence of a powerful king; the most remarkable modern edifice is a convent of Samryassies."

The town of Dinapore is also in the district of Bahar, and will, unfortunately, be memorable to Englishmen as one of the centres of mutiny in the great military revolt of 1857. It is situated on the south bank of the Ganges, eleven miles west of Patna. Previous to the late revolt, the military buildings were very fine, being much superior to those even in England. Both the officers and men, especially in the European regiments, were quartered in large airy apartments. There are many private houses of convenience and beauty occupied by military men and civilians. Good roads, well cultivated country, and pleasant gardens, exist all around. During the military insurrection much damage was done to the cantonments, and to private property in the neighbourhood.

The division of CUTTACK, attached to the Bengal government, is an interesting portion of the territory, lying within the province of Orissa, which is included in the ancient boundaries of the Deccan; for although Orissa was not included by name in the Mogul Deccan, it geographically pertains to it, and is regarded by the natives as part of it. The general character of the British possessions in the large province of Orissa resembles that of the Deccan at large, a description of which is not appropriate here. It may be observed, however, that the account given by an old writer of its commercial disadvantages is still applicable, although the influence and exertions of the Bengal and Madras governments have effected a great improvement in the means of internal communication and traffic: —"The rivers are too impetuous for navigation when they are swollen by periodical rains, and in the hot season too shallow, except near their junction with the sea, which is invariably obstructed by sand-banks. Under these circumstances, the transportation of grain from one place to another became at an early period an occupation of considerable importance, the roads being nearly as impassable for wheel carriages as the rivers were for boats. The whole of this great interchange has in consequence been always transported on bullocks, the property of a class of people named Bunjaries, not aboriginal natives of the country, but mostly emigrants from Rajpootana."

The condition of a large portion of the province of Orissa is unfavourable. The country is wild, and the people still more wild. The territory has been of late years much attended to by the government of Calcutta. Balasore, in Northern Cuttack, is a civil station. This place is situated on the south side of the Booree Bellaun River, about one hundred and twenty-five miles south-west of Calcutta. The river has considerable depth, but its channel is narrow, and its banks marshy. At the mouth there is a bar, over which no vessel can pass, even at spring-tides, which draws more than fifteen feet of water. The Portuguese and Dutch had factories at Balasore, and the place was noted for its manufactures, which have fallen away before European competition. The native vessels employed in coasting are small but well built, and well adapted to the employment in which they are engaged. Cuttack town is also a civil station of the Bengal government. It has fine military cantonments, and is remarkable for its embankments, faced with cut stone, to resist the inundations of the Mahamuddy and Cutjoury Rivers.

The district is most remarkable as containing the shrine of Juggernaut. The town adjacent is called Pooree and Pursottam. It is more than three hundred miles from Calcutta. In 1813 voluminous parliamentary papers were published concerning the pilgrimages to the temple of Juggernaut. Some of the missionaries—Dr. Carey, the celebrated Baptist missionary, among the number—have considered that more than a million persons annually visited this chief resort of fanaticism. The following account of the place, and the scenes enacted there, is as appalling as it is, unhappily, correct:—

"The temple containing the idol is an ill-formed shapeless mass of decayed granite, no way remarkable but as an object of Hindoo veneration, situated about one mile and a half from the shore. The country around is extremely sterile, the tower and temple being encompassed by low sand hills. From the sea the temple or pagoda forms an excellent landmark on a coast without any discriminating object for navigators. It is surrounded by a large, populous, filthy, ill-built town, called Pooree, inhabited by a bad-looking, sickly Hindoo population, composed mostly of the officiating priests, and officers attached to the various departments dependent on the idol. For ten miles in circumference round the temple on the land-side, taking the temple for the central point and the sea-shore for the chord, the space enclosed thereby is called the holy land of Juggernaut, its sanctity

being esteemed such as to ensure future beatitude to the Hindoo who dies within its bounds. By Abuul Fazel, in 1582, this place is described as follows:—'In the tower of Poorsottem, on the banks of the sea, stands the temple of Jagnauth, near to which are the images of Kishni, his brother, and their sister, made of sandal-wood, which are said to be four thousand years old.'

"With respect to the origin of this image, we have the following legend, narrated in various mythological histories:—Augada, a hunter, while engaged in the chase, discharged an arrow, but, instead of hitting the prey for which it was intended, it pierced Krishna, who happened to be sitting under a tree, so that he died, and some unknown person having collected the bones of that incarnation, he put them into a box.

"About this time a king named Indradhuwua was performing austere worship to Vishnu, who directed him to form the image of Juggernaut, and to put the bones into its belly, by the doing of which action he would obtain the fruit of his devotion. The king asked who would make the image, and was told Viswacarma, the architect of the gods. To this deified mechanic he in consequence began to perform austere worship, which had such efficacy, that Viswacarma undertook to finish the job in one month, provided he was not disturbed. He accordingly commenced by building a temple upon an elevation called the Blue Mountain, in Orissa, in the course of one night, and then began to form the image in the temple; but the king was impatient, and after fifteen days went and looked at the image, in consequence of which Viswacarma refused to go on, and left it unfinished. The king was much disconcerted, and in his distress offered up prayers to Brahma, who told him not to grieve too much, for he would make the image famous even in its present imperfect shape. Being thus encouraged, King Indradhuwua invited all the demigods to attend the sitting of it up, on which occasion Brahma gave it eyes, and, by performing worship to it, established its fame. According to report, the original image lies in a pool at Juggernaut Kshetra, and it is always said that every third year the Brahmins construct a new one, into which the bones of Krishna are removed, and that while performing this exchange the officiating Brahmin acts with his eyes bandaged, lest the effulgence of the sacred relics should strike him dead. The image exhibited at present is a carved block of wood, having a frightful visage, painted black, with a distended mouth of a bloody colour, the eyes and head very large, without legs or hands and only fractions of arms, but at grand ceremonies he is supplied with gold or silver arms. In the interior the attending Brahmins bathe, wipe him, and carry him about like the stump of a tree. The other two idols of his brother and sister are of a white and yellow colour, and each have distinct places allotted them within the temple.

"The *ruth*, or car, on which these divinities are elevated, sixty feet high, resembles the general form of Hindoo pagodas, supported by very strong frames, placed on four or five rows of wheels, which deeply indent the ground as they turn under their ponderous load. He is accompanied by two other idols, his brother Bubraw, and his sister Shubudra, who sit on thrones nearly of equal height. The upper part of the cars are covered with English broadcloth, supplied by the British government, and are striped red and white, blue and yellow, and decorated with streamers and other ornaments. Both the walls of the temple and sides of the machine are covered with indecent sculptures. During the Ruth Jattra, the celebration of which varies from the middle of June to the middle of July, according to the lunar year, the three images are brought forth with much ceremony and uproar, and having mounted their carriage, the immense machine is pushed and dragged along, amidst the shouts and clamour of a prodigious multitude, to what is called the idols' garden-house, or country residence, distant from the temple only one mile and a half, but the motion is so slow, that the getting over this space usually occupies three or four days. On these occasions scenes of great horror frequently occur, both from accident and self-devotion, under the wheels of the tower, which, passing over the body of the victim, inflict instant death, by crushing the body to pieces, and their bruised and lacerated carcasses are frequently left exposed on the spot for many days after their destruction.

"The appellation of Juggernaut (Jagat Natha, lord of the world) is merely one of the thousand names of Vishnu, the preserving power, according to the Brahminical theology.

"The concourse of pilgrims to this temple is so immense, that at fifty miles distance its approach may be known by the quantity of human bones which are strewed by the way. Some old persons come to die at Juggernaut, and many measure the distance by their length on the ground; but, besides these voluntary sufferings, many endure great hardships, both when travelling and while they reside here, from exposure to the weather, bad food and water, and other evils. Many perish by dysentery, and the surrounding country abounds with skulls and human

bones; but the vicinity of Juggernaut to the sea, and the arid nature of the soil, assist to prevent the contagion which would otherwise be generated. When this object of their misplaced veneration is first perceived, the multitude of pilgrims shout aloud, and fall to the ground to worship it."

The government used to keep the temple in repair, and levied a tax upon the pilgrims; the revenue derived exceeded the expenditure; but public indignation was aroused against a connection of any kind existing between the government and a source of crime and ruin to the bodies and souls of such multitudes, and the government deferred to public opinion in this matter.

In the Bengal provinces there are the following civil stations:—Backergunge, Balasore (North Cuttack), Baraset, Beerbhoom, Behar, Bhaugulpore, Bogoorah, Bullooah, Burdwan, Calcutta, Chittagong Cuttack, Cuttack (tributary mehals), Dacca, Dinajepore, Hoogly, Jessore, Khoonda (South Cuttack), Maldah, Midnapore, Monaghyr, Moorshedabad, Mymensing, Noakhalu, Nuddea, Patna, Pubna, Purneah, Rajshaleye, Rungpore, Sarun, Shahabad, Sunderbunds, Sylhet, Tyrhoot, Tipperah, twenty-four Pergunnahs.

The military stations of the Bengal army extend through the north-west provinces as well as those of Bengal proper. They are as follow:—Agra, Akyab, Allahabad, Allyghur, Allypore, Almorah, Bancoorah, Bandah, Bareilly, Barrackpore, Beaur, Baitool, Bisnauth (Assam), Benares, Bhopawar, Bhurtpore, Bhaugulpore, Burdwan, Berhampore, Buxar, Cawnpore, Chenab Poonjie, Chinsurah, Chittagong, or Islamabad, Chunar, Dacca, Delhi, Deyra Dhoon, Dorundah (Chotab Nagpore), Dinapore, Dum Dum, Etawah, Fort William, or Calcutta, Futtehghur, Ghazepore, Goruckpore, Gorvahati (Assam), Gurrawarrah Amritsir, Dera Ishmail Khan, Gurdaspore, Ferozepore, Jailum, Hosungabad, Hazarbaugh, Hansi, Hawaulbaugh, Juanpore, Jubbulpore, Jumaulpore, Kurnaul, Kuttack, Loodhianal, Lohooghaut, Lucknow, Muttra, Meerut, Midnapore, Mynpooree, Mirzapore, Moorshedabad, Moradabad, Mhow, Mullye, Mundlaisir, Neemuch, Nusseerabad, Patna, Petoraghur, Saugor, Secrole (Benares), Sutapore (Oude), Seharunpore, Shaghehanpore, Syler, Sultanpore (Benares), Sultanpore (Oude), Khyouk Phyoo, Peshawur, Rawil Pindee, Wuzeerabad, Attock, Lahore, Mooltan, Sealkote, Mutala.

## CHAPTER IV.

### DISTRICTS AND CITIES *(Continued)*—NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES.

IT has been explained that the north-western provinces, although connected with the Bengal presidency, have a separate administration from the Bengal provinces, under a lieutenant-governor. The military stations are occupied by the army of Bengal, and are included in the list which closes the last chapter. The civil stations of the north-western provinces are as follow:—Agra, Allahabad, Allyghur, Azinghur, Bandah (South Bundelcund), Bareilly, Benares, Bolundshuhur, Cawnpore, Delhi, Etawah, or Mynporee, Furruckabad, Futtehpore, Ghazepore, Goorgaon (South Delhi), Goruckpore, Humeerpore (North Bundelcund), Juanpore, Meerut, Mirzapore, Moradabad, Mozuffernugger, Muttra, Pillibheet, Seharunpore, Saheswan, Shahjehanpore, Hurreanah (West Delhi), Paniput (North Delhi), Butaulah, Gogaira, Gujerat, Jhung, Pindee Daden Khan, Shahpore, Shaskhpoora.

Referring to the north-western provinces, the *Times* contained the following statement in a recent article:—"This government embraces the richest and most favoured countries of Hindoostan, and comprehends a fourth of even the enormous population of India. It represents a presidency in itself, and, indeed, had at one time been so constituted, though the idea was never actually carried out, and Agra still remains a dependency of Calcutta."

ALLAHABAD is the province of the north-western government which lies nearest to Bengal, and is situated between the twenty-fourth and twenty-sixth degrees of north latitude. Watered by the Ganges, Jumna, Geyn, Seroo, Birmah, Arana, Caramnassa, and smaller rivers, the irrigation is adequate. It is a very productive province, the lands near the Ganges and the Jumna being exceedingly fertile; the upper parts are rocky, hilly, and bold. Opium, sugar, indigo, cotton, saltpetre, and diamonds, are the chief productions. The district which bears the general name of the province produces excellent wheat, barley, peas, beans, and plants of various kinds, yielding oils and dyes. It was at one time famous for its manufacture of cotton cloth, and still a considerable quantity is made there.

The town of ALLAHABAD is very famous in its religious, military, and commercial importance, although less so in the last-named respect than in the other sources of celebrity. Mr. Hamilton remarks:—"In every district subordinate to the English authority throughout Hindoostan the state of the police is the most important feature of its history, and its jail the most imposing edifice." This can hardly apply to the city of Allahabad, which is more noted for its splendid fort than for any other building. It is placed on a tongue of land about a quarter of a mile from the city; one side of the site is washed by the Jumna, and on the other the Ganges flows very near. The third side, near the land, is regular as a fortification, and exceedingly strong. The gateway is a tasteful Grecian erection. The government house is a fine spacious, convenient building. There is also a superior barrack. The river site of this town adapts it to internal trade and military defence. Except the river scenery, the immediate neighbourhood is not fertile nor picturesque. The population is not numerous. The distance from Calcutta is a little less than five hundred miles, from Bombay seven hundred, and from Madras eight hundred and fifty. It is eminently holy to Hindoo associations; this arises from the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna; and the natives allege that there is a subterranean river, named Lereswati, which forms a junction with both. Those who perform the prescribed ceremonies at this spot have, therefore, treble merit, and accordingly great numbers, having visited Gaya and Benares, here also pay their tribute of devotion to the gods. Some of the ceremonies are of a nature singularly to exhibit the prostration of the native mind under the debasing power of idolatry. One of these is to sit by the river's brink while the head is shaved, the devotee and the operator taking care that every hair shall drop into the river, as the result ensures a million of years in heaven for every hair thus received by the sacred confluence. Another ceremony, having more serious concomitants, is performed in the centre of the stream, the devotee having three water-bottles attached to his girdle, plunges into the deep, and is swept away; this is his passage to immortal bliss. Life is often sacrificed in the struggle of competitive pilgrims for the most sacred spots, and at the most canonical junctures of time.

BUNDELCUND is a wild district of great extent and comparatively small population; it is hilly—the hills rugged and rough, but covered in most places with low coppice. This district is celebrated for its diamond mines. These are situated in the plain of Punnah, which extends for several miles round the town of that name. This elevated level is gravelly, and a great variety of beautiful pebbles are to be found there, among them diamonds. These "diamond mines" are alleged to be the Punassa of Ptolemy. The profits of working them are insignificant, yet some fine diamonds are occasionally found.

The town of Punnah occupies a very elevated site in latitude 24° 45′ north, longitude 80° 13′ east. It is not very populous, and has few good houses. Its temples and idols are out of proportion numerous. Many of the former are of superior architecture, and the latter are generally adorned with precious stones; one idol had some years ago an eye which consisted of a diamond of the highest brilliancy, and very great value. Ruins of forts, tombs, a palace, and other ancient works are picturesque, especially as being in keeping with the barren plain which stretches away in every direction.

CAWNPORE is a district which formerly belonged to Oude, and is for the most part comprehended in the Doab* of the Ganges and the Jumna. The soil is productive: wheat, barley, Indian corn, and most European vegetables thrive. Many European fruits also come to perfection there. The town of Cawnpore has obtained a horrid notoriety in connection with the massacre perpetrated there in 1857 by the Bengal mutineers. It stands on the west side of the Ganges, latitude 26° 30′ north, and longitude 80° 13′ east. It has been considered an important military station, capable of affording quarters in barrack to more than ten thousand soldiers. The officers nevertheless live in their own bungalows, which are convenient and handsome. The dust is intolerable during the summer season over a large area in the neighbourhood of the town. In history Cawnpore is noted as a field of many battles, but none will be remembered with such interest by British readers as the defeats sustained by the infamous Nana Sahib from the arms of Havelock and Neill in 1857, during their efforts to relieve the garrison, women and children, afterwards so cruelly massacred.

BENARES was the name of an important district in the Allahabad province; now it is a separate division or province. It is remarkable for fertility; and also for the forest-like appearance of the landscape, affording shelter to men and cattle from the burning sun of the summer months, which is very intense,

* This is a name given by the Hindoos to a tract of land lying between two rivers. The Doab of the Ganges and the Jumna is the most noted, and is comprised partly in the province of Allahabad, and partly in the provinces of Agra and Delhi.

although in the winter fires are not disagreeable to Europeans, and are eagerly enjoyed by the natives. The diseases of dysentery and rheumatism prevail much in the district, and Europeans are also much affected by them. The city of Benares is one of the most celebrated in India: it is situated 25° 30′ north latitude, and 83° 1′ east longitude. The population is about three-quarters of a million. The Ganges flows past it in a sweep of about four miles, and the city is built on the external curve, where the ground is elevated, and slopes up from the river. The city is therefore visible for a great distance, and to the river and the opposite banks presents a beautiful appearance, the streets and buildings rising in tiers from the water's edge to the summit of the high bank which they crown. On a small scale, Algiers might give some notion of the picturesque effect of this arrangement; or to those who are untravelled beyond our own isles, the towns of Youghall and Cove, in the county of Cork in Ireland, may, on a very minute scale, afford the idea. The streets are narrow, just admitting the free passage of a horseman. In many places passages over the streets exist from the windows or terraced roofs of the high houses, which are built of stone or brick; formerly, the Brahmins allege, they were built of gold, but turned into stone in consequence of the deficient respect shown by their possessors to the Brahmins; and also in consequence of some other deviations from the supposed right way, less creditable to the delinquents. According to the traditions of the Brahmins, the city does not belong to the earth—the earth resting upon Amanta, the many-headed serpent (eternity); but Benares is borne up by Siva upon his trident, so that no earthquake ever sends its vibrations through the foundations of the great city. This is the more obliging of Siva, inasmuch as his proper vocation is destruction. The city is inhabited chiefly, as to the better classes of its inhabitants, by Brahmins, who are represented to live there in numbers out of all proportion to the rest of the inhabitants. These Brahmins have, in many cases, private property; and in many instances also they enjoy stipends allowed them by rich Hindoos and princes in all parts of India, for the purpose of performing in their behalf such religious ceremonies as must be performed on the spot. There are numerous Hindoos of wealth, rank, and political consequence, who take up their abode there because of the facilities offered by so holy a place for "making their salvation." According to the Brahmins, Benares is "the Holy City:" even a European dying there may go to heaven—a privilege also extended to Juggernaut. The religious institutions, of every description—temples, shrines, sacred ghauts, schools, &c.—are amazingly numerous. Schools and ghauts have been endowed by rich Hindoos as acts of piety or penance, so that the youth of the place are instructed in Hindoo religion, law, and literature with great zeal; and the beautiful approaches from the river to the streets of the city are numerous beyond all comparison with those of other towns. Nearly in the centre of the city there is a mosque, built by the Emperor Aurungzebe. It is placed on the highest point of land, and open to the river, so that it is in view of the whole surrounding country, and from the Ganges and its opposite bank. The Mohammedans are not numerous—they are generally computed at one to twenty as numerically compared with the Hindoos; but this is probably too high a proportion to give them. The mosque was built by them in the day of their power, upon the site of a heathen temple, removed for the purpose, and as an act of defiance to the Hindoos. There is now a splendid temple, which was built in the last century.

Although Benares depends much for its wealth and population upon its reputation for sanctity, pilgrims in vast numbers constantly visiting and expending their wealth there, yet there are natives who grow rich by commerce; and it is a depot of Indian manufactures, and for the diamonds which are brought down from Bundelcund, for the lower provinces. It is also celebrated for its lapidaries and workmen in gold. More jewels are polished in Benares than in any city of the East. A good modern writer describes it as "more eastern in character than the general run of Hindoo towns;" but all the Hindoo towns are thoroughly eastern in character, except where their existence is merely modern, and dependent upon military cantonments. Even the sea-board cities of Bombay and Madras, and the capital where the seat of government is, are oriental in their character, notwithstanding the presence of European officials, merchants, and troops.

For more than half a century Benares has belonged to the company; and although fewer Europeans reside within it than any other great city in India, it has been most peaceable. There is a general appreciation among the wealthy natives of the security of person and property afforded by the company, as contrasted with the insecurity in the native states; and this feeling is much upheld by the pilgrims whose journeys through the British possessions are safe, but insecure in the dominions of native princes, where they are often plundered of their jewels, ornaments.

and money, which it is well known many of them carry to a large value. During the great mutiny of Bengal troops, it was generally supposed that the people of Benares, excited by fanaticism, would fly to arms; but for the reason here given, it was not found difficult to preserve the post with a mere handful of troops.

Benares is at once the most intelligent and superstitious town in India. In proportion to the intelligence in native law and literature will be found the infatuation of idolatry. The *native* education of a Hindoo gives no strength to his understanding; he is made acquainted with a greater number of absurd legends, which it would be impious to doubt, and he becomes debased in superstition in proportion to the Brahminical culture he receives. The city is not quite three hundred miles from Calcutta: it is nearly eight hundred from Bombay and Madras. The sacredness of the city extends to a distance of ten miles around it.

The district of MIRZAPORE is not important, except on account of the town which bears its name. This town is situated on the banks of the Ganges, about thirty miles from Benares. There are few inland towns in India where the people have shown more activity and enterprise. The houses are of superior structure, and built of solid material; and the public buildings are numerous and respectable. Viewed from the Ganges it has a thriving and bustling appearance, which no other town on the river exhibits. The population can hardly be less than a hundred thousand.

OUDE is a province of Hindoostan to the north of Allahabad, on both sides of the Ganges, occupying, with the exception of the district of Ranpore, all the flat country between that river and the northern mountains, as well as the principal part of that fertile tract lying between the Ganges and the Jumna, known by the name of the Doab, to within forty miles of the city of Delhi. Oude and its dependencies are three hundred and sixty miles in length from east to west, and in breadth from one hundred and fifty to one hundred and eighty, and contain five million inhabitants. The capital is Lucknow. The sovereignty was taken away from the reigning family, and it was annexed to Great Britain by Lord Dalhousie in 1856.

Oude, now a decayed town in the province of that name, is said to have been the capital of a great kingdom twelve hundred years before the Christian era. It is mentioned in the *Maha Bharrat*, a famous Hindoo work written in Sanscrit. It is situated on the Goggra, nearly adjoining Fyzabad. Various districts tributary to Nepaul, ranges of hills, and forests bound this province on the north, which led to the apprehension that it would be liable to predatory incursions when British authority was established. On the contrary, the hill-men have respected the English name, and the wise government of the prince now ruling Nepaul preserved security and peace in that direction. Oude is watered by the Ganges, the Goggra, the Goomty, and the Lye. The inhabitants of this province are probably the most manly, and best adapted for soldiers of any in India. It has been the chief recruiting ground for the Bengal army, and the men obtained far surpass, in average height, even the grenadier companies of our line regiments. A distinguished general officer, remarkable for his fine stature, observed on one occasion to the author of this History—"In the royal army I am a large man, but I was a pigmy beside the Bengal grenadiers enlisted in the upper provinces."

The distracted state of Oude at all times within British acquaintance with it, rendered it the reproach of India even among native governments. The history of that kingdom for a great number of years, and even centuries, has been one of violence and corruption. On the 10th of November, 1801, extensive cessions of territory were made to the company, yielding a revenue of thirteen and a half millions of Lucknow silver rupees. Some of the ceded districts, as Rohilcund, had been conquered by the nabob, with English assistance, not more than twenty-six years previous to their cession. In 1813 the revenue had greatly increased, being seventeen and a half millions of rupees: the subsequent increase was also considerable.

It is remarkable that during the revolt of Oude, and the concentration there of the Bengal mutineers in 1857, Nepaul afforded valuable aid to the British; yet in October, 1814, Ghaze-ad-Deen, the nabob, granted a loan to the British government of a crore of rupees (ten millions), to aid it in the war it was then waging with Nepaul. Finding that the contest with Nepaul necessitated a second campaign, the nabob lent a second crore* of rupees. One of these loans was afterwards redeemed by territory conquered from Nepaul being transferred to the nabob.

In a work issued June, 1820, and dedicated to George Canning, then President of the Board of Control, there is the following passage, which was almost prophetic, and is singularly pertinent to recent events. The context referred to the tyranny and fiscal mismanagement of the nabobs, and their bad faith with the English government. "As might be expected under circumstances so

* A crore of rupees was equal to a million sterling.

adverse to external tranquillity among contumacious or oppressed zemindars, many *gurries*, or native fortifications, were levelled, the whole requiring the interference and active agency of the British military, at a time when their services were urgently wanted elsewhere. The just and fair construction of the terms of subsisting treaties, as referring to the nature and extent of the vizier's authority, did not appear to warrant any more effectual interposition on the part of the British government. In construing these it is required, by every principle of justice, that the most liberal and comprehensive meaning should be given to such articles as are in favour of the party whose weakness presents no security for him but the good faith on which he relied. Much is also gained by escaping the chance of that extremity, which should force the British government to withdraw the nabob's authority, to substitute its own within his territories; *for such a necessity, although it might morally exist, could never be made out to the world, and the seizure of his possessions would be universally stigmatised as tyrannical and rapacious, a premeditated usurpation, the offspring of a base and sordid cupidity.* One emergency alone can be supposed capable of driving the British government to a conduct so repugnant to its wishes, which is, the discovery that the nabob had secretly leagued himself with their enemies, and with them was clandestinely practising its overthrow. An extreme case of this sort could only occur, however, in such a state of absolute desperation, that the nabob thought the most unpromising conspiracy preferable to a continuation of submission. Under such a condition of affairs, although he might have no troops, he could give much trouble; for having a vast command of money, he might create great mischief by secretly furnishing supplies, and *might involve the British government in the trouble and expense of a war, leaving it infinitely difficult to trace his having any concern in the machinations which led to it.*"

In 1831, the annoyance experienced by the British government from the disturbed state of Oude, and the violation of treaty as to its government, especially in fiscal matters, was such that Lord W. Bentinck made peremptory demands upon the nabob for the reform of his administration, and the melioration of the condition of his people. This demand was followed by a temporary amendment on the part of the Oude government, but it soon relapsed into its old ways. In 1847, Lord Hardinge repeated the demands of Lord W. Bentinck, and threatened in two years a decisive interposition, if the requisitions of the British government were not complied with. It was not until 1856 that the step was taken which it had been predicted in the passage above quoted would be universally stigmatised—a prediction too truly fulfilled. As it has had so important an influence on the late revolt in the Bengal army, and the late conflicts in Oude, it is desirable here to give some outline of the circumstances, and the subsequent condition of Oude; a more particular detail must be reserved for an appropriate page in the historical portion of this work.

Taking the Blue-books as our guide,* the process of annexation appears to have been as follows:—The papers presented to the legislature open with a letter from Lord Dalhousie, Governor-General, on July 3rd, 1855, to the Court of Directors, transmitting papers relative to the condition of Oude, and a minute setting forth his propositions for the future government of Oude. The first enclosure is the minute of the governor-general of November 21st, 1854, to Colonel Outram, being instructions to the latter gentleman on assuming his appointment as British resident at the court of Lucknow. This minute was signed by three of the supreme council, and the fourth appended a minute giving it his cordial support. It states, "that the government of Oude is in a state of probation, in which it was solemnly placed by Lord Hardinge in 1847;" that Lord Hardinge told the King of Oude in that year, that if he did not amend the condition of his people "within two years," "it would be the duty of the British government to have recourse to those extreme measures which, sixteen years before, Lord William Bentinck had declared must be enforced, for the protection of the people of Oude;" and that this was made as a "peremptory demand, by Lord Hardinge, in pursuance of the treaty of 1801." It further states, that the warning to the king was not acted upon by the government of India at the expiration of two years, in consequence of "the occurrence of successive wars, and an unfeigned reluctance to have recourse to those extreme measures." Lastly, it instructs Colonel Outram "to inquire into the present state of Oude, with a view to determine whether its affairs still continue in the same state in which Colonel Sleeman (the late resident) from time to time described them; and whether the duty imposed upon the British government by the treaty of 1801, a duty recognised by Lord William Bentinck in 1831, and reiterated by Lord Hardinge in 1847, would any longer admit of indulging

* "Papers relating to Oude," presented to parliament in 1856.

the 'reluctance' above referred to." Major-general* Outram applied himself to the task committed to him with the vigour, determination, and sagacity for which he is so remarkable; and the result of his inquiries may be thus summed up in his own words:—"I have no hesitation in declaring my opinion that the duty imposed on the British government by the treaty of 1801 cannot any longer admit of our honestly indulging the reluctance which the government of India has felt, heretofore, to have recourse to those extreme measures which alone can be of any real efficacy in remedying the evils from which the state of Oude has suffered so long." His report was transmitted to Calcutta, on which there appeared a minute by Major-general Low, a member of the council, stating that these papers should, of course, be sent to the governor-general, and that he "entirely occurred in the opinions" recorded by Major-general Outram in the above extract from his despatch.

Lord Dalhousie communicated to the government at home the inquiries and opinions of Major-general Outram, and the opinions and recommendations of the leading officials at Calcutta. His lordship urged upon the government the step, admitted that it must be attended by odium, but expressed his readiness to incur whatever obloquy might ensue. The marquis had been encouraged, in the audacious and unjust policy he had previously followed, by Sir Robert Peel, who justified in parliament a less strict regard to treaty, and a less elevated principle of honour, in dealing with the native princes than would have been tolerated in maintaining relations with European sovereigns and governments. Few statesmen were less scrupulous in resorting to an expert and sophistical casuistry to support a departure from principle, or a desertion of party, than Sir Robert. Lord Dalhousie copied him in this respect, as well as followed his general policy. The disingenuous, tyrannical, and dishonest government of that nobleman alienated the confidence of native princes, capitalists, and military, and sowed broadcast the seeds of resentment and revolt. The company did not thoroughly approve of the scheme, but the Board of Control favoured it, and the committee at Leadenhall Street threw upon the governor-general the responsibility which he was so willing, and even ambitious, to incur, as the following paragraph of their despatch shows:—

> It is on every account to be desired that the great measure which we have authorised should be carried into effect under the auspices of the nobleman who has so long, and with such eminent ability and success, administered the affairs of the British empire in India; who has bestowed such attentive and earnest consideration on this particular subject; and whose acts may carry a weight of authority which might, perhaps, not in the same degree attach to the first proceedings of a new administration. Entertaining full reliance on the ability and judgment of the Marquis of Dalhousie, with the suggestions of the other members of your government before him, *we abstain from fettering his lordship's discretion by any further instructions;* and feel assured that, whichever mode of attaining *the indispensable result* may be resolved on, the change will be carried into effect in the manner best calculated to avert collisions of any kind, and with every proper and humane consideration to all persons whose feelings have a just claim to be consulted.
>
> We are, &c.,
> E. MACNAGHTEN.
> W. H. SYKES.
> &c. &c. &c.*

At the close of 1855 General Outram was ordered to assemble a large military force at Cawnpore, and to enter into negotiations with the Oude government, "for the purposes mentioned in the despatch of the honourable court." On the 30th of January General Outram summoned the prime-minister of Oude to the residency at Lucknow, to inform him of the decision of the governor-general. On the 1st of February the king addressed "the resident," protesting in mild but dignified language against the subversion of his rightful authority. The resident declined all discussion, informing his majesty that the determination of his government was inflexible. He gave the king *three days* to decide. The army and people of Oude were as one man in the desire to raise the standard of resistance, and the sepoys of the Bengal army—being soon made acquainted with the danger to the independence of Oude, their native territory—heartily but secretly sympathised with its king and people. His majesty did not dare, however, to encounter the superior power of the British; he disarmed his troops, and dismounted his guns. On the 4th of February General Outram demanded that the king should sign a declaration that his "infraction of the essential engagements of previous treaties had been continued and notorious." His majesty, giving way to vehement grief and indignation, refused to sign this condemnation of himself, and expressed his determination to lay a memorial of his wrongs at the feet of the Queen of Great Britain. In 1858 he is, by his agents, endeavouring to obtain from her majesty redress of the grievances of which he complains. The king also refused to sign a new treaty, abrogating that of 1801, submitted to him by General Outram. On the 7th of February the general issued a proclamation, declaring

* He had been promoted to that rank during the progress of his investigations.

* Oude Blue-book, p. 236.

that "the British government had assumed to itself the exclusive and permanent administration of the territories of Oude." From that moment the soldiery and people of the kingdom were resolved to take the first opportunity of reasserting the independence of their country, and taking vengeance upon those whom they considered its oppressors. General Outram compelled many nobles *to give bail* for their good behaviour, and many were placed under surveillance.

In September, 1856, only seven months before the revolt of 1857 began, Sir Henry Lawrence expressed himself in clear and decided terms as to the condition and prospects of the newly-annexed country. The opinions and warnings of such a man are so valuable, as to give to the following a deep interest in connection with the dark and sanguinary deeds which have since been perpetrated in Oude, and chiefly by natives of Oude at Cawnpore:—"Oude has long been the Alsatia of India. In that province were to be met, even more than at Hyderabad or at Lahore, the Afreedee and Durukzye of the Khyber, the Beloochee of Khelat, and the Wuzeeree of the Sulimani range. There also congregated the idle, the dissipated, and the disaffected of every native state in India. Added to these were many deserters from the British ranks, yet the contingent of twelve thousand men has been almost wholly filled from the old Oude army. The reason assigned for the different line of conduct is that the Punjaub was conquered, but that Oude fell in peace. In this there is a fallacy, little understood, but not the less a fallacy. Proportionally, few of the instigators of opposition at Lahore and in the Sikh army were Sikhs; they were British subjects—many of them British deserters. The general feeling of the Sikhs was hardly hostile. Many of the Sikhs were friendly—decidedly so, compared with the Hindoostanees in the Punjaub service. The King of Oude employed fifty-nine thousand soldiers; his chiefs and officials at least as many more. Of these vast numbers, one-fifth at the utmost have found employment in the police and irregular corps. Yet these levies, with half a dozen regular corps, *form* the whole army of occupation. This seems a grave mistake. Why not, at least, make a change? Why not move some of the Punjaub regiments that have been keeping constant watch and ward on the Indus for seven years to Oude, and send some of the king's people to the north-west? The king had some eight thousand artillery; of these about five hundred may have obtained employment, the rest, young and old, are on the world. Surely, if there was danger in employing Sikhs in 1849, it would be well to remove some portion of the Oude levies from Oude, where such materials for mischief still remain. In the province are two hundred and forty-six forts, besides innumerable smaller strongholds, many of them sheltered within thick jungles. In these forts are four hundred and seventy-six guns. Forts and guns should all be in the hands of government, or the forts should be razed. Many a foolish fellow has been urged on to his own ruin by the possession of a paltry fort; and many a paltry mud fort has repulsed British troops. The eighty or ninety thousand disbanded Oude soldiers are the brethren of the British sepoys. . . . . A paragraph in the *Delhi Gazette*, announcing that the Oude authorities are disposed to dispense with the service of the regular regiments for Lucknow, tempts a few further words of caution, though we do not altogether credit the newspaper report. The earliest days of annexation are not the safest. Be liberal, considerate, and merciful, but be prompt, watchful, and even quietly suspicious. Let not the loose characters floating on the surface of society, especially such a society as Lucknow, be too far tempted or trusted. Wellington's maxim of 'keeping the troops out of sight' answered for England; it will not answer for India. There must be trusty bayonets within sight of the understandings, if not of the eyes, of Indian subjects before they will pay willing obedience or any revenue. Of late years the wheels of government have been moving very fast; many native prejudices have been shocked. Natives are now threatened with the abolition of polygamy. It would not be difficult to twist this into an attack on Hindooism. At any rate, the faster the vessel glides the more need of caution—of watching the weather, the rocks, and the shoals.

"'Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.'"

The advent of the greased cartridge irritation thus found the army of Bengal already disaffected, and precipitated revolt.

Fyzabad (beautiful residence) was the capital of Oude during the last century, until 1775, when Lucknow was promoted to that honour. The situation of Fyzabad is favourable for pleasure and sanitary advantages, having a good site upon the south bank of the Goggra. The town is large and populous, but few Europeans reside or visit there. The ruins of the palace of Shujah-ad-Dowlah yet remain; there are also ruins of a fortress which was of considerable strength. The attention of Europeans has been much directed to this city, from the circumstance of its having been the residence of the once cele-

brated Bhow Begum, widow of Shujah-ad-Dowlah, and mother of Asuph-ad-Dowlah. When the Marquis of Wellesley was governor-general, the begum announced to him her intention to leave to the British government the whole of her property, and to make the government also her sole executor. No doubt existed of her right to do so, but her purpose becoming known to the court and people of Oude, great astonishment and disapprobation was excited. The English government, unwilling to take advantage of her highness's favourable intentions, endeavoured to induce her to leave the property to the royal house of Oude, under certain stipulations, alike beneficial to it and to the country; but the importunities and representations made by the governor-general and his agents failed for a long time to produce the effects desired. Ultimately the royal lady relented towards her family in some degree, but displayed her partiality for the British government, or her resentment against her own connexions, by leaving a large portion of her property to the former. The Bhow Begum died in 1815, and during the following year the resident at Lucknow proceeded to Fyzabad, and carried into effect the will of the deceased. Her wealth was passing great—in money, land, jewels, shawls, robes, cattle, and other property. A large sum was set apart to erect and preserve a suitable mausoleum, and for religious offerings; the nabob inherited about a quarter of a million sterling per annum, the British government receiving about three-quarters of a million sterling, which was distributed in Oude on political grounds, pensions being given to various members of the royal family.

Lucknow has obtained celebrity by the resistance of its heroic garrison during the revolt of 1857, and by the successful and chivalrous efforts of Generals Outram, Havelock, and Campbell to relieve it. The town is situated on the south side of the Goomty, which is navigable for boats of considerable size even during the dry season. The Goomty falls into the Ganges between Benares and Ghazepore. It is in latitude 26° 51′ north, and longitude 80° 50′ east, and is about six hundred and fifty miles from Calcutta. The native portion of the city lies low, and the streets are filthy and narrow. The European portion is elegant and picturesque, villas after the English fashion being numerous. The architecture is striking. The mosques and mausolea are built in a decorative style, and have gilded roofs. The Imaum Barra and Roumi Durwaz are the two chief public edifices. Of the Imaum Barra the following description has been given:—"This grand mosque consists of two courts rising with a steep ascent, one above the other. It contains besides the mosque a college for instruction in Mussulman law, apartments for the religious establishment maintained there, and a noble gallery, in the midst of which, under a brilliant tabernacle of silver, cut-glass, and precious stones, lie buried the remains of its founder Asuph-ad-Dowlah. The whole is in a very noble style of Eastern Gothic, and is remarkable for richness and variety, as well as for the proportions and general good taste of its principal features."* The tomb of Sandut Ali is very magnificent. When the city is seen at a distance, domes and minarets gleam in the bright clear sun, producing an aspect of much splendour. The *Bombay Gazette* represents Lucknow as bearing in its situation and its salient points a strong resemblance to Delhi:—"As Delhi is bounded on one side by the Jumna, so Lucknow is bounded by the Goomty; and the wall of Delhi is represented sufficiently for our purpose by a canal which skirts the opposite side of Lucknow. The palace at Delhi and the fort of Selimghur are in the position of the residency and the Muchee Bawan at Lucknow. In that division of Lucknow which is represented at Delhi by that which lies between the palace and the Jumna Musjid on one side, and the Delhi, Turcoman, and Ajmeer gates on the other, are a number of extensive buildings, occupying probably large walled enclosures—the Secunderbagh, Motee Mahal, the barracks, mess-house, &c. Opposite these, on the outer side of the canal, are the Dilkhoosha Park and Palace, and La Martinière, a large school for Christian children, maintained on funds bequeathed by General Claude Martin. This school is situate at the junction of the canal above-mentioned with the Goomty, and the Dilkhoosha adjoins it. The Alumbagh, so often mentioned lately, stands in relation to Lucknow topographically much as the Flagstaff Tower does to Dehi, and about two miles from the bridge over the canal which leads into the city, and which at Delhi would be the Cashmere gate. The residency lies due north from the Alumbagh, and the positions which we have mentioned are to the eastward of the residency, occupying a suburban district between the Goomty and the canal, about two miles in length, and varying in breadth from a mile to a mile and a half. Secunderbagh is the furthest and most eastward end from the residency. Then come the barracks and mess-house, and then the Motee Mahal (Pearl Palace), which is close upon the bank of the Goomty, and a few hundred yards from the residency."

* Captain Stocqueler.

AGRA is a considerable province of North-western India. It is bounded by Delhi on the north, on the south by Malwa, on the east by Oude and Allahabad, and on the west by Ajmeer. It is generally flat, and where irrigated it is fertile; there are, however, few rivers to confer that advantage. Indigo, sugar, and cotton, are the crops best adapted to it; these are produced prolifically in the Doab. The Ganges, Chambul, and Jumna, afford the chief supplies of water to the province. Good horses are bred in several districts. Elephants, tigers, bears, buffaloes, and rhinoceroses, are numerous in the places best suited to their habits. There is also a great variety of birds, some of which are delicious eating. The inhabitants are well formed and handsome, generally Hindoos, although the Mohammedans also are numerous. In the district of Agra stands the city of Agra, the capital not only of the province, but of North-western India, the residence of the lieutenant-governor. It was once the most splendid of all the Indian cities, and now exhibits the most magnificent ruins; it was taken by the British in the war with the Mahrattas in 1803. It stands on the right bank of the Jumna, a branch of the Ganges, one hundred miles south by east of Delhi, seven hundred from Calcutta, six hundred and forty from Bombay, and nine hundred and eighty from Madras. The houses are built like those of Benares, in several stories, and are sometimes raised to a great elevation. The fort is of large dimensions, and very strong, built of red stone, possessing the colour and hardness of jasper, dug from the quarries of Futtehpore. It has a ditch of great depth, and a double rampart, the inner one being of enormous height, with bastions at regular distances.

The Taj Mehal is erected near the city, and is esteemed by many to be the most gorgeous monument in Hindoostan. The Mogul emperor, Shah Jehan, erected it in commemoration of his empress, Noor Jehan, "the light of the world." According to Mohammedan accounts she was supremely beautiful, and had great power over her lord; she requested that he would build a tomb which would perpetuate her fame, and this great monument was the result of her command. It is inscribed as belonging to the Ranoo Begum, "ornament of the palace." Its cost was nearly three and a quarter millions sterling. Twenty thousand workmen were employed for more than twenty years in its completion. The architect was a Frenchman, "Austin de Bordeau." The building occupies the north side of a large quadrangle over the river Jumna. The entrance to the quadrangle is through a gateway of colossal proportions, and great architectural beauty. The area is laid out in pleasant parterres, containing choice flowers and shrubs, the emblematic cypress having the chief place. The paths are laid down with freestone slabs, and have "running along the centre a basin, with a row of jets-d'eau in the middle from one extremity to the other." The quadrangle measures nine hundred and sixty-four feet by three hundred and twenty. The mausoleum, the terrace upon which it is placed, and the minarets, are all formed of the finest white marble, inlaid with precious stones. Pillars and cupolas of white marble crown the red stone wall which surrounds the quadrangle. The inside of the mosque, and of the apartments built in the walls and erected upon them, are lined with white marble. The remains of the emperor, as well as those of the empress, lie within a vault beneath the building: the descent to this vault is by a flight of tastefully-constructed steps. "Their remains are covered by two slabs of marble; and directly over these slabs, upon the floor above, in the great centre room under the dome, stand two other slabs, or cenotaphs, of the same marble, exquisitely worked in mosaic. Upon that of the queen, amid wreaths of flowers, are worked in black letters passages from the Koran. Upon the slab over the emperor there are none, merely a mosaic wall of flowers and the date of his death."

A few miles from Agra, at Secunda, there is another magnificent tomb, that of Akbar. "It stands in a square area of about forty English acres, enclosed by an embattled wall, with octagonal towers at the angles, surmounted by open pavilions, and four very noble gateways of red granite, the principal of which is inlaid with marble, and has four high marble minarets. The space within is planted with trees and divided into green alleys, leading to the central building, which is a sort of solid pyramid, surrounded externally with cloisters, galleries, and domes, diminishing gradually on ascending it, till it ends in a square platform of white marble, surrounded by most elaborate lattice-work of the same material, in the circle of which is a small altar-tomb, also of white marble, carved with a delicacy and beauty which do full justice to the material and to the graceful forms of Arabic characters which form its chief ornament." The actual place of the monarch's sepulture is in a vault of white marble at the bottom of the building.

The plain all around Agra, more especially in some directions, is marked by ruins of palaces, mosques, temples, and tombs, showing the imposing grandeur of the city of Agra in

days passed away. Its present population is considerable, but not what it once was. The high stone houses, the gardens, the canal, and the general position, must have afforded peculiar advantages to the revolted sepoys who resisted the united forces of Campbell and Havelock in 1857; and the way in which, notwithstanding these advantages, they were vanquished, displays one of the proudest triumphs of British military skill and heroism.

Mathura, situated on the west bank of the Jumna, is thirty miles from Agra, and is remarkable, with Bundralbund in its neighbourhood, for the ruins of ancient idolatrous shrines which it contains. The vicinity is more especially celebrated as the scene of the birth and early days of Krishna, the boy-god of the Hindoos. Sacred monkies of a large species used to be fed by the priests and votaries — Mahhajee Scindia left a sum of money for that purpose; but the money is not forthcoming when wanted, nor are the monkies protected as once they were. Still, however, the superstition is preserved.

Gwalior is a fortress in the district of the same name, in the province of Agra, situated on a rock about four miles in length, but narrow and nearly flat on the top, with sides almost perpendicular, from two to three hundred feet above the surrounding plain. The rampart conforms to the edge of the precipice all round; and the only entrance is by steps running up the side of the rock, defended on the side next the country by a wall and bastions. The area within is full of noble buildings, reservoirs of water, wells, and cultivated land; so that it is a little district within itself. At the north-west foot of a mountain is the town, which is well built. This fortress is considered as the Gibraltar of the East; but in 1780, Major Popham took it by an unexpected night escalade. Before it became subjected finally to the British, it was repeatedly attacked and taken. In the occupation of British troops it would be impregnable, at all events to a native army, whatever its force.

DELHI is called the imperial province, the city of that name having been the seat of the Mogul empire. It is to the extreme north-west of the government of the north-west provinces, and is one of the most temperate portions of Hindoostan. The chief rivers are the Ganges and the Jumna, which, during the rainy season, inundate the country, and conduce to its fertility. This division is, however, thinly inhabited compared with the lower provinces.

The chief object of interest in the province is the city of Delhi, famous as the capital of the Moguls, as the rendezvous of the revolted sepoys of 1857; infamous for the cruelties perpetrated by the revolters upon women and children; and finally deriving celebrity from the extraordinary siege, conducted to a successful issue by a small force of British troops and native soldiers under General Wilson, against the obstinate defence of the revolters. Our engraving presents with fidelity and effect the site, architecture, and military position of the place. It is built in the form of an oblong square, is bounded on the south by the river Jumna, along which all the principal buildings, including the king's palace, stand. It is surrounded by an old wall of red granite, which was erected long before the invention of artillery. As is common with eastern cities defended by walls, a large portion of the enclosure is occupied by gardens. These run from the king's palace to the Lahore gate. Modern Delhi lies to the east and beyond the walls, and in that direction, for some miles, the ruins of the old city extend. It is not only the ancient capital of the Patan and Mogul empires — it is the natural capital of Hindoostan. It contains the grandest architecture of the East—palaces, tombs, mosques, and towers of unrivalled splendour are grouped within it. Its situation for commercial and political purposes is eminently advantageous, and was every way a suitable site for a grand, imperial, and dominant city. On taking the census of 1846, it was ascertained that Delhi contained 25,611 houses, 9945 shops, mostly one-storied, 261 mosques, 188 temples, 1 church, 678 wells, and 196 schools. The total population consisted of 137,977 souls, of whom 69,738 were males, and 68,239 females. Of these 90 families, or 327 persons, were Christians; 14,768 families, or 66,120 persons, were Mohammedans; and 19,257 families, or 71,530 persons, were Hindoos. In the year 1846 there were born 1994 males, and 1910 females. The marriages were 953 in number, and 4850 deaths occurred. Of the last, 1320 took place before the age of twelve months, 493 between twelve months and two years, 843 between two and twelve years, and 2194 above that age. The census of the thirteen villages forming the suburbs of Delhi comes down to 1847; they then contained 22,302 inhabitants—namely, of Hindoos, 709 cultivators, 14,906 non-cultivators; and of Mohammedans, 495 cultivators, and 6192 non-cultivators. Previous to the revolt of 1857 it was the great arsenal of the British government in India, and garrisoned by Hindoo and Mohammedan troops. The following brief but complete outline of its defensive capabilities, by an engineer officer,* shows the import-

* Captain Lawrence.

ance of the city under the British government, when the late outbreak tested that importance in so sanguinary a manner:—"Delhi is a strongly fortified city, more than seven miles in extent, having a citadel, to be taken by escalade or by regular approaches The defences are described as being second only to those of Mooltan, which cost us a long and sanguinary siege. The walls are built of solid masonry, of no great height. The ditch is narrow, and not very deep, and the flanking works, as frequently happens in oriental fortresses, do not properly enfilade the curtain. Martello towers, however, exist at intervals: they are semicircular in form, and loopholed for musketry. Spiral staircases lead from the top of the walls down through the towers to chambers on a level with the ditch, and those are loopholed for infantry fire, most galling to an escalading party crossing the ditch. The bastions defending the curtains are also furnished with banquettes for riflemen; but these may be kept down by shelling. Fortunately the extent of the wall forbids the belief that the whole of them can be effectually manned, and much may be done by surprise and concentration that would otherwise be difficult to attain. Delhi was garrisoned by the 30th, 54th, and 74th native infantry, and a battery of native artillery; but that which rendered its possession still more important was its value as an arsenal. The arsenal in the interior of the city contained nine hundred thousand cartridges, two complete siege trains, a large number of field guns, and ten thousand muskets. The powder magazine had been long since removed, at the desire of the inhabitants, from the city to the cantonments outside Delhi, and contained not less than ten thousand barrels."

For a long time previous to the outbreak, the descendant of the great mogul was a mere puppet in the hands of the British political agents. He was a pensioner, receiving from the company £96,000 per annum; he affected the parade, without the power, of a king. The officers of the company, civil and military, treated him with all the exterior deference due to a crowned head. When "the king" went abroad, he was attended by armed escorts, and followed by a crowd of retainers. All Europeans, however distinguished their position, uncovered as "his majesty passed;" while he, bearing himself in kingly state, remained covered, no matter by whom saluted. The troops presented arms, and the people ostentatiously showed reverence to the king and the court. The envoys or representatives of the governor-general, when admitted to an audience, approached "the king and padishaw" with folded arms, the attitude of petition. Within the precincts of the palace, over his own retainers the company conceded to the king sovereign rights, but these did not extend farther; in the city he received the homage due to a king, but could claim no service or obedience. The members of the royal family were remarkable for their low intellectual capacity, and their ungovernable passions. Of the three hundred princes and princesses of whom the royal family was composed, there were probably not three of average intellectual power. The conduct of all these persons during the late revolt was atrocious beyond description. The men perpetrated crimes at the mention of which all Europeans shudder, and the women excited them to these deeds, although their own sex and helpless infants were the victims. Most of the male members of the royal family met the doom which men inflict upon murderers, and some of the monsters had no other consolation in dying than the remembrance of the atrocities they committed upon the defenceless. The royal state, the palace, and the general grandeur of the city have been recently described in an English periodical, published in India, in terms which bring the whole in one general and striking picture to the mind.

"Few are aware of the remains of former magnificence still existing in this old imperial city, whose ruins extend over a larger space than our own metropolis, and display greater architectural glories than the latter would if reduced to a like state. A competent authority has said that the former possessors of Delhi built like giants, and finished their work like jewellers. The buildings are mostly of a fine red granite, inlaid with tracery and flowers of white and coloured marbles and precious stones; but such a fine artistic taste pervades these ornaments, that they are never out of place, nor produce a tawdry effect, but constitute a fine whole, like the decorations of our Gothic cathedrals, grand in the extended glance, yet striking in the close examination by the beauty of individual parts. However, when we know that what is called Gothic architecture was the invention of the Spanish Arabs, and by architects educated in their schools carried to most parts of Europe, in the middle ages, we shall cease to wonder at the similarity of structure in buildings so far apart as Delhi and York Minster. The Jumna Musjid, or grand mosque of Delhi, is, in fact, one of the finest Gothic edifices in the world, and, except in the broad and high flight of steps leading to the entrance, a picture of it might be taken for the cathedral front. This magnificent place of worship was built

by the Emperor Jehanghur, at the cost of ten lacs of rupees. Two minarets at the sides alone distinguish its structure from that of our own churches. These rise to a height of one hundred and thirty feet, constructed of marble and red stone, used alternately, to produce a finer effect. In our damp climate and smoky towns the beauty of this combination would soon be lost by an accumulation of moss and soot, but in the pure sky of India it is unimpaired for ever. The pillar-like minaret is not, however, an invariable characteristic of Mohammedan architecture, as in Morocco mosques are seen, especially those of an old date, with the massive square tower, by many imagined characteristic of Christian temples. In the days of Moorish science these were used as astronomical observatories. The Jumna Musjid is two hundred and sixty-one feet in length; the front is covered with marble of surpassing whiteness; the cornice has ten compartments, which are inlaid with Arabic inscriptions in black stone of the same kind, which, from the elegant form of the oriental letters, produce the finest effect; the inner pavement is of white marble slabs, ornamented with black borders, and is exceedingly beautiful; and the coolness produced by lining the walls and roof with white marble slabs is in delicious contrast to the suffocation of an Anglo-Indian church. But until we copy from the natives the principles of building adapted to the climate, as well as many other things, we must always expect to be in India like an unskilful rider on a headstrong horse —in constant fear of a fall. The pulpit is of marble, and the kibla is adorned with delicate fringe-work. The summit of the minarets gives a wide view over the city and surrounding country. Besides this fine edifice, there are other mosques; but it is unnecessary to particularise them, further than to say they are all beautiful in their kind, and some show traces of what we call the early Norman school of architecture. The imperial palace, the pride of Delhi, and wonder of the early travellers, was built by Shah Jehan. It is of red granite, and far surpasses the Kremlin in magnificence, being a structure in all respects worthy of the governors of one of the mightiest and most splendid empires which the world has seen—that of the Indian Mohammedans. The entrance gate surpasses anything of the kind in Europe, and is so high, that a man can ride through it mounted on an elephant. But this fair outside is not all: on entering, the visitor proceeds down a long aisle, like that of a cathedral, ornamented with inscriptions from the Koran and flowers, all beautifully cut, with that delicacy and patience for which Eastern workmen are so famed. In the middle of this is an octagon court. The apartments are all ornamented in the same manner with inlaid flowers and foliage of precious marble. Many of the rooms are lined with white marble, inlaid with flowers and leaves of green serpentine, *lapis lazuli*, blue and red porphyry, so arranged as to give the appearance of natural plants creeping over the walls. Some of the flowers have as many as sixty separate pieces of shaded stone used in their structure, that a more natural appearance might be produced. The private hall of audience, where, in former times, the Great Mogul used to receive particular persons, and confer titles of nobility, is a pavilion of white marble, opening on one side to a large garden, and on the other to the palace. Round the frieze is the motto which Moore has translated in *Lalla Rookh*:—

> "'If there be an elysium on earth,
> It is this! it is this!'

The pillars and arches are inlaid with gold and carved flowers, exquisitely delicate, and inscriptions in the most elaborate Persian character. The floor is of marble, beautifully inlaid. The public hall of audience, where the shah used to sit in state to hear the complants and receive the petitions of his subjects, is in the outer court of his palace. This, like the other, is of marble, but larger. Three sides are opened, and the fourth is closed by a black wall, clothed with inlaying and inscriptions. The throne is in the centre, raised ten feet from the ground, so that the monarch could see and be seen by any one who wished to address him, but who might be impeded by his attendants. That splendid peacock throne, which we have all heard of from our infancy, was carried off by Nadir Shah, and now graces the palace of Teheran. But still, even in its present state, that of Delhi is the most noble palace the world can boast, excelling anything which the poverty of a European imagination could ever produce, either in ancient or modern times."

Since the fall of Delhi, under the besieging army of General Wilson, in 1857, great pains have been taken to render its future government effective, and to appoint officials of intelligence, and likely by their force of character to awe the disaffected.

HURREANAH is a large district of the Delhi province. It derives its name from its verdure, the word *hurya* in Hindoostanee meaning green. It is, however, only verdant by comparison with neighbourhoods of less fertile character, as it is not on the whole a blooming territory. The Sultan Feroze conveyed by a canal the waters of the Jumna to Hissar, but the canal becoming choked up through

neglect, the irrigation to which it so much contributed was reduced, and the land fell away from its previous productiveness and cheerful aspect. A road through Hurreanah to the Punjaub was formerly a highway of traffic between Hindoostan and Cashmere, Candahar, Cabul, and Persia. The district contains extensive pasture-grounds, and formerly it was remarkable for the haunts of lions in those vicinities. The lion of Upper India is a less formidable creature than the tiger of Lower India, but the former infests neighbourhoods where more mischief can be effected by his presence. Horses, camels, and bullocks, are reared for the other provinces. Previous to the influence of the East India Company being established in these parts, the people were turbulent, and exceedingly divided by tribal and religious animosities; this was especially the case in the pergunnah of Rotuck, where village contended against village in incessant warfare. Rotuck and Bhowavery are considerable towns in Hurreanah, but the most interesting historically are Hansi and Hissar. The remains of the last-mentioned town are of vast extent; it is, indeed, difficult to define their limits. Hansi is situated near to Hissar, and contains many vestiges of ancient works and buildings.

The district of ROTUCK is chiefly remarkable for the town of Rotuck, which is situated within its confines. It was once a very large place; it is now a city of ruins.

The division or province of MEERUT was formerly a part of the Delhi province. There are few things to characterise this division. It has several good towns, but none of great extent or numerous population. The chief towns are Meerut, Sirdhana, Katouli, and Hustinapore.

Meerut is the capital town of the division, and has obtained an unenviable notoriety as the focus of revolt (or at all events the first place in which the revolt was developed) of the sepoy army in 1857. The town is a small one, but the military cantonments in its neighbourhood greatly increase its importance. They are situated north of the town, and, extending for two miles, afford accommodation, it is alleged, for nearly twenty thousand men. The town is only thirty miles from Delhi, which lies south-west. The neighbourhood is a rich grassy plain, somewhat resembling the prairies of the western world.

Sirdhana, or, as some write it, Seerdhuna, is situated N.N.E., of Delhi, in latitude 29° 12′ north, and longitude 77° 31′ east. This is also a small town. At one time it was noted in India as the capital of "Somroo," and afterwards of his widow, Somroo Begum. The real name of Somroo was Walter Reinhard. That adventurer was a native of Treves. Early in life he became a French soldier, and took the name of Summer, which the natives of Hindoostan pronounced Somroo. Having come to Bengal, he entered a Swiss corps in Calcutta, from which he deserted, and fled to the upper provinces, and served under Sirdar Jung as a private soldier. Cossim Ali was then Nabob of Bengal, and he had a favourite, an Armenian, named Gregory, into whose service "Somroo" entered. It was by this adventurer that the English captives at Patna, in 1763, were massacred. He was unfaithful to the master whom he in that way unworthily served, and, choosing many masters, was unfaithful to them all. He, however, rose in the service of Nujuff Khan, who assigned to him the city, and at his death gave it over to Somroo's widow, or rather concubine, in condition of her maintaining a certain military force for the khan's advantage. This remarkable person lived long, was faithful to the company, received from them especial marks of favour, and managed the territory, the administration of which had been committed to her, with as much ability as she conducted her affairs with the company's government.

Hustinapore (or Hustinanagara) is situated fifty miles north-east from Delhi. It is built on a branch of the Ganges, formerly the bed of that river. The place is now very small, but at one time it was a great city, for its remains are spread over a wide surface, or rather the vestiges of its foundations, for ant-hills cover the extensive site.

SEHARUNPORE is a district of the Meerut division. It lies between the Jumna and the Ganges, where they run parallel, more than fifty miles apart. It is not inundated, like other river districts, yet has, without that fertilising influence, been always esteemed most productive. The extremes of heat and cold are felt in this district—the summer burning up the verdure, the winter being cold enough for fires.

Hurdwar is a town of small size but much bustle and activity in this district. It is also an emporium for a considerable extent of country, and was formerly much more so. Horses, mules, camels, tobacco, antimony, asafœtida, dried fruits,—such as apricots, figs, prunes, raisins, almonds, pistachio nuts, pomegranates, &c.,—from Cabul, Candahar, Mooltan, &c., are brought to this mart. From Cashmere and Amritsir pattoos and dootas are also conveyed to this active little place. Here also may be seen turbans, looking-glasses, toys in brass and ivory, and various articles in metals and bone, from Jeypore; shields from Rohilcund, Lucknow, and Sylhet;

and rock-salt from Lahore. Half a century ago, bows and arrow from the Doab and Mooltan might also be seen exposed for sale in Hurdwar. A vast concourse of people, arriving by caravans, crowd the town, and pitch their tents in the neighbourhood, during the fairs. A quarter of a million of persons was some time ago computed as the average influx of dealers on the two great occasions of commercial assemblage. The assemblages of devotees are as numerous as those of the traders, for at this place the Ganges bursts out from the upland and rocky country into the plains of Hindoostan. Numerous bodies of fakeers make ostentatious professions of piety, and multitudes of their disciples perform their sacred ablutions in the river. These congregated multitudes present an extremely picturesque aspect. There is as much variety of costume and personal appearance as may be seen in Tiflis or other frontier towns in Georgia and Imeritia, when the Caucasian tribes repair thither for curiosity or commerce. The various sects wear colours upon their foreheads, made with ochre or paint, as tokens of the god they serve. Some of these sects never shave the head or beard, but allow the latter to flow down upon their breasts, and bind the former in tresses round their heads as a turban. The fairs at Hurdwar were formerly as certainly associated with religious feuds, as an Irish fair is marked by a faction fight or a row. Many perished in these sanguinary sectarian disturbances. The company's government has imposed regulations which effectually preserve the peace and promote the secure transaction of business.

ALLYGHUR is a district situated in the Doab of the Ganges, in about the twenty-eighth degree of north latitude, bounded by that river and the Jumna. It is well watered and fertile. Allyghur, the chief town of the district, is only remarkable for its very strong fort.

ROHILCUND is marked as a province in the lists given from M'Kenna in our second chapter, but the name of BAREILLY, which is inserted as a district of that province, has been lately given to the name of the province itself. The territory included in Bareilly, Rohilcund, and the other districts connected with them, is, with the exception of Benares, the most populous in the regulation provinces of the Agra government; but the topographical and social peculiarities of the province are not so distinguished from those of the provinces in this government already described as to require especial notice. The town of Bareilly is of some importance, as there is a population of seventy thousand persons, and a strong fort. The population is one-third Mohammedan, a large proportion. The Ganges flows on the western boundary.

As the chief disturbances during the revolt of 1857 took place in these provinces, the following general sketch of the sphere of revolution will be useful:—"The scene on which the active operations of our Indian forces are now concentrated, assumes, in comparison with the territorial proportions of the empire, very narrow dimensions, and admits of being readily brought under a comprehensive view. The Ganges and the Jumna Rivers measure in their course the entire length of the plains of Hindoostan. To the north-west of the sources of these streams lies the Punjaub, constituting the extreme province of the Bengal presidency, and at Allahabad, where the two rivers unite, commences a succession of districts terminating with Lower Bengal, in which insurrection has either never broken out, or has been successfully put down. It is between the two points thus definable, or, as may be more precisely expressed, between Allahabad to the south-east, and Umballah to the north-west, that the disturbed territories lie. They comprehend the central seats of the old Mogul power, Oude and Bengal in those days being governed by viceroys, and the Punjaub having passed into the hands of the Sikhs. In the usual territorial nomenclature of India, they are described as the north-western provinces, having become attached, as new districts, in the extension of our empire, to the already settled dominions of Bengal. It is in this great district that the revolt, in its worst and most dangerous features, has been raging; and if the city of Agra be taken as a centre, a comparatively small circuit will include all the spots at which operations of immediate importance took place. Here the insurgents-in-arms were joined by all the villains and marauders representing the scum of an oriental population, in the ferment of a revolt. The chief hold of this murderous swarm was Delhi. There are but two other points at which the insurgents mustered in any considerable numbers—Bithoor and Lucknow. The former of these is the residency of the treacherous and cowardly assassin Nana Sahib, who, after his butchery at Cawnpore, intrenched himself near his own abode, with a force computed at twenty thousand men. The latter attracted the bulk of the mutineers in Oude."

## CHAPTER V.

### DISTRICTS AND CITIES (*Continued*)—NON-REGULATION PROVINCES OF THE BENGAL AND NORTH-WESTERN GOVERNMENTS.

In the second chapter lists of the territories described as non-regulation provinces will be found. To give a minute particularisation of their topographical character, resources, and climates, would demand larger space than the extent of this work allows, but a general sketch may be supplied sufficient to interest the reader, and increase his information concerning the vast regions which are more or less subjected to the control of Britain.

Amongst the provinces now under consideration the PUNJAUB deserves a prominent place. The whole country extending from the north-western frontier to the borders of Affghanistan and Thibet is comprehended under this general name. The capital is Lahore. Loodiana, Umritsir, Peshawur, and other large cities, surrounded by flourishing districts, are also centres of extensive influence, having all the importance of capitals in their respective regions. Upon the final conquest of the Sikhs, the Punjaub was settled as a separate government subsidiary to Bengal, and under the administration of Sir Henry and Sir John Lawrence it has attained to very great prosperity. So ably has the distinguished man last named maintained the authority of his government, that during the fearful revolt of 1857, which extended to his territories, he was enabled to quell the mutiny of the insurgent sepoys with promptitude, preserve the loyalty of the people, and even organise auxiliary forces for the re-establishment of order in the north-western provinces.

The Punjaub is divided for purposes of government and revenue into divisions and districts, which are as follow:—

LAHORE DIVISION.—Gordaspore; Umritsir; Sealkote; Goojranwalla; Lahore.

MOOLTAN DIVISION.—Jhung; Googaira; Mooltan.

LEIA DIVISION.—Kanghur; Dera Ghazee Khan; Dera Ismail Khan; Leia.

JHELUM DIVISION.—Shahpore; Gujerat; Jhelum; Rawul Pindee.

PESHAWUR DIVISION.—Huzara; Peshawur; Kohat.

The general reports upon the administration of the Punjaub, especially for the years 1849-51, being the two first years after annexation, furnish a mass of intelligence concerning the country, which proves the value of the conquest, and the possibility, by good government, of bringing the whole British territory of India to a condition of agricultural, commercial, and fiscal wealth, such as affords the brightest hope. The following document shows that this is the view taken by the directors of the company: the summary it contains of the great effects produced by the skilful administration of Sir Henry Lawrence, and the prospects, since partly realised, of prosperity to the territory, is so precise and comprehensive, that it will much abbreviate our review of the condition of this province.

*The Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Governor-General of India in Council.*

*Political Department, 26th October*, 1853.

1. Your letter in the foreign department, dated 2nd July, 1853, transmits to us a general report on the administration of the Punjaub, nominally for the years 1849-50 and 1850-51 (being the first two years after the annexation of the province to the British dominions), but bringing down all the main results to the close of the third year.

2. The various divisions of the report, and of its enclosures, will be taken into special consideration in the several departments to which they relate. We will not, however, delay to express to you the high satisfaction with which we have read this record of a wise and eminently successful administration.

3. In the short period which has elapsed since the Punjaub became a part of the British dominions, results have been achieved such as could scarcely have been hoped for as the reward of many years of well-directed exertions. The formidable army which it had required so many battles to subdue has been quietly disbanded, and the turbulent soldiery have settled to industrious pursuits. Peace and security reign throughout the country, and the amount of crime is as small as in our best administered territories. Justice has been made accessible, without costly formalities, to the whole population. Industry and commerce have been set free. A great mass of oppressive and burdensome taxation has been abolished. Money rents have been substituted for payments in kind, and a settlement of the land revenue has been completed in nearly the whole country, at a considerable reduction on the former amount. In the settlement the best lights of recent experience have been turned to the utmost account, and the various errors committed in a more imperfect state of our knowledge of India have been carefully avoided. Cultivation has already largely increased. Notwithstanding the great sacrifices of revenue, there was a surplus, after defraying the civil and the local military expenses, of fifty-two lacs in the first, and sixty-four and a half lacs in the second year after annexation. During the next ten years the construction of the Baree Doab canal and its branches, and of the great net-work of roads already in rapid progress, will absorb the greater part of the surplus; but even during this interval, according to the board's estimate, a balance will be left of more than double the amount of the cost of two corps, at which the governor-general computes the augmentation of the general military expenses of India due to the acquisition of the Punjaub. After the important works in question are completed, the board of administration, apparently on sound data, calculates on a permanent surplus of fifty lacs per annum applicable to general purposes.

4. Results like these reflect the highest honour on the administration of your lordship in council, and on the system of Indian government generally. It is a source of just pride to us that our services, civil and military, should have afforded men capable, in so short a time, of carrying into full effect such a series of enlightened and beneficent measures. The executive functionaries in the subordinate ranks have proved themselves worthy of the honourable career which awaits them. The members of the board of administration, Sir Henry Lawrence, Mr. John Lawrence, Mr. Mansell, and Mr. Montgomery, have entitled themselves to be placed in the foremost rank of Indian administrators.

5. We approve your intention of printing and publishing the report for general information, and, as we shall take the same course in this country, it will be unnecessary for you to send us any copies.

We are, &c.,
R. ELLICE.
J. OLIPHANT.
&c. &c.

The Punjaub proper is distinguished from the Cis and Trans-Sutlej states. The first of the three departments in this classification comprises that portion of Runjeet Singh's country not included in the two latter. The Cis-Sutlej is that portion of the country bearing the general name of Punjaub, which formed the borders of the Sikh state—conquests made by the wild and predatory horsemen of the Khalsa army. The Trans-Sutlej is comprised in the Jullundur Doab, and the mountain region of Kangra. The entire Punjaub is in the form of a vast triangle, containing five doabs lying between the five rivers which give to the whole region its name. The Cis-Sutlej states comprise a tract of country which lies between the British north-western frontier and the river Sutlej. The Trans-Sutlej states were surrendered to the British in 1846: they are comprised, as already stated, in the Jullundur Doab and the hill region. The former portion of country is situated between the Beas and the Sutlej: the hill country ranges between the Ravee and the Beas.

The PUNJAUB PROPER will first receive notice. This territory contains four out of the five doabs already referred to, and comprehends the historic portions of the country; as Sir Henry Lawrence said, "all those tracts most difficult to defend, most arduous to govern, and most requiring physical, social, and moral improvement." In its greatest breadth it reaches from the seventieth to the seventy-fifth meridian of longitude, and in its greatest length from the thirty-fourth to the twenty-ninth parallel of north latitude. The apex of the triangle is found at the extreme south, where the five rivers mingle, the mighty Indus receiving the others into its bosom. The eastern side is washed by the Sutlej, and the Beas, which forms a junction with the Sutlej. The western side is marked by the Sulimanee range, and the mountains which extend to the valley of the Cabul River. In the north-west angle the base rests on the hills which overlook the valley of Peshawur and Huzzara; thence proceeding eastward it touches the lower boundary of the country allotted to Gholab Singh upon the conquest of the Sikhs—the region of Jummoo and Cashmere. The four doabs which constitute "the Punjaub proper" are still recognised by the designations which they obtained under the Mogul reign:—Baree Doab lies between the Beas and the Ravee; Rechmah Doab is between the Ravee and the Chenab; Chuj Doab is situated between the Chenab and the Jhelum; the Scinde Saugor Doab, which is also called "the Ocean of the Indus," is enclosed by that river and by the Jhelum. The Baree Doab is the most celebrated, as being the home of the Sikh nation, and containing the three greatest cities—Lahore, Umritsir, and Mooltan.

The whole of this country is most valuable and productive. There is a strange regularity of physical character in all the four doabs of which it is constitnted. The centres of these doabs comprise large tracts covered with brushwood and jungle, inhabited by the aborigines of the country, an ignorant, barbarous people, who lead a nomad life. They cultivate small spots around their dwellings, which are like oases in the desert. The water lies deep, but the soil is rich, and repays any toil expended in digging wells for irrigation. In these wild regions herds of fine cattle are nurtured: oxen, buffaloes, sheep, goats, camels, and horses are bred in great numbers. The camels of the Cabul caravans are supplied from these wild strips of country. From these woody regions all the great cities derive their fuel; and thence grass is obtained for the cavalry cantonments and the horses of private persons. "Portions of it will become the scene of gigantic undertakings, which will tax the skill and resources of the state, but which will, ultimately, yield an ample return for the outlay of capital. Indeed, the Punjaub could ill spare its wastes; they are almost as important as the cultivated tracts." * This opinion, although uttered by so eminent a person, that any country, however situated, could not spare its wastes, is not to be entertained; the productions of these wastes would, in a more scientific way, be produced elsewhere, or the increased wealth of extended and profitable cultivation enable the cultivators to bring from a distance what now occupies the place where advantageous culture should reign. Between these central strips and the rivers by which each

* Sir Henry Lawrence.

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doab is bounded, fertile lands, amply irrigated, spread away, teeming with the natural wealth of northern Ind. These lands are not picturesque, and but seldom undulated; but, like the wide prairies of the western hemisphere, offer boundless agricultural resources. The husbandmen by whom these rich plains are tilled, are brave, skilful, and industrious; a robust, hardy, self-reliant race, ready to hold the plough or wield the sword, as occasion requires. In the higher parts of the country innumerable rills distil their fertilising influence upon the soil as they trickle from the mountains: about eighty miles of the upper part of the Punjaub contains a net-work of these rivulets, which, like veins in the animal system, spread over the whole surface. In the Scinde Saugor Doab, the central strip is but little wooded, and is a trackless, sandy waste. This doab is somewhat undulated, and therefore, notwithstanding its desert and salt tracts, is more picturesque. The salt range lies east and west from the Jhelum to the Indus, then, reappearing on the opposite bank of the latter river, extends to the Sulimanee hills. The veins of rock-salt in this region are of great value, and its produce much prized in India, where the prejudice against sea-made salt is very great, partly arising from the way in which it is adulterated for the markets of the interior. The upper and lower Scinde Saugor are wild, sterile, and monotonous, except where the land, breaking into abrupt glens, and sweeping into waves of unequal surface, relieves the sameness of the general waste.

The population of "the Punjaub proper" is chiefly Jat. Many of them are Mohammedans in religion, but the great majority inherit the Sikh faith. The Gujurs are also numerous and nomad; they are good agriculturists, but better shepherds. They are far superior to the Gujurs of Hindoostan in industry, integrity, and civil order. The Rajpoots have so often made successful predatory incursions, that they have, in course of time, become numerous; they are indifferent cultivators, but good soldiers. There are various sects of Mohammedans, of Affghan, Persian, and Central Asia origin; but they are in bad reputation, and are generally sulky or dejected. The Pathans have, however, acquired consequence: Mooltan is their chief residence. They are a bold, energetic, and persevering race. Runjeet Singh had much difficulty in effecting their subjugation. Major Edwardes found in them important auxiliaries against the Sikh army when before Mooltan; and when, during the second siege, General Whish conducted his operations against that place, it was with Pathans and Affghans chiefly that Edwardes and Lake kept open the communications in the rear of the besieging army. Raens, Dogras, and other tribes less noted are scattered over the country. The Raens, although not numerous as a whole, take up their residence in the neighbourhood of every great city as market-gardeners, and are unrivalled either in Asia or Europe in this department of cultivation. All the tribes above named furnish the soldiers and cultivators: the merchants and traders are of other tribes; they are chiefly taken from the Khutrees. This class is despised by all the other races; traders and accountants being supposed to be effeminate persons. This contempt is not justified by facts, although some occasion for it seems to exist in the peaceable deportment of the Khutrees, who are not disposed to appeal to arms like their ruder brethren, on every occasion of difference, personal or national. This class has often exemplified superior courage, and always maintained a social status superior in civilization to the agricultural and soldier tribes. Of late years the Brahmins have usurped many positions of importance, and increased the natural hatred to their caste and religion. From the Chenab to the Indus the Hindoo race is numerous, and they are mostly Mohammedans. It may be seen from these classes into which the population is divided, that the elements of social antagonism are active and numerous. With the single exception of the Sikhs, it is remarkable that the Hindoo races, whether converts to a foreign creed, or professors of their ancestral faith, consider themselves as subjects by nature, and born to obedience. They are disposed to regard each successive dynasty with equal favour or equal indifference; whereas, the pure Mussulman races, descendants of the Arab conquerors of Asia, retain much of the ferocity, bigotry, and independence of ancient days. They look upon empire as their heritage, and consider themselves as foreigners settled in the land for the purpose of ruling it. They hate every dynasty except their own, and regard the British as the worst, because the most powerful, of usurpers. East of the Indus, then, the vast majority of the population are our natural subjects: beyond that river they are our natural antagonists.

The climate of "the Punjaub proper" is uncertain, but much more temperate than that of Hindoostan. Forest and fruit-trees are not abundant, except in the neighbourhood of Mooltan, where dense groves of date and palm are picturesque to the eye, and beneficial to the people.

Under the Sikh administration, before the

British conquest, the state of the country as to the repression of crime, or the redress of wrongs, was unsatisfactory. "Written law there was none: still, rude justice was dealt out. Private property in land, the relative rights of landholders and cultivators, the corporate capacities of village communities, were all recognised. Under the direction of the local authorities, private arbitration was extensively resorted to. The most difficult questions of real and personal property were adjudicated by these tribunals. The adjustment of affairs in a commercial emporium like Umritsir, required no further interposition than this: the arbitrators would, according to their respective faiths, consult the Mussulman Shureh, or the Hindoo Shaster; the kazees and kanoongoes exercised, privately and indirectly, those functions which had descended to them since the imperial times. The former continued to ordain marriage ceremonies, to register last testaments, and attest deeds; the latter to declare recorded facts, and expound local customs. The maharajah constantly made tours through his dominions: he would listen to complainants during his rides, and he would become angered with any governor in whose province complaints were numerous. At court, also, he would receive individual appeals." *

When the French General Avitabile obtained influence with Runjeet Singh, he introduced European modes of punishment, and especially hanging. Previously fine, mutilation, or death by being blown from a cannon's mouth, were the penal inflictions exclusively in use. When the British inflicted upon the Sikhs their penultimate defeat, reform under the influence of the Lawrences was vigorously carried out. The following summary of their efforts, and of the successes attending them, were given by the commissioners of the Punjaub in their report to the government:—"The overgrown army was reduced; the discharged soldiers were paid up; the troops were paid, disciplined, and worked with regularity; the finances were scrutinized; the arrears justly due from the tax-gatherers were demanded with rigour; efforts were made, by the enforcement of economy, to free the exchequer from its long accruing liabilities. In the fiscal department, arrangements were made to fix and limit both the demand on the people and the remuneration of the revenue officers. Summary settlements of the land revenue were made, and a liberal salary was allowed to the kardars. It was hoped that by these means the people would have to pay less, while the state received more. The multiplicity of indirect and miscellaneous taxes was simplified, and the budget was so framed that the revenue, while restricted to a few fixed duties, should not be diminished. Here again, it was believed that a relief would be afforded to the people without any sacrifice to the state interests. Individuals of character and repute were appointed as separate administrators of civil and criminal justice. The penal code was reduced to writing, and rendered more severe and just, and yet more humane. Heinous crimes were referred to the council of regency, and appeals from all the local rulers were regularly heard. Official misfeasance was systematically prosecuted. European officers were deputed to visit the out-lying districts. All the chiefs, who might be considered to represent the intelligence, the honesty and influential interests of the country, were summoned to Lahore, for the purpose of framing rules and regulations for the future; and an assembly of fifty Sikh elders, heads of villages, under the guidance of Sirdar Lena Singh, sat for some months at Lahore, in the autumn of 1847, to frame a code of simple law for the guidance of the Sikh people. The resources of the kingdom were examined, and their development was studied. Plans were formed for the construction of new canals, the repair of old ones, the re-opening of ruined wells, and the re-peopling of deserted villages. An engineer of rank and experience was appointed from the British service; and three lacs from the revenue were set apart by the council for public improvements."

This glowing picture was not over coloured. All these improvements were attempted with every prospect of complete success, in consequence of the affairs of the Punjaub having been committed to competent and vigorous men, whose intellectual attainments and administrative talents secured feasibility of plan and promptitude of execution.

These bright prospects were darkened by the thunder-cloud of war. The mother of Dhuleep Singh carried on a course of political intrigue such as would not have been possible in any other part of India. Women hold a higher place in the social regulations of the Khalsa than would be possible in a Mohammedan or Brahminical community. Whatever advantage the Sikh people derived from this in the happiness of their homesteads, they suffered much from it politically, for the chief plotters of the court, and the most reckless and unprincipled, were the royal ladies. Their capacity to comprehend the interests of their country, and its great political relations, was small; but their aptitude for finesse was extraordinary, and, at last, their intrigues invoked the fall of their

* Blue-book.

country before an injured and superior power. The labours of the British agents in 1847 were interrupted by the revolt of Moolraj, the resistance of his soldiery, and the rapid succession of revolts, until all the chiefs of note, except Gholab Singh, were in arms. The bolt of battle smote the whole land; the avenging arms of England penetrated every defile and fastness from Mooltan to Peshawur; the power of the Khalsa perished, and the sceptre of Lahore was trodden in the dust. English power became ascendant without any intermediate accessories of rajahs, or chiefs, or governments; the cause of reform and administrative efficiency, so well begun, was resumed, and the genius of the Lawrences and Major (now Colonel) Edwardes had full scope in their noble counsels and operations. The good work has gone on, and whoever desires to study this interesting country, its people, its extraordinary advancement in prosperity and civilization within the last eight years, must compare its present condition with what it was when the Lawrences and Edwardes began their labours.*

The frontiers of the country thus briefly described are extremely interesting in most directions.

The district of HUZZARA is in the north-west angle of the Scinde Saugor Doab. It consists of a hilly country; and nestled among the hills are valleys bright and beautiful with verdure and wild flowers, or covered with huge masses of disjected rocks, between which spring up a great variety of the wild products of hilly regions in tropical latitudes. Three-fifths of the whole of this district are rock and hill. The plain of Huzzara is the only vale of any extent: in this the district-capital, Hurreepore, is situated, and also the cantonment of Burookate. In the wild mountains which bound this district a brave and indomitable race have long maintained their independence. They set at defiance the Moguls; and Runjeet Singh and his Sikhs, in the acme of their glory, failed to subjugate them. Every crag and ravine was a fortress for freedom—

> "'Twas sweeter to bleed for an age at her shrine,
> Than to sleep for one moment in chains."

What arms could not effect, British moral influence accomplished. Major Abbot, having been placed in charge of the district before and subsequent to the last Sikh war, conciliated the gallant mountaineers by his justice and moderation. The country offers to its inhabitants so many means of defence against disciplined forces, and such facilities for eluding pursuit, that except under judicious management the allegiance of these tribes can never be secured.

PESHAWUR is situated to the north-west of Huzzara on the right bank of the Indus. It contains four divisions — Eusufzye, Hustnuggur, Doaba, and Peshawur proper. The valley of Peshawur has become almost as famed for its beauty as the vale of Cashmere. It forms the extreme western corner of the British empire in India. On one side only it is open to the plain of the Indus; it is in all other directions begirt by hills—the Khyber, Mohmunud, Swat, and Khuttuk. The Cabul River and its tributaries water the valley effectually, ensuring its irrigation and fertility. The total area is two thousand four hundred square miles. There is historic interest connected with this vale, for the great road over which all invaders of India have passed lies through it. It is thus the key of India. Peshawur proper is divided into two portions, one lying upon the right bank of the Cabul River, and adjoining the Khuttuk and Afreedee hills; the other is a triangular territory not unlike in form to the whole Punjaub. This triangle is bounded by the Cabul River and the Bara River on either side, and the base by the Khyber hills. This is the loveliest and most fertile spot in the whole valley, and the city of Peshawur stands in the midst of it. The inhabitants of Peshawur proper belong to mixed races, Afreedees, Hindoos, and certain aboriginal tribes being the most numerous. Previous to the last Sikh war Gholab Singh, under the guidance of Colonel G. Lawrence, effected much improvement in the condition of the people. After the annexation, a strong garrison of more than ten thousand men occupied Peshawur; but this force was gradually weakened after 1853, and was considerably reduced at the period of the mutiny in 1857. The peace, if not the security, of the Punjaub proper, depends upon the relations with the tribes on the Peshawur frontier. Some of these are held in subjection to the British, some in friendly alliance. To the south of Peshawur is Kohat, a valley thirty-five miles long, four miles broad. Of this and the surrounding neighbourhood, we select the following description officially given to the Directors of the East India Company:—

"It is important to the British government as connecting Peshawur with our other Trans-Indus possessions. Kohat is only approachable from Peshawur by two passes, both passing through the Afreedee hills; the shortest and most practicable is a dangerous defile of fourteen miles, with little water; the second is a more difficult and more circuitous pass, held by the Jauckhel Afreedees

* Indian Blue-books; Edwardes's *Year in the Punjaub*.

and called after their name. From the Indus it is also approached by two passes, that of Koolshalgurh, and that of Kalabagh, both passing through the Khuttuk hills. A like number connect it with Bunnoo, the Soorduk pass, seven miles long, direct between Bahadoor Kheyl and Luttummer, and the Koonk-i-gao, a circuitous but safer route from Nurree to Khurruck. The revenue is fixed at a low rate, as the villagers are refractory, and, if pressed, betake themselves to the hills. Those portions, however, which are held by the hill tribe of Khuttuks are usually quiet. The Khuttuks indeed have, in this neighbourhood, been uniformly faithful and obedient, and their chief, Khevaja Mohammed Khan, who holds in farm the southern hill portion, deserves well of the government for various acts of fidelity and good service. The valley is famous for its salt mines, the chief of which, at Bahadoor Kheyl, is guarded by a fort. At Kohat itself there is also a force, with a cantonment and a fort.

"In continuation of the Kohat valley, there runs the valley of Hungoo, twenty miles long by two or three broad, and opens into the plains of Meeranzye. The latter plain, about nine miles square, and bounded on the south-west by the Khoorun River, scarcely twenty miles distant from where it emerges into the Bunnoo plain, is held by seven fortified villages, which, by order of the most noble the governor-general, have been taken under British protection. Each village is an independent commonwealth, but, unfortunately, the communities have ranged themselves under two opposing factions. This internal strife is fomented by the Wuzeerees and other tribes, who, by interference and encroachments, have contrived to appropriate some of the choicest lands in the valley."

South of Kohat lies the valley of Bunnoo, only accessible by the two passes of Soorduk and Koonk-i-gao. "The lands are chiefly rich and fertile, intersected by the Khoorum, and irrigated by water-cuts. The only uncultivated portion is the 'Thul,' or pasturage ground, at the base of the hills. During the winter months the Wuzeerees pasture their flocks and herds, and erect patriarchal huts of skins with wooden frame-work. In the summer months they retire to the cold mountain heights, taking their cattle and dwellings with them. This tribe formerly wrested a portion of the cultivated lands from the Bunnoochees, and have been confirmed in their possession. The villages are well built, and were once walled in, but all fortifications have been now dismantled. There is a substantial fort at Dhuleepghur, the capital, and a military road leading to it. A cantonment has lately been added. Notwithstanding the efforts that have been made for their amelioration, the people are still evil disposed and indifferent to human life, though some improvement in their habits is certainly perceptible. However, much of their demoralisation is owing to the injudicious combination of weakness and severity with which the Sikhs used to treat them." * In 1847 Lieutenant (now Colonel) Edwardes was dispatched with a Sikh force to collect revenue, but did not succeed; the next year the same officer, entrusted with more authority, conducted a similar force into the valley, and, by his conciliation and firmness happily blended, succeeded in removing dissatisfaction, and organising a revenue system.

A series of valleys stretch away in these boundary regions, accessible only by passes, irrigated by mountain streams, and peopled by races exceedingly diverse in their habits and character, but all robust and brave.

Shah Nawaz Khan farmed the government revenue, and preserved the peace of some of these districts. The Sikhs, jealous of his attachment to the English, deposed him before the last Sikh war, but Major (Colonel) Edwardes reinstated him when the annexation took place.

The defiles of the Sulimanee range, the "three Tokes," and the champaign of the Derajat, are wild regions, generally sterile, difficult of access, infested by robbers, the agricultural inhabitants dwelling in fortified villages.

The cultivated line of the Indus, descending from the hills, is exceedingly picturesque in some places. Dera Ghuznee Khan is a spot of peculiar loveliness, remarkable for its beautiful and prolific groves of dates.

The whole of the Huzzara and Trans-Indus frontier is inhabited by tribes who have by their courage and depredations sustained a certain notoriety for ages. It would occupy too much space to give a minute notice of them. The following list comprises the chief tribes, and the forces which they can bring into the field:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Turnoulees | 6,000 |
| Afreedees | 15,000 |
| Momunds | 12,000 |
| Khuttuks | 15,000 |
| Eusufzyes | 30,000 |
| Wuzeerees | 15,000 |
| Kusranees | 5,000 |
| Belooch tribes | 25,000 |
| Sheeranees | 10,000 |
| Bhutteenees | 5,000 |

Nearly one hundred and fifty thousand men could be summoned to arms against the Bri-

* Major (now Colonel) Edwardes.

tish along the frontier hills from Peshawur and Huzzara to Scinde. Motives of plunder keep some in arms almost constantly, a restless and reckless disposition influences others; but the chief sources of apprehension from the incursions of these predatory races are their indisposition to taxes, which they regard as tribute to the stranger, and an indignity; and their religious fanaticism, by which their reluctance to pay tribute is aggravated. They are all Mohammedans, entirely under the influence of their religious teachers, and sometimes goaded almost to madness by the fanaticism which such of their instructors as lay claim to extraordinary communications with Heaven are generally able to inspire. As a specimen of the faith and feeling disseminated among these tribes, and the more martial races of India and Affghanistan generally, the following, which was widely diffused during the revolt of 1857, will suffice to show the stimuli which these rough, brave races may receive whenever it is deemed necessary to incite them to disloyalty:—

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God.
After the praises of God and laudation of the Chief of Prophets,
[Be it known that] this tract which the pen is inditing refers to waging war against the infidels.
To fight for the Faith, and not through greedy desire of capturing cities.
This is called by the people of Islam, in their religious code, a Jihad.
What is told of the excellence of the Jihad in the Ku'ran and the traditions,
That we are about to recount, impress it a little on your memory.
God enjoins that ye, if ye be indeed of the true faith,
Should straight prepare for this war of Islam against the misbelievers.
He, on whose feet falls the dust in the ranks of war against the infidels,
Has escaped hell, and is safe from penal fires.
The Moslem, who has fought the good fight but for an instant,
The garden of eternal bliss has become his due.
O brother! hearken to the saying of the Prophet,
The garden of Paradise is under the points of your swords.
He that in this cause gives heartily his worldly wealth,
God will give him seven hundred fold in the day of judgment.
He that gives both his gold and the strokes of his sword,
God will return him a seven thousand fold reward.
He that with his wealth supplies arms to the Ghazi,
To him also God will give the recompense of a combatant in the Jihad.
He that neither goes himself to the war nor expends wealth in the cause,
God will hurl on him chastisement—ay! even before his death.
They who fall in the holy cause, though several in pieces,
Die not, but live ever happy in the garden of bliss.
Lo! for base greed the thousands of soldiers ye behold,
Quitting their homes, lose life without uttering a groan.
Strange that ye call yourselves the followers of Islam,
Yet with false excuses turn aside from the path of God.
Ye truly have long forgotten to tread this righteous way:
In the love of wives and children ye have forgotten your God.
How long, wrapped up in this love, will ye slumber at home?
Tell how long will ye be safe from the clutches of death?
To-day if, of free will, ye surrender life for God,
To-morrow ye shall revel in the Eden of bliss.
If for God ye relinquish the pleasures of the world,
Ye shall wrap yourselves for ever with heavenly joys as with a robe.
Is it better to die abject and wretched in your homes,
Or to devote your lives nobly in God's holy cause?
Ye will rue it if ye give not your lives for the cause.
And say, now, how will ye show your faces to the Prophet?
There is but one condition, that ye obey your imam with heart and soul;
Else 'twill be in vain even to draw the sword.
He that begins to fight in the Jihad, according to the dictates of his own will,
His labour is fruitless—his blood will stream in vain.
They who know their God and Mohammed aright
Obey from their heart the commandments of their leaders.
To the people of Islam it suffices to give a summons thus far,
Let us now bring this invitation to a close.
O God of the heavens and the earth! Lord of thy creatures!
Give now to Moslems the power of commencing the Jihad with great might.
Give thine own strength, and succour thy faithful people,
And fulfil the promise thou hast made of victory to them—
Fulfil thy word, O King! to Islam in such wise,
That not a word may be heard save Allah, Allah!"

In the reports made to the directors of the Honourable East India Company, these tribes are represented as incapable of combination, but formidable in desultory attacks. Under a strong religious excitement they might, however, act simultaneously, if not in combination, and a very considerable force would be required to resist their prowess. It is of the utmost importance that the city and province of Peshawur be sufficiently guarded, and that its administration be such as to secure the contentment of its inhabitants. According to a very old Persian work, written in the time of Sultan Baber, the province received its name from Mahmoud of Ghuznee, when he undertook his first expedition beyond the Indus. The former name was Bagram; but Mahmoud, dissatisfied with its site, directed a new town to be erected on an advanced piece of elevated ground. The Persian verb "to bring forward" is "pesh-awurdan,"—hence "Peshawur," or the "advanced." The city is about forty-five miles from the right bank of the Indus. It is in form an irregular oblong, and is surrounded by a brick wall

twenty feet in height, strengthened by round towers, or bastions at the angles. There is a large suburb called Sir Assea, which has its own walls and gates. The circumference of the city and suburbs is five thousand five hundred yards, and there are thirteen gates. Troops or city police guard these gates. With the exception of two elevations the city stands on a level space. A brook runs through part of the city, which Burns and other travellers represent as sedgy and neglected, but which Mr. H. G. Raverty describes as crossed by bridges. The higher parts of the city are picturesque; the houses are large and gloomy, but considering the site and surrounding objects, these circumstances contribute to that effect. In consequence of the frequent occurrence of earthquakes in Peshawur and its neighbourhood, the houses, although built of sun-burnt bricks, are placed in wooden frames. The Sir Assea is inhabited by Hindoos and Mohammedans, in equal numbers. In 1852 there were 7306 houses, of which 4989 belonged to Mohammedans, and the remaining 2317 to Hindoos, Sikhs, and Khutrees. There were, besides, 725 suburban houses, occupied by Cashmerians and natives of the Peshawur valley. The population is little short of 60,000. When the dust storms occur, and they are not infrequent, the houses, bazaars, streets, and every object in and around the city are covered with dust; at such times the gloomy appearance of the place is unpleasant yet striking. Most of the accounts which travellers have given of this city appear to have rested on report, for there are not at present any traces of the grandeur of edifices, which, if they had existed at the time when their splendour was affirmed, would be in existence still. One mosque of superior architecture raises its tall and tasteful minarets above the town; but even this has been exaggerated as to its architectural pretensions. The city is surrounded by gardens, chiefly for vegetables, and there are the remains of several places called gardens, which were once beautiful, where persons of distinction formerly enjoyed their summer retreats. Shrines and tombs are also common in the neighbourhood, and beautiful cypress-trees are generally planted in their vicinity. The Balla Hissar is a rude fort of no great strength; there is a beautiful garden in connexion with it, which is called Shalah-i-Mah, or "the light of the moon." Throughout the province there are ruins of ancient temples and palaces, and, according to the Greek historians, cities of importance existed there in their early acquaintance with it.

The produce of the province is varied. Cotton and corn are cultivated, but neither beyond what is wanted for the use of the inhabitants. The orchards bring forth good fruits, but only of a few kinds, more especially pears, quinces, plums, peaches, pomegranates, and a species of sloe called *amink*, which grows in abundance. The vine flourishes; a grape gleaned in June is small but of delicious flavour. In July rich and large-sized grapes are gathered; many of the branches weigh four and five pounds each. The vegetable gardens are very prolific; most of the species of vegetables known in England and in India are cultivated with success. The flora of the province is rich. The violet, commonly called "the Prophet's flower," is to be seen everywhere, it is a sweet and beautiful flower; the daisy, also, lifts its "modest, crimson-tipp'd" head in every field—a welcome sight to our soldiers. There is no other part of India where an Englishman can live so cheaply, and at the same time so comfortably, and after his home manner. Eggs, fowl, meat, game, and river fish are in abundance.

Having thus described the Punjaub proper, there remain two sections of the province to notice—the Cis-Sutlej, and the Trans-Sutlej. The CIS-SUTLEJ has been divided into five districts—namely, Ferozepore, Loodiana, Umballah, Thanusar, and Simla.

SIMLA consists of hill dependencies, ceded to the British after the Nepaulese war of 1814. Within its circle are fifty independent chiefships, and nine dependent states, also several hill rajahs and ranas, all of whom have jurisdiction within their own estates.

The town of Ferozepore is an important military station; it is about fifty-two miles S.S.E. from Lahore, the capital of the whole Sikh region, in latitude 30° 55′ north, and longitude 74° 35′ east. Mr. Montgomery, the commissioner for the Lahore division, contemplated, before the breaking out of the revolt in 1857, the establishment of pontoons at Ferozepore, similar to those at Agra. They were to be manufactured in England, and landed at Bombay, to be brought up the Indus to Mooltan and Ferozepore by steamers.

The town of Loodiana occupies a site on the southern bank of a small branch of the Sutlej, in latitude 30° 49′ north, and longitude 75° 48′ east. It is one hundred and fifteen miles south-east from Lahore, and one hundred and seventy N.N.E. from Delhi. It is an important military station. When the British extended their authority to the Sutlej, in 1803, Lord Lake recommended the selection of Loodiana as a fortified post, to provide against incursions from the Sikhs. The population is not numerous. The climate is remarkable for extremes of heat and cold;

the cold season lasts four months, and is more severe than it is sometimes in much higher latitudes.

The town of Umballah is only important strategically, in case of military operations; it was the rendezvous of the armies collected by Lord Gough to prosecute the last Sikh war. It is situated in latitude 30° 35′ north, and longitude 76° 19′ east.

Thanusar is a very ancient town, eighty-three miles north by east from the city of Delhi, in latitude 29° 55′ north, and longitude 76° 48′ east. "Near to this place stood the ancient city of Hustnapore." *

The TRANS-SUTLEJ states were ceded to the British in 1846. The commissioners' report to the government of the India-house thus describes them:—"They consist of the Jullundur Doab, situated between the Beas and the Sutlej, and the hill territory, lying between the Ravee and the Beas. The extreme north-west boundary adjoins the Jummoo territory; the northern includes the snowy range of the Himalayas, and touches the limits of Ladakh and Thibet. The northern capital is Kangra, celebrated for a fortress which, during the period of Mohammedan ascendancy, was an important point in all political combinations. At the close of the Sutlej campaign, the governor of this stronghold, which had so long been deemed impregnable by all native powers, refused to surrender it. A force was assembled, but before the batteries were opened the garrison capitulated. In this alpine region are included the protected principalities of Mundi, Sookeit, and Cumba. In respect of physical features this hill tract is the finest district in the Punjaub; it is a succession of hills and valleys, many of which are overlooked by the snowy range. Among these valleys, the most fertile is that of Kangra, on the northern side of which the sanatorium of Dhurmsala is placed. It is profusely irrigated from the hill torrents, conducted by the husbandmen into countless channels. Its fertility is almost unrivalled. Three harvests are produced in the year. The rice is the finest in Upper India. To the north-east stretches the mountainous table-land of Mundi, with an European climate. Beyond that, again, are the petty chiefships which adjoin the Simla hills. In many parts of this region there are magnificent forests of timber-trees; fruit-trees and hedgerows are everywhere abundant." The people do not resemble the Trans-Indus population. The latter are fierce, wild, and predatory; the former are pure Rajpoots, and are honest and peaceable. They are, however, warlike, and during the insurrection of 1848 were reluctant to lay down their arms. They are industrious and skilful agriculturists, but scientific agriculture is yet in its infancy in the Trans-Sutlej states.

The JULLUNDUR DOAB is one of the fairest and richest provinces in all the Punjaub. The plain is interspersed with towns and villages, where the people have many comforts, and display an aptitude for civilisation of a high order. The two chief towns of the Trans-Sutlej states are Hooshiarpore and Jullundur. Opposite Loodiana, on the other side of the river, is the fortress of Philoor, which was formerly considered the key of the Punjaub. It is now an ordnance store and magazine.

There is one independent territory in this region—KAPORETHULLA. It lies along the Beas, towards its junction with the Sutlej. This petty state is all that now remains of the great Sikh empire, the terror of which prevailed from Delhi to Teheran, and the name of which was a spell even in the high quarters of British power. The population is of great density all over the Jullundur Doab —"four hundred and twenty souls to the square mile." *

The Trans-Sutlej states are the most profitable and most easily managed of any comprehended in the general name of the Punjaub.

These provinces,—the Cis-Sutlej, the Trans-Sutlej, and Punjaub proper,—taken as a whole, constitute one of the most important Asiatic possessions of Great Britain, as regards fertility, population, system of government, and present development of material resources.

The capital of all these regions is Lahore. This is the military city of the Sikhs, and was, not many years ago, the haughty metropolis of the Khalsa hosts. It is built upon the south side of the Ravee River, in latitude 31° 36′ north, and longitude 74° 3′ east. The river is in width about three hundred yards, but neither deep nor rapid, except during the periodical rains. The town has an old and in many respects a dilapidated look, which is increased by its gloomy and decayed fort. During the Sikh reign persons of peaceable habits and reputed wealth sought Umritsir in preference, as the changes and revolutions of faction at Lahore rendered it insecure. With all its pride and power, it was neither a wealthy nor respectable city. The intrigues and corruptions of the court injured it morally and commercially, impeding its prosperity, and distracting its social life. Its mosques, minarets, and mausolea, give it a peculiar interest. The mausoleum of Jehanghur, about two miles north of Lahore, is a very extensive and even magnificent building. The tomb of

* Abul Fazel.

* Government report.

Noor Jehun Begum is rather more than half the dimensions of the former, and is an object of interest to the traveller. The travelling distance of Lahore from Delhi is considerably under four hundred miles; from Bombay it is a thousand, and from Calcutta at least a third more. The labours of Major Macgregor, the British agent, to improve Lahore, and to induce the citizens to exert themselves for the same object, have been energetic, intelligent, and successful. He has caused many of the streets to be widened and paved by the consent of the people, and at their own expense. The verandahs, lately of grass, and therefore quickly inflammable, have been displaced by wood verandahs, prettily carved and painted, as individual taste guided the decorations, and the streets have assumed a light and graceful appearance previously unknown. The roads leading through the city gates have been "metalled," and a circular road round the city has been repaired and planted. An old palace, crumbling into ruins, near the Delhi gate, has, with its convenient grounds, been adapted to a large, and even handsome, market-place. The old market-places have been enlarged and paved. A system of city drainage has been ably carried out. Some suppose that the cleanliness and beauty of Umritsir is now rivalled by Lahore. The city police, "small, active, intelligent, and well armed, are an excellent detective as well as protective body." The most agreeable feature of promise connected with Lahore is the public spirit of the people, who are ready to take up every scheme of improvement which the resident civil officer recommends for their adoption.

MOOLTAN was once a vast and powerful country. When Abul Fazel composed the Institutes of Akbar, it was one of the largest provinces of the empire, extending to the frontier of Persia, and comprehended all the territories now designated Mooltan, Beloochistan, Scinde, Shekarpore, Sewistan, Tatta, and the doabs connected with Lahore. It is now a comparatively limited region; having been comprehended within the Sikh dominions, it is now regarded as a part of the Punjaub. The city of Mooltan has become notorious as the scene of the revolt and desperate resistance of Moolraj, the murder of the British political agents, the gallant conduct of Lieutenant (Colonel) Edwardes in shutting Moolraj up within the defences of the city, the treachery of Shere Singh, and the siege and conquest by General Whish. It is supposed to be the Malli of Alexander's historians. The town is not large or populous. The fort was very strong, and withstood the artillery of General Whish for a long time before Moolraj surrendered. What arms failed to accomplish, the elements subsequently effected; for during the rainy season the Chenab River, on the banks of which the fortress was built, rose and swept away its foundations, leaving nothing but a pile of ruins. Mooltan stands in latitude 30° 9′ north, longitude 71° 7′ east.

The moral and intellectual condition of these states affords encouragement, although there still exist many impediments to the progress of the people in these respects. The chief characteristic of crime in the Punjaub, as compared with other portions of India, is the proportion of offences against chastity. The position of women, as before observed, is socially far higher in the Sikh nation than in Hindoostan. The Hindoos and Mohammedans in the Punjaub are far from willing to concede to females the liberty allowed by their compatriots; and it is to be regretted that the use made of this liberty is very bad. Nowhere in India is female licentiousness to be seen in so great a degree as in the Punjaub. Peshawur is probably, in this respect, the most profane city in the East; and few towns in Europe, of a population no greater in number, are sunk so low in this particular vice. Although this subject belongs to the social condition of India, reserved for another chapter, yet, as the state of religion, and necessarily of morals, has already been generally treated in a separate chapter, this notice of the moral condition of the Sikhs is here given as a particular illustration of what has already been laid down, as to the specific operations upon the heart and life of the people, of the different religions they profess.

The crime of Thuggee, in the territory committed to their charge, is thus noticed in the report of the board of commissioners for the Punjaub, printed for the court of directors of the East India Company in 1854:—"It had been previously imagined that Thuggee had not spread west of the Sutlej; but towards the close of last year the discovery of sundry bodies near the grand trunk road led to inquiry, which disclosed that Thuggee, in some shape or other, existed in the Punjaub proper. The track was instantly followed up, and a separate establishment was appointed under the directions of Mr. H. Brereton, who was known to have a natural turn for detective operations; eventually the services of Captain Sleeman were obtained. Much proof has been collected, and many criminals captured. The nature of the crime, and the general habits of the criminals, have been ascertained. The Punjaubee Thugs are not so dangerous as their brethren of Hindoostan. The origin of the crime is of com-

paratively recent date. These Thugs have none of the supple sagacity, the insidious perseverance, the religious faith, the dark superstition, the sacred ceremonies, the peculiar dialect, the mysterious bond of union which so terribly distinguish the Indian Thugs. They are merely an organised body of highwaymen and murderers, rude, ferocious, and desperate. They nearly all belong to one class of Sikhs, and that the lowest. The apprehension of these desperadoes has ensured greater security than heretofore in the desolate localities of the high roads, and has caused a decrease of violent crimes."

There is a marked disposition on the part of the Sikhs to take the law into their own hands when any injury is inflicted upon them. "Blood for blood," "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," are the maxims of the populations that are spread over these regions, in whatsoever else they differ. The Hindoos are more ready to appeal to, or abide by, the tribunals, than are either the Mohammedans or the Sikhs. General Avitabile, the great commander and administrator of Runjeet Singh, fostered this revengeful spirit, or, at all events, so far complied with it as to dispense justice upon this principle. This made him popular, and the people still speak of him as one utterly stern, unpityingly severe, but unswervingly just; ever ready to listen to the complaint of soldier or peasant himself, able to discriminate, fearless to decide, and prompt to avenge. The British functionaries, however able and just, have not the same powers individually, nor would they be disposed to exercise them in the same way.

"The Board of Administration for the Punjaub," in their comparative tables of the crime committed within their jurisdiction and that committed in the north-western provinces, prove to demonstration the superior moral condition of the former; but many formidable offences in the Sikh provinces are not regarded with that horror which would show that the heart of the people was right as to the maintenance of public virtue, whatever the exceptional case of individuals or classes. This has been the case with reference to Dacoitee, which was regarded with extraordinary tolerance, even by those who suffered from it. The determination of the government to extirpate it, and, by the modes of suppression, to mark its abhorrence of the offence, has not only greatly checked the crime, but much improved the public sentiment. The terms in which "the Board" reports the successful war carried on against this crime are instructive, and give a good insight into the influence upon the Sikhs of the events of their own history as a people. "In the Punjaub gang-robbery is a national crime, and is characteristic of the dominant race; it is associated with historic remembrances and allied with rude virtues. It is but too often dignified with qualities which command some respect even for criminals in civilized countries. In the days when the Sikhs rose into power, they were the Condottieri of Northern India; the greater the chieftain, the greater the bandit. The violent seizure of property, of villages, or of territory, was the private and political aim of all Sikh chiefs, mighty, petty, or middle class, according to their several capacities. The robber of to-day becomes the leader of armies to-morrow. Even when their power assumed a distinct form, and concentrated itself under one head, still the Sikhs frequently practised that rude art by which the tribe had risen from obscurity to empire. When this political ascendancy suddenly passed away, when warriors and adherents of the conquered government were wandering about unemployed, recourse was had to the favourite crime, which furnished the restless with excitement and the disaffected with the hope of revenge. The preventive and detective measures adopted have been already noticed. It was deemed necessary to treat the captured robbers with exemplary severity, when murder or serious wounding had occurred; the prisoners, or at least all the ringleaders, were in many cases capitally sentenced; and even when death had not ensued, yet the fact of a robbery with violence having been committed by men armed with lethal weapons, was considered to warrant capital punishment. The rapid suppression of the crime which ensued on the combined measures of detective vigilance and judicial severity, proves the sad necessity which existed for stern example."

The crime most appalling to contemplate, and, at the same time, most difficult of suppression, prevalent among the Sikhs, is infanticide. The following admirable paragraph in a report of the administrators of the Punjaub opens up the philosophy of this offence, but unhappily does not hold out the hope of its speedy extinction:—"The Punjaub is not free from this crime, which disgraces so many noble tribes in Upper India. The government are doubtless aware that, in the north-western provinces, its eradication has been found most difficult, and has frequently been the subject of grave deliberation. The board fear that the task will prove even more difficult here. This crime has become associated with the Rajpoot name, but the Rajpoots of the Punjaub have escaped the taint.

The dreadful distinction chiefly belongs to the Bedees, or priestly class among the Sikhs. Other tribes must, however, bear a share of opprobrium; such as some of the Mussulman sects, and some subdivisions of the Khutree caste. Their inherent pride and the supposed sanctity of their order make the Bedees unwilling to contract alliances for their daughters, who are consequently doomed to an early death. Now, the Rajpoots of Hindoostan and Central India murder their daughters, not because they are too proud to give them in marriage, but because they cannot afford the customary dowry and wedding expenses. In this case the incentive to the crime may be destroyed by the enactment of sumptuary laws, such as those now proposed to be established with the popular assent of the north-western provinces. But what law can be framed to touch the origin of Punjaub infanticide, to humble the remorseless pride of birth, station, and fancied sanctity? And yet, the board are persuaded that by carrying the people with us, by destroying the motives of the crime, by making its commission profitless and unfashionable, and by the gradual diffusion of morality, by such means alone can the vice be effectually put down. In our older territories, various preventive designs have been tried, but not always with good effect; such as the registry of births, the periodical mustering of the children, and general surveillance. But it may be doubted whether such means (unless most discreetly applied) are not more susceptible of abuse than of advantage. The board will give the subject their best attention, until a solution of the difficulty shall have been arrived at."

The religious condition of the whole of the Sikh provinces is to be deplored. No part of India is less provided with evangelical Christian instruction in any form. Mosques and heathen temples are supported from the public revenues, and even priests and teachers, especially superannuated persons, of all varieties of faith receive government maintenance. The extent of these disbursements is at once serious as respects the revenue, and shameful as regards the Christian consistency of the government. The principle upon which this is advocated is, that it is politic not too soon or too suddenly to abolish a previously existing state of things; that, seeing the revenues are levied from the whole nation, some portion of them should be given back in a manner to please the people. However reasonable and correct this may be as it regards pensions for civil and military service, and public works, it is both unwise and unchristian for the government to extend its open patronage to every variety of superstition and idolatry, the votaries of which they find ready to receive it. Grants of public money in consonance with public rights and general utility, ought not to be confounded with its bestowment in vain efforts to gratify prejudice, bigotry, and idolatry. That the government commits this error the following extract will show:—

"The endowments [writing of a particular class] are both secular and religious, for the support of temples, mosques, places of pilgrimage and devotion, schools, village inns for the reception of travellers, paupers, and strangers, generally of a monastic character. These institutions are ornaments to the villages; they have some architectural pretension, and being embosomed in trees, are often the only shady spots in the neighbourhood. They add much to the comfort of rustic life, and keep alive a spirit of hospitality and piety among the agricultural people. The endowments, though occasionally reduced in amount, have on the whole been regarded with liberality, and in confirming them, the officers have mainly regarded the utility and efficiency of the institution. Such grants, when insignificant in amount, have been maintained, even though the original granter might have been the headman of the village. The grants to objects of charity or to persons of sanctity have frequently been paid in cash, and in such cases have been brought under the denomination of pensions. In regard to the charitable grants, indeed with regard to all grants, the tenour of the government letter has been observed, and the rigour of the rules has been relaxed in favour of parties who, from 'indigence, infirmity, age, or sex,' might be fitting objects of special indulgence."

In the above extract the board informs the government and the public, that in confirming previously existing endowments, the officers have chiefly regarded the utility and efficiency of the institutions so endowed. They say that the institutions selected for "their utility and efficiency," are "temples, mosques, places of pilgrimage, and devotion." Of all the native "institutions" of India, "places of pilgrimage" are the greatest curse, yet they are endowed by the board of administration of the Punjaub as places of "utility and efficiency." These institutions, they further tell us, keep alive a spirit of "piety" among the agricultural people! The schools and village inns are represented as generally of "a monastic character!" No wonder that the British public should be dissatisfied with a system which not only endows Mohammedanism and heathenism, but which displays the spirit of its working by

the ostentatious commendation of heathen or Mohammedan monastic houses, temples, mosques, places of pilgrimage, &c., by the superior officers of the government. The men who sign the report which contains all this, and to whose talents so much that was really desirable was attributable, no doubt carried out with fidelity the policy of their employers. While "persons of sanctity," as the report terms the religious impostors by whom the different populations were so frequently incited to fanaticism, were petted and pensioned, the Christian missionary was discountenanced, and the native converts persecuted by the dominant sects, with the connivance of the government: these converts were ineligible for any civil office! The administration of the Punjaub was in this respect less liberal than that of the north-west provinces. In a former chapter, when treating of the religions of India, credit was given to the government and the company for the various encouragements which have of late years been afforded to the free exercise of Christian instrumentalities, and while government interference with the religion of the people was deprecated, attention was called to the mode in which the Church Missionary Society was found to extend religious education among the Santals. Since that chapter was written, the author has learned that the decrees which thus gave scope to the Church Missionary schools have been revoked. The *Times* Calcutta correspondent, in his letter dated the 23rd of November, 1857, thus wrote:—

"You have recently argued that the court of directors are hostile to Christianity. The statement is impudently denied. Allow me to state the following fact:—On the termination of the Santal campaign, the lieutenant-governor, finding that the complete barbarism of the Santals had become dangerous, proposed to civilise them. He handed them over to the Church Missionary Society for education, selecting that body because two of its agents had won the confidence of the Santals. The tribe liked the arrangement, and began to fill the schools. The surrounding classes did not care, regarding Santals in about the light in which we regard centipedes or other dangerous vermin. There was no doubt of success, when out comes an order from the court disallowing the whole arrangement, as the development of Christianity was 'contrary to their policy!' Well, the Santals have a commissioner, a man known as no saint, a desperate hunter, always either in the saddle or inquiring into the complaints of his subjects. He was ordered to produce a new scheme. He quietly replied that he couldn't and wouldn't, and that he hoped soon to see the end of a 'policy which made us cowards in the eyes of men, and traitors in the eyes of God.' Similar ideas are coming up from every corner of India." The conduct of the government in that respect has, however, the apology of a principle—the non-endowment of Christian education, which may be justified, but the actual endowment of Mohammedanism and heathenism in every form—their worship, shrines, pilgrimages, and "persons of sanctity"—throughout the Punjaub, and the reverence ostentatiously shown to these endowed institutions, for their efficacy, utility, and adaptation to promote piety, in the most important public documents, is an indisputable offence against the religious feeling of Great Britain, the honour of the Christian religion, and the throne of God. There are no features of God's revelation more strongly brought out than his displeasure with all who participate in any way with idols, and especially when those who profess to worship him as the one only living and true God give countenance to idolatry in any manner. Yet, in face of this, the board of administration of the Punjaub glories in the support given to idolatries, and the government at Calcutta and at home impress their sanction upon it. How is it possible for either the heathen abroad, or the masses of Christian people at home, to believe that the governing classes are not pervaded by infidelity, when they perceive how the plainest precepts of the Bible can be set aside, and the most daring crime perpetrated, if a financial or political purpose is to be gained? There is no offence which the criminal reports of the Punjaub reveal more debasing and ruinous in itself, more demoralising to society, and insulting and defiant to God, than idolatry; and there is no part of their report in which the board of administration take more credit to themselves than that in which they record their attentive concern to maintain teachers and places of idol-worship! It is well, however, to see fruits meet for repentance. Under the administration of the same John Lawrence who signed the Punjaub report the ban has been removed from entrance to official life on the part of native Christians, and the same R. Montgomery whose signature is to that report has put forth the following important document. It would, indeed, have come more gracefully years ago; one cannot help now suspecting that it is not to the favour felt for Christianity, or the impartial justice entertained towards the native Christians, that the change is to be attributed, so much as to the aroused feeling and opinion of the British people, and

their obvious determination to put an end to a state of things so disgraceful to their national and religious character as a people.

The sufferings and trials which the Almighty has permitted to come upon his people in this land during the past few months, though dark and mysterious to us, will assuredly end in his glory. The followers of Christ will now, I believe, be induced to come forward and advance the interests of his kingdom and those of his servants. The system of caste can no longer be permitted to rule in our services. Soldiers and government servants of every class must be entertained for their merits, irrespective of creed, class, or caste. The native Christians, as a body, have, with rare exceptions, been set aside. I know not one in the Punjaub (to our disgrace be it said) in any employment under government. A proposition to employ them in the public service six months ago would assuredly have been received with coldness, and would not have been complied with; but a change has come, and I believe there are few who will not eagerly employ those native Christians competent to fill appointments. I understand that in the ranks of the army at Madras there are native Christians, and I have heard that some of the guns at Agra are at this time manned by native Christians. I consider I should be wanting in my duty at this crisis if I did not endeavour to secure a portion of the numerous appointments in the judicial department for native Christians; and I shall be happy (as far as I can) to advance their interests equally with those of the Mohammedan and Hindoo candidates—their future promotion must depend on their own merits. I shall therefore feel obliged by each missionary favouring me with a list of the native Christians belonging to them, who, in their opinion, are fit for the public service.

The following suggestions will aid the missionaries in classifying their men. For burkundages (policemen in the ranks) able-bodied men are required. If the candidate can read and write, and is generally intelligent, he is pretty sure to rise rapidly to the higher ranks. For assistants in public offices, and for higher appointments in the judicial and police departments generally, it is imperative that candidates should read and write *oordoo* in the *shikostele* hand fluently, and be intelligent, ready, and trustworthy. Candidates must be prepared at first to accept the lower grade of appointments, in order that they may learn their duties, and qualify themselves for the higher posts. Arrangements can sometimes be made to apprentice a candidate for a few months, with a view to teaching him his work; but during this period the candidate must support himself. It is suggested that no persons be nominated whom the missionaries do not consider, by their character and attainments, to have a good prospect of success; better wait till a candidate qualifies himself fully than recommend an inferior man.

R. MONTGOMERY.

Who could ever suppose that the pen which panegyrised the pious utility and efficiency of temples, mosques, and places of pilgrimage and devotion, and the propriety of pensioning "persons of sanctity," as the fakeers and other impostors were termed by him, would so soon describe the duties of Christians and the Christian Church in India, and exhort "the followers of Christ" to "come forward and advance the interests of his kingdom and those of his servants!" If all religions, Christian, Moslem, and heathen, be not equally useful in the esteem of some of the governors of Indian provinces, for the purposes of political management, it is difficult to say which most meets the approbation of "the board of the administration of the Punjaub." Upon the effect of the change of policy indicated by the paper signed by Mr. Montgomery, the *Times'* Calcutta correspondent remarked:—"That order was issued three months ago. It was received without the slightest animosity, and is being carried into effect; that is to say, Sir John Lawrence, the one successful pro-consul in India, has in his own province decreed that caste shall cease!"

In the chapter on the religions of India, the efforts making for the religious instruction of the Punjaub were described. These efforts have been since increased, especially by the British and Foreign Bible and the Tract Societies.

The state of education in the territories of the Punjaub assigned to the government of the commissioners, is an important subject of inquiry. It appears to have been the policy of these gentlemen to assign funds for the instruction of youth in the different superstitions prevailing, accompanied by some instruction in matters of utility also. The districts where education of any kind least prevails are Peshawur and Leia. The following comparative statement of education in the Punjaub, and under the Agra (north-west) government, will give a clear idea of the deficiency in both cases, and their relative position in this respect:—

| Division. | One School to every— Inhabitants. | One Scholar to every— Inhabitants. |
|---|---|---|
| Lahore | 1,783·98 | 214·85 |
| Jhelum | 1,441·90 | 193·10 |
| Mooltan | 1,666·66 | 210·88 |
| Agra Presidency | 2,912·20 | 326·14 |

The kind of education is much better in the Agra provinces. "The Punjaub schools are of three descriptions, viz., those resorted to by Hindoos, Mussulmans, and Sikhs, respectively. At the Hindoo schools, writing and the rudiments of arithmetic are generally taught in the Hindi character; at the Mussulman schools are read the Koran in Arabic, and the didactic and poetical works of Sadi in Persian (the Gulistan and Bostan); at the Sikh school, the Grunth, in Goormukhee, or the repository of the faith taught by Nanuck and Guroo Govind. In the Persian, Arabic, and Goormukhee schools, which form the great majority, the studies, being chiefly confined to sacred books written in a classical phraseology, unintelligible to both teacher and pupil, do not tend to develop the intellectual faculties of either. It is remarkable that female education is to be met with in all parts of the Punjaub. The girls and the teachers (also females) belong to all of the three great tribes, viz., Hindoo, Mussulman,

and Sikh. The number is not, of course, large; but the existence of such an education, almost unknown in other parts of India, is an encouraging circumstance." The education given in these schools is often most pernicious, apart even from the erroneous doctrines of a religious nature. Morally and socially the education conducted by the Brahmins and the Mussulmans is injurious to the pupils, and dangerous to the state. The pupils of Hindoo common schools become more bigoted than the subjects of this education would have been without it; although in the high schools the faith of the pupil is generally shaken in all religions, while his nationality becomes invidious and fanatical. In the Mohammedan schools, abhorrence of infidels is an essential portion of the tuition. No youth educated in a Mohammedan school can ever be loyal to any but a Mohammedan government; yet in the reports of "the board of administration," the gentlemen already referred to congratulated themselves that the endowment for the school afforded by the government was, in many instances, also virtually an endowment for the mosque. Their words are—"The school-house is here, as elsewhere, primitive; such as a private dwelling, the village town-hall, the shade of a tree, a temporary shed, or the courtyard of a temple. The Mussulman schools are nearly all connected with the village mosque. In such a case, the same endowment would support both institutions. It is superfluous to observe, that wherever any land has been granted in rent-free tenure for such a purpose, either by the state and its representatives, or by the proprietary community, such foundations have been gladly maintained by the board. The remuneration of the teachers is variable and precarious. It frequently consists of presents, grain and sweetmeats, given by the scholars and their parents; but occasionally the whole community subscribe for the support of the school, each member contributing so much per plough, which is considered to represent his means: not unfrequently, also, cash payments are made, and sometimes regular salaries are allowed. Cash allowances are perhaps more usual in the Punjaub than in Hindoostan." Schools of a higher character have been instituted and fostered. City central schools, as in the Agra government, have been contemplated on an extensive scale, and in some instances instituted. At Umritsir a college of a respectable order has been founded, where the learned languages of that part of Asia—such as Sanscrit, Persian, &c.—are taught, and many of the pupils learn English. Some of the plans recommended by the commissioners for higher schools of instruction and colleges have been carried out, and others are in embryo. The Punjaub population manifests a laudable desire for education, and at Lahore there is quite a rage for learning English; and the usual branches of English education are pursued by some of the noble and wealthy classes.

The development of the material resources of the country has been advancing to the present time. Trees have been planted for shade, ornament, and the future supply of timber and firewood. Roads have been made in numerous directions: Lieutenant-colonel Napier, the civil engineer to the board, has rendered great service in this respect. Canals have been cut, and means of irrigation increased. Civic organisation has led to the improvement of manufactures, and the extension of commerce. Practical science has been sedulously promoted. Dr. Jamieson has drawn up reports on the physical features, the products, the botany, and the ornithology of the Punjaub. Dr. Fleming and Mr. Pindar have reported upon the salt range, and upon the mineral resources of the Scinde Saugor Doab, and the upper Trans-Indus territories. The trigonometrical survey has been carried through the dominions of the late Gholab Singh, and other regions. An agri-horticultural society has been formed under the patronage of the board. Sanatoria have been established, and schools of medical instruction, and colleges of civil engineers, have been projected. Dispensaries have been formed, and are most useful. Postal arrangements, which improve upon the old daks, have been completed. Bridges, police-stations, and other public works have rapidly progressed. Yet the people feel the pressure of taxation, and while a good feeling to their conquerors is increasing, they still cherish their nationality. Their state of mind and condition in these respects have been thus described:—"In the other countries which we have conquered in India, our advent has overturned a dynasty, and a party of chiefs favourable to its power; but it has brought relief to the mass of the people. Here, however, we have overturned not a dynasty, but a nationality; and our rule is as galling to the mass of the Sikhs and Hindoos as to the chiefs."*

It is cheering to think that the terms in which the following modest statement is made have been borne out in fact: upon the gentlemen who constituted the board rested a great responsibility, and they have, except in the matters to which the strictures made upon their policy in this chapter refer,

* Major Lake.

rendered great service to their country. "The board have endeavoured to set forth the administration of the Punjaub, since annexation, in all its branches, with as much succinctness as might be compatible with precision and perspicuity. It has been explained how internal peace has been preserved, and the frontier guarded; how the various establishments of the state have been organised; how violent crime has been repressed, the penal law executed, and prison discipline enforced; how civil justice has been administered; how the taxation has been fixed, and the revenue collected; how commerce has been set free, agriculture fostered, and the national resources developed; how plans for future improvement have been projected; and, lastly, how the finances have been managed. The most noble the governor-general, who has seen the country, and personally inspected the executive system, will judge whether this administration has fulfilled the wishes of the government, whether the country is richer, whether the people are happier and better. A great revolution cannot happen without injuring some classes. When a state falls, its nobility and its supporters must, to some extent, suffer with it; a dominant sect and party, ever moved by political ambition and religious enthusiasm, cannot return to the ordinary level of society, and the common occupations of life, without feeling some discontent and some enmity against their powerful but humane conquerors. But it is probable that the mass of the people will advance in material prosperity and in moral elevation under the influence of British rule. The board are not unmindful that, in conducting the administration, they have had before them the Indian experience of many successive governments, and especially the excellent example displayed in the north-west provinces. They are not insensible of shortcomings; but they will yet venture to say, that this retrospect of the past does inspire them with hope for the future."

The government and finance of the Punjaub, also its commercial condition and progress, must be reserved for chapters treating of those matters in connection with India generally.

CASHMERE, and the other territory of the late Gholab Singh, form an interesting country connected with the Punjaub; for although an independent state, it is immediately under the protection of the British government, and is in various ways brought into connection with the board of administration of the Punjaub. The late Runjeet Singh asserted sovereignty over it, and the ranee, mother of Dhuleep Singh, regarded it with considerable interest during her regency. When the Sikh dominion fell before the arms of Lord Gough, Gholab Singh was rewarded for his fidelity to the British government by the apportionment of Cashmere and the Jummoo, over which, during the remainder of his life, he reigned with great prudence and wisdom. This sovereignty bounds the Peshawur provinces, and roads and water communication have been opened up, tending to connect the provinces in the intimacies of friendly intercourse and profitable commerce. In the general description given of India Cashmere was noticed: a further brief description is here appropriate.

It is comprehended between the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth degrees of north latitude, and surrounded by lofty mountains. The Peshawur territory lies to the south, and Little Thibet to the north. Considerable pains have lately been taken to survey the whole country. At the last meeting of the Royal Geographical Society in London, at Burlington House, Sir Roderick Murchison, president, in the chair, it was announced that a letter had been received from Lieutenant-colonel Andrew Scott Waugh, surveyor-general of India, returning thanks for the society's gold medal, which had been awarded him on the completion of the great trigonometrical survey of India. Colonel Waugh stated that the Cashmere and Thibet surveys were progressing favourably, and would make a beautiful topographical map. Messrs. Montgomerie and Elliot Brownlow had fixed two peaks on the Karakorum, one of which is 27,928 feet high, its distance being one hundred and thirty-six miles from the last stations. This would indicate the peak to be the third highest yet measured. The Cashmere series has twice crossed the snowy range with two stations each time on it.

The valley of Cashmere is of an elliptical form, and widens gradually to Islamabad. At that place it is forty miles broad. It is continued to the town of Lampre, there being little variation in the width; thence the mountains, by a regular inclination to the westward, come to a point, and separate Cashmere from Muzifferabad. Including the surrounding mountains, Cashmere may be estimated at one hundred and ten miles in length, and at its widest part sixty miles in width. The shape is nearly oval. The province can only be entered by passes, of which there are seven in number—four from the south, two from the north, and one from the west. The pass of Bember is the best, but that of Muzifferabad most used. Various roads to Hindoostan exist.

The ancients made two divisions of this

province—eastern and western; the former they called Meraje, and the latter Kamraje. The earliest accounts represent it as, with the exception of the mountains, laid under water, and named Suttysir. Sutty is one of the names of the wife of the Hindoo deity Siva, and *sir* signifies a reservoir. When the country assumed a more hospitable character history does not inform us, but there is still evidence, in the marshy character of some portions of the valley, that at no very remote period it was covered with water. The valley is as beautiful as the character given of it, and its productiveness greater than reputation allows. The mountain scenery is sublime beyond the power of pen or pencil to depict, and the grandeur is heightened by numerous and voluminous cataracts, bounding from the huge rocks, flashing in the brilliant Eastern sunlight as floods and showers of diamonds. The water throughout the province is remarkably clear, pure, and healthful. The beauty of the scenery is as striking as its sublimity. The whole region blooms with flowers to a degree unknown in any other place upon the face of the earth. The shrubs, especially flowering shrubs, are infinitely varied, and the hues that are displayed in the clear light, and the odours wafted upon the gentle breezes that float through the valley, render exquisite pleasure.

The climate is as genial as the scenery is rich and varied with the sublime and beautiful. Although the mountain tops, and far down the declivities, are covered with eternal snow, the valley revels in perpetual summer. It is spring-like summer, for no burning noon scorches within the precincts of this Eden. What is called the winter is simply a cooler season, in which man and nature are braced and invigorated, but severe weather in any form is unknown. The rude monsoons do not reach this gentle land; and when the recurrent rains deluge India, a few soft and refreshing showers are all that fall within the mountain girdle of Cashmere. The rainy season of Persia and Thibet affects it more, but beneficially; and snow is also seen at the same season as in those other regions, but the valley is so protected by the close and lofty circle of mountains, that it is seldom stricken by the snow-fall.

Rice is much cultivated in the plain, which is irrigated by streams from innumerable mountain rivulets and cascades; but in the higher portions of the valley, upon the bases of the hills, cereal crops are grown, and yield uniformly abundant harvests. On the hill-slopes trees of every foliage flourish, almost all climates being attainable, according to the range of elevation. The fruits produced in Western Europe there grow in perfection and abundance. The best saffron in the world is grown in the valley, and various plants useful to commerce spring up indigenous.

The bodies of water which flow into the vale and mingle, forming navigable streams within its ellipse, in their general confluence form the ancient Hydaspes, now known as the Jhelum River, which rolls on its increasing volume towards Hindoostan. Among the picturesque waters of the valley, the Dall, a considerable lake, is unrivalled for beauty. It extends from the north-east end of the city of Cashmere in an oval form, the circumference being about six miles, and lies in the verdant country as a choice gem set in emeralds. This collection of water finds its vent by the current of the Jhelum. The lake is curiously decorated, as if by a plan of ornament, by little islands near its margin all around at certain distances from each other; these are covered by natural clumps of flowering shrubs. From the head of the lake (the more distant one from the city) the ground gradually rises for twelve miles to the foot of the mighty mountains. In that particular place they assume forms regular or grotesque, presenting a strange aspect of variety, upon which one might gaze for ever without the impression of sameness. Halfway between the lake and the mountain base a spacious garden was laid out by one of the Mogul emperors. The gardens of Shalimar, as they are termed, ever watered by the munificent hand of nature, still bloom in their beauty beneath skies the serenest in the world. To gaze from the bosom of the placid lake, with its still bright water, upon the encircling verdure of the plain, and up to the everlasting mountains, hoary in age and grandeur, extending, as it were, their embrace to protect this paradise, is to enjoy at once the most soothing and elevating effects which natural scenery can shed upon the heart of man.

The people are a fine race, both in form and feature. Vigorous and brave, they cherish a romantic attachment to their homes and liberties, which no governor, however powerful, can with impunity despise.

> "Their beauteous clime and glorious land
> Freedom and nationhood demand,
> For oh! the great God never plann'd
> For slumb'ring slaves a home so grand."

Besides the valley described, there are various others within the mountain region of the province of a similar character; and each of these, but one in particular, is even more a vale of flowers than that which is alone known to fame for its beauty. The mountains are

believed by geologists and mineralogists to contain rich mineral treasures. The natives dig out iron of a superior quality, and in abundance. Among the various objects of beauty and curiosity with which the province abounds is the Ouller Lake. It is near the city, in an opposite direction to the Dall, and in its centre an island is entirely covered by a palace, built by Sultan Zein-ul-Abdeen. This lake gradually diminishes, the Jhelum ever craving its waters.

The capital of the province is the city of Cashmere, the ancient name of which was Serinaghur. It is situated in latitude 33° 23′ north, and longitude 74° 47′ east. The city is said to contain from one hundred and fifty to two hundred thousand inhabitants. These are cooped up in one of the most miserably-built towns in the East, or anywhere else. The streets are narrow, and filthy from inadequate drainage, and the bad habits of the people. Notwithstanding their dirty streets, they attend to personal cleanliness, and have beautiful ranges of covered baths along the banks of the Jhelum, which flows through the town. The houses are two and three stories high, strongly built of fine hard timber, and brick peculiarly prepared. The use of these materials is rendered necessary by the frequent shocks of earthquake felt all over the valley, and from which the capital has often severely, although not fatally, suffered. The roofs are flat. Notwithstanding that the fields, and river banks, and hill-sides, are covered with flowers, and everywhere is to be seen

"The fairy gem beneath the forest-tree,"

yet the citizens of Cashmere so delight in them, that they turn their house-tops into parterres. It is difficult for any one who has not actually experienced it to conceive the effect upon the stranger as he walks or rides through this city of narrow lanes and passages, to see the upper parts of the houses forming continuous flower-gardens, sending their rich odours down in showers, while the passages below are filled with innumerable impurities, shedding abroad their stench and noxious influences. From this last-named circumstance alone the city is unhealthy; the country around it is salubrious.

In the estimation of the Hindoos, all Cashmere is holy land, and the most holy spot is Islamabad, a large town on the north side of the Jhelum, twenty-nine miles E.S.E. from the city of Cashmere, in latitude 33° 15′ north, and longitude 75° 13′ east. At this spot the Jhelum bursts through the narrow and circuitous gorges of the mountains on its way to the vast plains which it adorns and fertilises. Ausoden Bridge crosses the river between two mountains, in a spot of wild and terrific sublimity.* The religion of the Cashmerians is a mixture of the Brahminical and Mohammedan. Their language is derived from the Sanscrit. They claim to be the most ancient inhabitants of India and its neighbouring realms, and say that their people early penetrated into India, carrying with them religion, laws, and literature. The present Cashmerians give attention to all these matters with eager interest and successful pursuit. Their love of oriental *belles-lettres* is great. The Sanscrit and Persian languages are studied, and books of light literature are much prized.

The manufacture of shawls, from the hair of the Thibetian goat, has made the valley famous in all the East, and, indeed, in all the world. Notice of this will be taken when treating upon the commerce of our Indian empire. The zoology and ornithology of Cashmere do not require particular remark. The shawl-goat is not a native of it; the material for manufacture yielded by that animal is brought from Thibet to the city of Cashmere. The horses are small, but, like the little Neapolitan horses, hardy and spirited. The insect world is very active, and constitutes the great drawback to life in Cashmere. Bugs, the persecutors of London lodging-houses, are far more formidable in the cities of Cashmere and Islamabad. Lice are a still more loathsome pest, being as prevalent as fleas in the colony of Victoria. In the open air the enjoyment of the beauties of nature is sadly interfered with by the gnats, which seem at times to fill the whole atmosphere, and are tormenters that never tire. Reptile life does not flourish in the province. The boast of Ireland, that she alone is exempt from poisonous creatures, is not well founded, for Cashmere shares with her in this undoubted privilege.

AJMEER, or RAJPOOTANA, is one of the non-regulation provinces connected with the north-west government. It is situated in the centre of Hindoostan, between the twenty-fourth and thirty-first degrees of north latitude. To the north it is bounded by the Sikh states, on the north-east by Delhi, on the south by Gujerat and Malwah, on the west by Scinde. The original length of this territory was three hundred and fifty miles, and its average breadth two hundred miles. The general appearance of this province is exceedingly cheerless; a large portion of it is desert, and the soil generally sandy. The *mirage* is common in the desert. The inhabitants are few and wretched, and would be much more

* Forster.

so, had not Providence provided them with the water-melon, which grows in astonishing profusion amidst the sandy wastes. In some parts the great desert of Ajmeer is four hundred miles in breadth, extending much beyond the limits of this province.

The domestic animals which thrive in the less arid parts of this stern region are camels and bullocks. The wild animals which infest it are a squirrel-like rat, which is very numerous; foxes of a very small species also breed fast. Antelopes are occasionally found, and less frequently the wild ass. This last is a remarkable animal; it is of the size and appearance of a mule, and can trot faster than the fleetest horses of Hindoostan: it is called goork-hur by the people of the desert. Notwithstanding the sandy character of the soil, the ass, antelope, camel, and ox, find food; and under the influence of the stimulating climate, and in consequence of the vast floods of water which in the rainy season deluge certain portions of it, crops of grain are raised for the support of man.

The inhabitants are for the most part Jauts, a people who also have spread into the neighbouring province of the Punjaub. They are of low stature, very black, with repulsive features and figures; they are generally emaciated and dejected. In the Punjaub these Jauts reveal qualities of great importance; they are industrious and brave, and laborious agriculturists. Fewer in number than these are the Rajpoots, who are a full-sized and handsome race, bearing a marked resemblance to Jews, and having prominent aquiline noses. They are haughty, indolent, and inveterate opium-eaters. The best portion of the province is in their hands. In the Punjaub these Rajpoots are brave and active, and clever agriculturists, very unlike the Rhatore Rajpoots, in the province of Rajpootana.

The modern divisions are Judpore, Jaysulmeer, Jaipore, Odeypore, and Bicaneer. The governmental peculiarities of the native states into which this great, but not very productive, province seems in all ages to have been broken up, resemble those of the feudal system in Europe. Each district, however small, was a sort of barony, and every town and village acknowledged a lord, or *thakoor*. These feudal barons rendered nominal, and sometimes real allegiance, to the sovereign, or whoever else claimed presumptive authority over them. It is supposed that the proportion of Mohammedans to Hindoos is one to eight. The number of the population cannot be accurately stated, nor within tolerable approximation to accuracy. Thirty years ago good authorities computed it at three millions; since then it has been estimated considerably less, and somewhat more, at different times, and by different persons.

The Rajpoot cavalry, in the service of the Delhi emperors, were highly prized for their faithfulness and courage. No part of India was torn so much by internecine struggle as Rajpootana, until, in 1818, the whole of the chiefs were taken under the protection of the British, and bound to submit all their disputes to the English agents, as well as pay all their taxes into the Delhi treasury, for which the British government would account to each. This arrangement became highly acceptable to the kings and the people, but was bitterly hated by the aristocracy, whose power in their separate jajires was thus abridged, and who lost all hope of rising to the dignity and power of princes by successful raids and ambitious policy. The oppressions practised by the feudal tyrants, great and small, of this province have been described as "more systematic, unremitting, and brutal than ever before trampled on humanity."

AJMEER is the name of a city and district, from which the designation is also given to the whole province. This territory is well known in England as the dominion of Scindiah. The family of Scindiah are Brahmins, but have always manifested great respect for the Mohammedan religion.

The city of Ajmeer possesses nothing attractive but its Mohammedan remains. It possesses "a garden palace," built by Shah Jehan. The tomb of Khaja Maijen-ad-Deen is also an object of interest. He is a great reputed saint of Islam. The mighty Emperor Akbar made a pilgrimage to this tomb from Agra, two hundred and thirty miles distant, on foot. Scindiah bestowed a canopy of cloth of gold for this tomb, and also a superb pall. Although the town of Ajmeer is so small a place, there are more than a thousand persons of a sacerdotal, or otherwise sacred character, who live by charity, so-called, but which may be more properly designated plunder, as it is extorted from the visitors to the saint's tomb. It is distant two hundred and thirty miles from Delhi, more than a thousand from Calcutta, and about two-thirds of that distance from Bombay.

The country of the Bhatties is only interesting because of its inhabitants, who are supposed by many to be descended from the aborigines of Northern India, as distinguished from the Hindoo race. The women of this tribe go unveiled, and have greater liberty than is conceded by the Hindoo race or the Affghans. Bhatties inhabit also the border provinces of the Punjaub, and are said to have set the example for the superior social

influence of woman in that province. In various hill regions of India this people are found. The Bhatties are predatory, and until lately were indomitable plunderers, finding shelter in their extensive and formerly impenetrable jungles when pursued by a superior force.

BICANUR is a rajalik of little importance, occupying the centre of the Ajmeer province. The capital is alleged to appear magnificent on approaching it, in consequence of the contrast its temples, and minarets, and white buildings afford to the gloomy desert of sand by which it is surrounded.* According to some travellers, it is a miniature Palmyra; according to others, it is almost as miserable as the wilderness that extends to its walls.

The JEYPORE district is only remarkable for its handsome capital, which is situated in latitude 26° 55′ north, and longitude 75° 37′ east. The city from an ancient date was respectable, and it is still a place of some importance, Rajah Jeysingh having encouraged education there, and built several observatories for the advancement of astronomical science. At present it is considered one of the best built towns in Hindoostan. The houses are of stone; the streets are spacious, and of imposing length, intersecting each other at right angles, like the city of Philadelphia, in the United States of America. The citadel is picturesque—built upon a steep rock, and surrounded for four miles by a chain of fortifications. Jeypore is one hundred and fifty miles from Delhi, nearly equidistant from Agra, a thousand from Calcutta, and three-fourths of that distance from Bombay.

The dominions of Holkar, although wild, and inhabited by a predatory people, possess some good towns. The vigilance of the British keeps these regions in awe. During the mutiny of the Bengal sepoys in 1857, Holkar and Scindiah remained faithful, under strong temptations to swerve, in their allegiance to the British. Their troops and people, especially the former, were heartily with the mutineers, and many joined their bands in the struggle which raged in the north-western provinces.

BOONDEE, ODEYPORE, and MEWAR, are in some respects interesting regions, and contain fertile territory. Odeypore especially has lands as rich as any in India.

There is little in the remaining portions of the Ajmeer province to require more particular detail.

The south-western frontier provinces contain considerable variety, and a large area of surface, with a numerous population. Contiguous territories have been so far minutely described as to comprehend the general characteristics of these provinces.

PACHETE is remarkable for the good quality of its coal, and its general insalubrity.

CHUTA, or CHOTA NAGPORE (Little Nagpore), is an extensive tract, as hilly as Malwah, and covered with jungle. There is a vast quantity of decaying vegetable matter constantly emitting deleterious gases, causing jungle fever and other fatal diseases. The country produces iron ore, and, the natives allege, also diamonds. The aboriginal inhabitants cling to the jungle, and are hated and persecuted by the Brahmins whenever opportunity allows.

The north-eastern frontier provinces comprise Assam, and several very wild regions.

The chief province in this direction is ASSAM. It is situated at the north-east corner of Bengal, stretching up to the country of Thibet. The chief portion of the territory consists in the valley of the Brahmapootra. The average breadth of the valley is about seventy miles. In Upper Assam, where the mountains recede more, the valley is much broader. The province is computed to be three hundred and fifty miles in length, and about seventy in average breadth. It is divided into three districts—Camroop in the west, Assam proper in the centre, and Lodiya at the eastern extremity.

The rivers of Assam are probably more numerous, and larger than those in any other country of similar extent. In the dryest season they contain sufficient water for purposes of navigation. The number of rivers, exclusive of the Brahmapootra and its two great branches, the Deing and Looichel, are sixty. The course of many is very devious, irrigating a large extent of country. A striking instance of this is seen in the Dikrung, where the direct distance by land is only twenty-five miles, while the course of the stream is over one hundred. This river is noted for the quantity of gold found in its sands, which is also of the purest quality. Many of the Assam rivers wash down particles of auriferous metal from the great mountains.

The vegetable productions are numerous, and such as might be expected in a rich alluvial country. Rice, mustard-seed, wheat, barley, millet, pulse, black pepper, ginger, turmeric, capsicums, onions, garlic, betel leaf, tobacco, opium, sugar-cane, are all cultivated, and yield remunerative crops. The fruits chiefly eaten are oranges and pomegranates; the cocoa-nut is highly prized by the inhabitants, but, from the remoteness of their country from the sea, this excellent fruit is

* Elphinstone.

scarce. Cotton is produced, and silk still more extensively. On another page was noticed the indigenous teas of Assam, and the cultivation of the plants under the auspices of the Honourable East India Company.

Domestic animals are not in great variety. Buffaloes are reared in considerable numbers, and employed by the agriculturists. The wealth of the community in cattle, sheep, and goats, is small. Aquatic birds are surprisingly numerous, and of excellent flavour. The wild duck of Assam is highly prized by epicures.

The religions of the Assamese are Brahminism and Buddhism. So lately as the beginning of the seventeenth century they worshipped a god called Chung, and the superstition associated with his service was exceedingly debased. About one-fourth of the population obstinately reject the religions of Hindoostan, and cherish more obscure rites. The Mohammedans attempted the invasion of the country, under Shah Jehan, in the early part of the seventeenth century, but were driven back by disease, the difficulties of the country, and the desultory warfare of the natives. Ever since the Mohammedans of India have had a horror of the country, and speak of it as haunted by fiends and enchanters.

The Assamese remained a warlike, spirited, and united people until the conversion of the court and the higher orders to Brahminism, since which time they have sunk into one of the most pusillanimous races of Asia. The introduction of caste created internal feuds; and the enervating influence of Brahminism unmanned the people.

Assam has suffered much, even since its subjection to British authority, by robbers from Hindoostan.

The Assam province of CAMROOP contains many traces of great prosperity, and once had a numerous population; it is now in a poor condition.

The island of Majuli, formed by the Brahmapootra, is covered with temples, and inhabited only by persons of supposed sanctity.

Rungpore is a town situated on the Dikho River; it is the reputed capital, but possesses nothing to redeem it from contempt.

Since the province fell under British authority, its improvement has been rapid.

The inhabitants of the Garrow Mountains are a strange and ferocious race. An old writer* describes them as of great strength and daring; a man, he alleges, can carry a weight over the mountains one-third heavier than a Bengalee can carry on the plains; and the women can carry a weight in the mountain country equal to what a Bengalee man can bear in the valley. According to the same authority, the culinary habits of this race are very extraordinary. They will feed puppies with as much rice as they can incite them to devour, and then throw them alive on a fire; when cooked to their taste, they remove them, but do not eat the animals; ripping them up, they partake of the rice which the dog had previously swallowed! Their vindictiveness is unsurpassed. If deprived of the smallest portion of property, they will commit murder; and if they cannot resent an injury promptly, they will flee to a place of retreat, plant a tree called chatakor, which bears a sour fruit, and vow that with the juice of this fruit they will one day eat the head of their enemy. If the feud is not thus settled by the original antagonists, it is handed down as an inheritance to their children. When at last success attends the efforts to fulfil the horrid vow, the victor summons his friends to the repast; the tree is then cut down, and the feud terminates. When they kill Bengalees, they decapitate them, and dance round their bleeding heads. They then bury them, and at intervals raise them, and renew the dance. Finally, they cleanse them, and hang up the skulls as trophies. These skulls are often filled with food or drink, of which they partake with their friends. Of late years the British police watch too well for these raids upon the Bengalees to be frequent, but so late as 1815 such practices were very common,* and for many years after continued to be practised. Strange as it might seem to a native of any other nation under heaven, human skulls constituted in those days the circulating medium, as much as a thousand rupees being the equivalent of some. To avoid the possibility of his cranium becoming currency, the friends of a Garrow man burn his body completely to ashes. The women are strong, ill-looking, join in the councils and raids of the men, work hard, and possess a position of importance unknown to the women of the plains. Polytheism is the religion of the Garrow hills. The people have no temples or idols, but worship animals and vegetables, the tiger and the bamboo being the favourites.

MUNPORE, or CASSAYE, is remarkable for the soft features of its inhabitants, as compared with surrounding tribes. They are of the Brahminical religion, and in this respect are noticeable, as they are the last tribe eastward by which it is embraced, the religion of Buddha prevailing thence throughout the entire East.

* Buchanan.

* Sisson.

## TERRITORIES ON THE INDO-CHINESE PENINSULA.

The remaining territories included in the non-regulation provinces of Bengal are beyond the India peninsula, on the eastern peninsula of Southern Asia. A glance at one of Wylde's excellent maps will show that this peninsula is bound on the north by the Chinese empire, on the east by the Chinese Sea, on the west by the Bay of Bengal, and on the south by the Straits of Malacca and the Gulf of Siam. The Indo-Chinese peninsula is computed to be above eighteen hundred miles in length, and of breadth exceedingly various, being only sixty miles across where the peninsula of Malacca is narrowest, and more than eight hundred miles in the north. Its superficial area is supposed to be nearly six hundred thousand square miles. The interior is so little known, that description of it is impossible. "Its distinguishing aspect appears to be determined by chains of mountains running uniformly in the direction of the meridian, inclosing distinct valleys no less uniform, each valley assuming a fan-like shape at the maritime extremity, and each the bed of a grand river-system. The three principal streams—the Irrawaddy westward, the Meinam central, and the Cambodia eastward—descend from the highlands of Thibet, pour down immense volumes of water, and rank with the largest rivers of Asia. The first flows through the Birman empire to the Bay of Bengal, at the Gulf of Martaban; the second waters Siam, and enters the gulf of that name; and the third, which has the largest course, passes through the empire of Annam to the Chinese Sea. Few regions exhibit such an amount of vegetable luxuriance, vast tracts being densely clothed with underwood and timber-trees, comprising teak, the iron-tree, true ebony, the eagle-wood, the white sandal-wood, betel-palms, and a great variety of aromatic and medicinal plants. The mineral wealth of the country is also very considerable, gold, silver, copper, and iron occurring in the mountains, with many precious gems—rubies, sapphires, and amethysts. Most of the large quadrupeds of India are found among the native animals." *

Irrespective of the British possessions, which cover a vast area, the following are its great divisions:—

| States. | Population. | Capitals and Chief Towns. |
|---|---|---|
| Birman Empire . . . . . | 8,000,000 . . | Ava, Rangoon, Pegu. |
| Kingdom of Siam . . . . | 2,700,000 . . | Bankok. |
| Empire of Annam . . . . | 10,000,000 . . | Hue, Saigon, Cambodia. |
| Country of the Laos . . . | Unknown | |
| Malaya . . . . . | 300,000 | |

The Birmese empire comprises the north-west, about one-fifth of the whole peninsula.

* The Rev. Thomas Milner.

The kingdom of SIAM stretches round the head of the gulf which bears its name, and reaches a considerable distance inland, with the upper portion of the Malacca peninsula. The empire of ANNAM lies along the eastern coast, and is divided into several regions, the principle of which are called Tonquin, Cochin China, and Cambodia, lying in that order from north to south. The country of the LAOS is a mountainous realm in the interior. MALAYA is the southern portion of the Malacca peninsula. The British possessions are on the western shores of the peninsula, washed by the waves of the Bay of Bengal, and comprise the provinces of Arracan, Pegu, and Tenesserim, stretching along the whole west coast, from the confines of Chittagong to the isthmus of Krow.

ARRACAN is one of the non-regulation provinces of the Bengal government, situated on the western coast of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. It stretches away from the boundaries of the Bengal regulation province of Chittagong to the limits of Pegu. The country is an undulated plain, gently sloping upwards from the sea to a range of mountains, by which it is bounded to the east along its whole extent. This plain is nowhere more than a hundred miles in breadth; and towards Pegu, the mountains gradually inclining to the sea, it is not more than ten miles in width. Arracan is, in fact, a continuation of the great Chittagong plain from the banks of the river Nauf. The whole country is well watered, and the great Arracan River forms a medium of great importance in commercial intercourse with Chittagong and Bengal. It is in that direction the chief commercial connection is maintained. Southward to Pegu there are few exports, although a considerable import of teak-timber, which is generally paid for in money. Of late years this has fallen off, the timber of their own well-clad mountains being brought into use by the Arracanese. To Chittagong and Calcutta the exports are valuable, consisting of elephants, elephants' teeth, cattle, goats, minerals, and many other commodities, to be noticed more fitly in a chapter upon the commerce of India. The province is exceedingly fertile, and was extremely rich previous to the depredations committed by the Birmese, whose conquests were attended by the utter impoverishment of the whole region. Since its annexation by the British it has again assumed a prosperous aspect, and is now rapidly rising to its ancient condition of wealth.

There are many islands scattered along the coast, and it is a peculiarity of them that each appears shaped like some animal. The larger islands are densely inhabited, and import rice

from Bengal in large quantities. The commerce of the region, and especially of the great Arracan River, is greatly impeded by exposure to the south-west monsoon. The inhabitants are very expert in boat navigation, but are indisposed to build or use large vessels, such as the increasing commerce of their coasts requires. Their love of aquatic pursuits, and of maritime life, is extreme—much more so than is the case with their northern neighbours of Chittagong, but scarcely so much so as with their southern rivals of Pegu. They are a well-formed, hardy race, tenacious of purpose, robust in mind as well as body, and cherish an extraordinary antipathy to the Birmese, whereas to the British they are partial. Hindoos, of both the Brahminical and Mohammedan religions, have settled in great numbers along the sea-board. The Arracanese themselves are Buddhists. To Europeans the people of this region are better known by the name of Mhugs. Their fierce resentments against the Birmese, their raids into the Chittagong district, and the troubles with Birmah in which they involved us, created in the earlier part of this century an unwarrantable prejudice against them, which has not entirely worn away. Their language is purer than that of Birmah, and its roots are monosyllabic, like the spoken language of China. Schools are common, such as in the chapter on religion and literature were described as abounding in the Pegu and Tenesserim provinces. The exertions of the European missionary societies along the Arracan valley have been great and successful. It is not so difficult to gain access to females for purposes of instruction as in the Indian peninsula, and female children are allowed to go to the mission schools. Considering its geographical situation, climate, capacity for commerce of its great navigable river, natural productions, the energy of the inhabitants, and their willingness to receive instruction, it may be with reason predicted that the province will become one of the most valuable countries in our Indian empire.

The town of Arracan, called by the natives Rakkong, is situated on the banks of the river Arracan, some considerable distance from its mouth, in latitude 29° 40′ north, and longitude 93° 5′ east. The Birmans made a boat expedition up the river in 1783, and easily captured it, plundering private and public property. Among other booty, they bore away a great brazen image of "Gaudma" (the Gotama Buddha of the Hindoos). This image was supposed to be an exact likeness of the great founder of their religion. There were also five colossal images of demons in brass, which surrounded that of Gaudma. Saint and demons were alike carried captive by the Birmans, and brought to their capital with wild demonstrations of joy and triumph. Previously Buddhists from every land were accustomed to repair to Arracan to do honour to those brazen images. A piece of cannon of enormous size, consisting of iron bars beaten into form, was also taken off by the Birmans.

PEGU is another non-regulation province of the Bengal government on the same coast, stretching from the boundaries of Arracan on the north, to those of Siam on the south. The aborigines call themselves Mon: by the Birmese and Chinese they are called Talleing. The name Pegu is a corruption of Bagoo, the common name given by the people to their old capital. North-east of Pegu the Birman territory ranges partly parallel, and partly at right angles, with the sea. To the east is the territory of Siam, and also to the south. The best parts of the province lie along the shores of the mouths of two great rivers—the Irrawaddy and Thaulayn.

Agriculture being in its infancy, much land is unreclaimed which is admirably adapted to the products of the climate. Dense thickets skirt the banks of the rivers, which abound with game, and beautiful peafowl especially. Tigers also prowl there, similar in species to the celebrated tiger of Bengal. Except where thickets are allowed to grow close by the marshy land of the rivers, the country is clear for a hundred miles inland from the sea, and is exceedingly prolific in rice, sugar-cane, and various other products necessary to the people, or profitable for commerce. Like Arracan, it is a province in which horses are very scarce, and elephants abound. These descend in troops from the higher land, trampling down the rice and cane-fields, inflicting vast mischief, independent of what they devour. The inhabitants, however, prize the elephant exceedingly, and even regard it with superstitious veneration. The agriculture and commerce of Pegu have improved much since it fell into the possession of the English.

The people were once famous in the East, having conquered the greater portion of the peninsula from the confines of Thibet to their own proper boundaries. Unfortunately for themselves, they courted the alliance of the Portuguese, Dutch, and French by turns, exciting thereby the jealousy of the more powerful rival of those European powers—England. The consequence was, that the Birmese, encouraged and aided by the British, revolted against their Peguan masters, and subjected them in turn. The country being everywhere intersected by rivers, the English found it

subsequently a useful base of operations against the Birman empire.

The religion is Buddhist, and, like all other Buddhist communities, the people profess to be atheistical materialists, and worship Gotama, or, as they call him, Gaudma, himself. They allow to woman far more importance in the social scale than the Hindoos and Mohammedans of the neighbouring peninsula, or than their eastern co-religionists, the Chinese, but not more so than the Birmans. The editor of an Indian journal says of them—"Perhaps their most remarkable departure from oriental customs is the social position in which they have placed their women. Although generally without even the education afforded by the *kioungs*, or village schools, the mothers and wives of these countries occupy a prominent position in society, and take a share in the daily business of life rarely to be met with eastward of the Cape." The same writer does them justice when he describes their general character in these terms:—"In their manners and general habits the Peguans and Talains of the Tenesserim and neighbouring provinces are decidedly superior to the Hindoo, though perhaps less industriously disposed. In all that relates to education, in their freedom from the ban of caste and the slavery of baneful superstition, in the superiority of their social system, these people form a remarkable exception to the state of debasement in which most of the Asiatic nations are plunged."

The Peguans appear to have been civilised at an earlier period and in a higher degree than any nation of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. At all events, as compared with the Birmans, their advancement in the arts of life and in civilisation of feeling, as well as circumstance, was much earlier, and more complete. They seem, like the Mhugs of Arracan, to have been always partial to navigation. The immense river-surface of their country, as well as the extended sea-board, conduce to this. A recent historian says of them what appears to have been true ever since they were known to Europeans:—"A Birman or Peguan will never journey by land so long as he can go by water; and so addicted are they from their earliest infancy to boat travelling, that the canoe enters into almost all their arrangements. Their cattle are fed out of canoes; their children sleep in them; their vessels of domestic use are canoe-shaped; they travel by land in canoe-shaped carriages; and it may be almost said that their earliest and their latest moments are passed in canoes." The admirable teak timber, produced in such great abundance in the province, enables the people to make more progress in shipbuilding than other nations on that or the neighbouring peninsula. The Arabs of Muscat, who were a maritime people in their prosperity and power, repaired to the coasts of Pegu to build their ships of war, some of which were of considerable size. The commerce now carried on between Bengal and Pegu in teak for shipbuilding is very considerable. Like the neighbouring division of Arracan, Pegu is wonderfully productive, and promises to be one of the most valuable territories under the British Indian government. While under the dominion of Birmah, no brick buildings were allowed to be reared, except for the use of the government, or for the worship of Buddha. The efforts of Christian missionaries, especially from the United States of America, for the propagation of the gospel and the education of the people, especially the rising female generation, have been crowned with success.* The language of Pegu is called Mon; it is a very ancient language. The Birmese and Siamese deny that it has any affinity to theirs. Its roots are monosyllabic. The British have found northern Pegu a more healthy climate than any other part of that peninsula. During our conflicts with Birmah, troops that had sickened in the neighbourhood of Rangoon rapidly recovered their health when stationed at Prome, and on other portions of the Peguan coast.

Pegu is the modern capital; Prome is alleged to have been the ancient metropolis. The town of Pegu is situated in latitude 17° 40′ north, and longitude 96° 12′ east. It is less than a hundred miles above Rangoon, which was until lately the commercial capital of Birmah. It was at a former period a place of considerable extent. About a century ago the Birmans sacked it, razing every dwelling-house, and carrying away captive its whole population. The public buildings were all destroyed, except the temples, which the conquerors respected. They did not, however, keep them in repair, and the buildings gradually fell to ruins. The pyramid of Shoemadoo was an exception to this. The measurement of this pile is one hundred and sixty-two feet at each side of the base. "The great breadth diminishes abruptly in the shape of a speaking-trumpet. The elevation of the building is three hundred and sixty-one feet. On the top is an iron *tee*, or umbrella, fifty-six feet in circumference, which is gilt. The conqueror intended to gild the whole building, but did not execute his purpose. On the north side of the building are three large bells of good workmanship, suspended near the ground, to announce to the spirit of Gaudma the approach

* See Chapter on Religion, Literature, &c.

of a suppliant, who places his offering, consisting of boiled rice, a plate of sweetmeats, or a cocoa-nut fried in oil, on a bench near the foot of the temple. After it is offered, the devotee seems indifferent what becomes of it, and it is often devoured before his face by crows or dogs, which he never attempts to disturb. Numberless images of Gaudma lie scattered about."* The way in which the vast number of scattered images is accounted for by the writer from whom the foregoing account is taken is very singular, and probably unparalleled in the East or anywhere else. It is substantially as follows:—A devotee purchases an idol; he then procures its consecration by the monks, and leaves it in one of the monasteries at hand, or places it on the open ground, where he leaves it, as regardless of what may happen to it as another worshipper is of the viands which he places there. These images are sometimes valuable, composed of marble which takes a fine polish; sometimes of bone or ivory, and of silver, but never of gold. The monks affirm that the building was begun two thousand three hundred years ago; that it required many generations to complete it, and was a task handed down by successive monarchs to those who inherited their power. There is but little to interest the traveller or the politician at the city of Pegu, except its religious remains.

TENESSERIM is the last of the non-regulation provinces of the Bengal government upon this coast. It lies along the sea-shore, between the southern extremity of Pegu and the isthmus of Krow. It is, therefore, bounded by Pegu, the sea, and the country of Siam. There are not many respects in which it differs from Pegu, either in the character of its people or productions. The climate is warmer, and more moist, although the river-surface is not so great as it is in Pegu or Arracan. The country about Martaban is so similar to that of Pegu, as to come under the descriptions applicable to it. The resources of the narrow strip of country which continues the British possessions from Pegu to the isthmus of Krow are various, and capable of great development. The people possess some of the Siamese characteristics, and the language also. Schools and ministerial instruction are provided extensively by the American board of missions; and the labours of those devout and zealous men, especially in the education of female youth, have been attended with triumphant success.* "The animals of the Tenesserim province differ in few particulars from those of Hindoostan proper. Elephants, tigers, bears, and panthers abound, while species of the rhinoceros, the hare, the rabbit, the porcupine, are also to be met with in considerable numbers. The most interesting and valuable of all the animals of this region is a hardy and swift-footed pony, highly esteemed throughout all parts of India, especially for mountain journeys, where, from their being so sure-footed, they are invaluable. The sheep and goat are rarely met with here, but buffaloes, oxen, and several varieties of the deer are plentiful."

The non-regulation provinces of the Bengal government have received in this chapter as full a notice as our space will allow. It would require a book of larger extent than this History to give so minute a description of these fine regions as might be desirable and useful. The detail here given is, however, sufficiently minute to unfold to the reader the great resources of the noble lands comprehended within the regulation and non-regulation provinces of Bengal and the Agra governments.

## CHAPTER VI.

### GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE DECCAN—PRESIDENCY OF MADRAS—COLLECTORATES AND CITIES.

BEFORE entering into any particular description of Madras, it is necessary to notice one of the great natural divisions of India, called the DECCAN. A portion of it only belongs to Madras; a much larger section of it to Bombay; a very small amount of its territory in the province of Orissa, as already shown, is comprised in Bengal. The largest area of the Deccan is under the control of native princes. By here noticing it as a *natural* division of India, facilities will be afforded in describing the presidencies of Madras and Bombay.

The country south of the Vindaya Mountains receives the designation of "the Deccan."† A portion of this great division of the peninsula is called Southern India, which comprises the whole country south of the Kistna River. The late editor of the *Ceylon*

* Symes.

* See Chapter on Religions, Literature, &c.

† For relative geographical situation see pp. 5, 6.

*Examiner* thus characterises the Deccan:—"The distinguishing feature of the Deccan consists of the lofty ranges of mountains which skirt it on every side; they are named the Northern, Southern, Eastern, and Western Ghauts. The latter skirt the shores of the Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal, at distances varying from one hundred to ten miles, those on the eastern coast being the most remote. Their altitude varies from eight thousand feet downwards. On the southern extremity of the Western Ghauts are the Nilgherry Mountains, stretching eastward, and famed throughout Southern India for their fine climate and fertile tracts of table-land. On this range have been established the sanitary stations of Ootacamund and Dimhutty, where Europeans enjoy the bracing temperature of alpine lands within a few days' journey of Madras. At the northern extremity of the western range, immediately opposite Bombay, are the Mahabalipoora Mountains, rising to a height of five thousand and thirty-six feet, on which the sanitorium of Mahabeleshwar has been established for the benefit of that presidency. The Allygherry Mountains are an offshoot of the Southern Ghauts. In that portion of the Deccan known as Southern India are several independent states. The King of Travancore and the Rajah of Cochin are both allies of the Honourable East India Company, and offer every facility for the prosecution of commercial enterprise in their territories. The Deccan proper comprises all that portion of the peninsula which lies between the valley of the Nerbuddah on the north, and the deep pass known as the Gap of Coimbatore, running from east to west at about 11° north latitude."

A considerable portion of the Deccan proper is under the control of native chiefs or rajahs, protected by the company.

The British possessions in the Deccan, united to all the presidencies, do not comprise at the utmost more than forty-five thousand square miles.

The table-land, which comprises the whole natural division of the Deccan, is fertile. The mountains are generally bare and barren, "except where their spurs form broken valleys, which are covered with extensive forests."

The people who inhabit the whole region bearing the general name of "the Deccan" are chiefly Hindoos, especially those who inhabit the provinces formerly under the Mahratta chiefs. There is a considerable Mohammedan population, especially in the nizam's country; but those of them who are cultivators of the soil have assumed the manners and customs of the Hindoos, so as scarcely to be distinguished from them.

The principal modern sub-divisions of the Deccan proper are the following:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Gundwana. | Beeder. |
| Orissa. | Hyderabad. |
| The Northern Circars. | Aurungabad. |
| Candeish. | Bejapore. |
| Berar. | |

The province of GUNDWANA extends from the eighteenth to the twenty-fifth degree of north latitude. On the north it is bounded by Allahabad and Bahar; on the south, by Berar, Hyderabad, and Orissa; on the east it has Bahar and Orissa; and to the west, Allahabad, Malwah, Candeish, Berar, and Hyderabad. It is about four hundred miles in length, and less than three hundred in breadth. This is the measurement of Gundwana in its most extensive signification, but Gundwana proper is of much smaller extent. Much of the country is wild, and covered with jungle, ruled by petty chiefs, who render imperfect allegiance either to the superior princes or the East India Company, to whom many of them pay a nominal tribute. The region is ill-watered, none of the few rivers that flow through it being navigable within its limits. Its mountains contain the sources of the Nerbuddah and the Sone. Some portions of these hill regions are wilderness, and the inhabitants sunk in the lowest degrees of degradation. No one seems to have thought of them as objects of commiseration or interest in any way except the missionaries, some of whom, from the Church Missionary Society, have gone amongst them, and called the attention of government to their debased condition. Those portions of the province which are at all fertile, or where any form of civilisation has prevailed, have been the scenes for many ages of the most sanguinary conflicts, their history being made up of intrigues of chief against chief, desperate raids from one principality to another, social oppression, and filthy and abominable idolatry. Hardly a page of human history could be darker than that upon which should be recorded the story of these principalities.

The province of ORISSA extends from the eighteenth to the twenty-third degree of north latitude. To the north it is bounded by Bengal; to the south, by the river Godavery; on the east it has the Bay of Bengal; and on the west, the province of Gundwana. Its extent is about four hundred miles, from north-east to south-west, by seventy, the average breadth. About half the province is now British territory, and attached to Bengal, as shown in a previous chapter; the other portion is possessed by tributary zemindars. The

British division lies along the Bay of Bengal; it is fertile and low, but thinly peopled, and celebrated for the temple of Juggernaut, of which an account was given when treating of Bengal. The native division is a territory of hill, rock, forest, and jungle—a wild region, but yields more grain than its scanty population consumes, which is borne down to Bengal.

The NORTHERN CIRCARS extend along the Bay of Bengal from the fifteenth to the twentieth degree of north latitude. They have a coast-line of four hundred and seventy miles, from Mootapilly, their northern extremity, to Malwal, on the borders of the Chilka Lake. They are separated from Hyderabad by low detached hills, which extend to the Godavery; and, north of that stream, from Gundwana, by a range of higher hills. "From hence the chain of hills curves to the eastward, and, with the Chilka Lake, forms a barrier of fifty miles to the north, except a tongue of land between that lake and the sea. Towards the south, the small river Gundegama, which empties itself at Mootapilly, separates the Circars from Oragole and the Carnatic, below the ghauts." The climate of this region is intolerably hot. At the mouth of the Kistna River the glass rises to 110°, remaining for six or eight days at that elevation; and it is related that the heat has been at 112° two hours after sunset. Neither wood nor glass bears this heat—the one warps, and the other flies or cracks. The higher parts of the country are infested by pestilential vapours, and no European can resist them without the imminent risk of "the hill fever," which also carries off great numbers of the natives. The Circars are very productive of grain, and were formerly the granaries of the Carnatic. Bay-salt and tobacco, both of superior quality, are exported largely. The forests produce excellent teak-trees, rivalling those of Pegu. A considerable commerce is carried on with the city of Madras and with the island of Ceylon. The population are chiefly Hindoos, but there is a sprinkling of Mohammedans among them. Vizagapatam is a district of the Circars, and is classed for governmental purposes as one of the non-regulation provinces of the Madras presidency. Masulipatam, one of the regulation provinces of Madras, is included in the Circars; also Guntore.

CANDEISH is a province of the Deccan attached to the Bombay government. It is one of the original Mahratta provinces, a large portion of it having been, with the adjoining province of Malwah, divided between Holkar, Scindiah, and the Peishwa. The whole country is excessively wild, and inhabited by an insubordinate people: it is one of the least prosperous districts of India under regular government.

BERAR is a province of the Deccan between the nineteenth and twenty-first degree of north latitude, bounded on the north by Candeish and Malwah, on the south by Aurungabad and Beeder, on the east by Gundwana, and on the west by Candeish and Aurungabad. The soil is that called the black cotton soil, and is here, as elsewhere, very prolific. Corn, peas, beans, vetches, flax, &c., are grown in abundance. The Nagpore wheat used to be considered the best in India. Under the government of "the nizam," the country was much oppressed and impoverished, and its population remained far beneath what it was calculated to support. The whole region suffered from the most appalling famines, partly from natural causes, but chiefly through misgovernment.

BEEDER is a province of the Deccan, well known as a portion of the nizam's dominions, which shared the general fate of misgovernment.

The province of HYDERABAD is situated between the tenth and the nineteenth degrees of north latitude: it measures two hundred and eighty miles by one hundred and ten. It is a productive country, well watered, and yielding fine wheat. Its rivers are not navigable, and this circumstance checks the production of many commodities suitable for export. The people of influence are chiefly Mohammedans. The capital is devoid of interest, although relatively a place of some importance.

AURUNGABAD is a province lying between the eighteenth and twenty-first degrees of north latitude, bounded on the north by Gujerat, Candeish, and Berar; on the south by Bejapore and Beeder; on the east by Berar and Hyderabad; and on the west by the Indian Ocean. This province is also known by the name of Ahmednuggur, and is one of the regulation provinces of the Bombay presidency, within which the Bombay capital is situated. It will be more particularly noticed under the head of that presidency.

BEJAPORE lies to the south of the province previously named. There is nothing to distinguish it from other provinces of the Deccan that requires a general description in this place. Sattara, now a non-regulation province of the Bombay presidency, lies within this province. The deposition of the Rajah of Sattara made much noise in England, in consequence of the eloquent advocacy of his interests by George Thompson, Esq.

The forenamed territories belong to the Deccan proper. The other portions of the country to which the general name is applied

are comprehended in the natural division which many geographers adopt—Southern India, or India south of the Kistna River. The purposes for which a general view of the Deccan was introduced being answered, it is unnecessary to give a description of the provinces lying in this portion of the peninsula, except under their proper presidential arrangement.

The presidency of Madras comprehends a large portion of Southern India. It is under the jurisdiction of the governor and council of Madras. It extends along the east coast to the confines of Bengal, and along the south-west coast to the limits of Bombay.

The following lists will show the military stations occupied by the Madras army, the collectorates into which, for purposes of government and revenue, it is divided, and the zillahs (local divisions):—

MILITARY STATIONS.

| | |
|---|---|
| Arcot. | Nagpore, or Kamptee. |
| Arnee. | Noagaum. |
| Bellary. | Ootacamund. |
| Bangalore. | Palaverem. |
| Berhampore. | Pallamcottah. |
| Cannanore. | Paulgautcherry. |
| Cicacole. | Poonamalee. |
| Cuddapah. | Quilon. |
| Dindigul. | Russell Koonda. |
| Ellore. | Samulcottah. |
| French Rocks, or Yellore. | St. Thomas's Mount. |
| Hurryhurr. | Secunderabad. |
| Jaulnah. | Trichinopoly. |
| Madras, or Fort St. George. | Vizagapatam. |
| Moulmeyn (Birmah). | Vizianagram. |
| Mangalore. | Vellore. |
| Masulipatam. | Wallajabad. |
| Muddakayray. | |

COLLECTORATES.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Arcot, { North, C., S.C. / South, C., S.C. | Malabar, C., S.C. |
| Bellary, C., S.C. | Masulipatam, C. |
| Cuddapah, C., S.C. | Nellore and Ongole, C., S.C. |
| Chingleput, C. | Rajahmundry, C. |
| Coimbatore, C., S.C. | Salem, C., S.C. |
| Canara, C., 2 S.Cs. | Tanjore, C., S.C. |
| Gangam, C., S.C. | Tinnivelly, C., S.C. |
| Guntore, C. | Trichinopoly, C. |
| Madras, 4 Cs. | Vizagapatam, C., S.C. |
| Madura, C., S.C. | |

ZILLAHS.

| NORTH DIVISION. | WEST DIVISION. |
|---|---|
| Cicacole, J., R. | Calient, 2 Js., R. |
| Nellore, J., R. | Canara. |
| Rajahmundry, J., R. | Mangalore, 3 Js., R. |
| **CENTRE DIVISION.** | **SOUTH DIVISION.** |
| Bellary, J., R. | Combacorum, J., R. |
| Chingleput, 2 Js., R. | Madura, 2 Js., R. |
| Chittore, J., R. | Salem, 3 Js., R. |
| Cuddapah, 2 Js., R. | |

* C. denotes collector; D.C. deputy-collector; S.C. sub collector; J. judge; R. recorder.

The territories of Madras, regarded generally, are a rich and valuable department of the British dominions; but the provinces comprised in this division are not so prolific as those of the Gangetic valley. It is a region which severely tries European constitutions, at some periods of the year especially. A gentleman, well acquainted with all the presidencies, thus describes its climate:—"The Madras seasons and temperature differ from those of the other presidencies. January and February are the coldest months of the year: the thermometer ranges between 75° and 78°. Rain falls in slight showers continually, leaving a deposit of fractions of an inch. From March to June the range is between 76° and 87°. In July the rains commence, and the thermometer then falls to 84°. It retains that position, with very little deviation, through August, and about four inches of rain fall. In September the thermometer falls to 83°, and the rain increases. In October the clouds begin to assume a more dense appearance than heretofore; the thermometer declines to an average of 81°, and the rainy season fairly commences, just as it has terminated at the other presidencies. During November the rains fall very heavily, not less than fourteen inches being deposited. The thermometer falls to 75° in December, and the rains abate. Of course every scheme that human ingenuity can devise to mitigate the discomfort of heat is resorted to. The punkah is continually kept swinging over the head of the European; the window-blinds of the houses are closed to exclude as much light as may be consistent with convenience; matting of fragrant grass is placed at doors and windows, and continually watered; and every possible attention is paid by the prudent to clothing and to diet. From November to March woollen clothes may be worn with advantage: during the rest of the year everybody is clad in white cotton. No one ventures into the sun without parasols of a broad and shady form, or in palankeens roofed with tuskas. Nevertheless, the European constitution is exposed to the attacks of many diseases. Fevers, dysentery, affections of the liver, cholera morbus, and rheumatism, are common; and there are numerous minor disorders, the effect of climate acting upon a slight or an excessively robust system, which few can escape. These latter consist of a troublesome cutaneous eruption, called prickly heat, boils, and ulcers. Boils grow to a large size, are excessively painful and disturbing, and the lancet is often necessary to the relief of the patient. Constipation is also a common complaint, needing exercise and stimulating medicines."

A very large region of the Madras territory is called the CARNATIC, containing the districts of Nellore and Ongode, North Arcot, South Arcot, Chingleput, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Dindigul and Madura, and Tinnivelly. The Carnatic was an ancient Hindoo geographical division, which comprised the high table-land of Southern India situated above the Ghauts. By degrees the name became applied to the lower country extending to the sea-coast, and ultimately became confined to the country below the Ghauts, known now as the Carnatic and Canara. In remote periods of the history of India, the greater part of the south of India was comprehended in a powerful empire bearing the name of the "Kamata." The common Canara, or Kamataca, character and language are used by the people in all that region from Coimbatore north to Balky near Beeder, and between the eastern and western Ghauts across the peninsula. The Zelinga Mahratta and Kamataca (or Camataca) are all used in the neighbourhood of Beeder.

The province of CANARA is a collectorate under the modern arrangements of the Madras government. It extends from the twelfth to the fifteenth degree of north latitude, and is bounded to the north by Goa and the district of Gunduck, in Bejapore, on the south by the Malabar, on the south-east by Mysore and Balaghaut, and on the west by the sea. This region is not known to the natives by the name we give it, nor did it at any past period in Indian history obtain that name. Geographically, it is divided into north and south. The Western Ghauts approach the sea in several places, and in others rocky prominences branch off from the ghauts seaward. This configuration of country sometimes gives an impression of wildness, and sometimes of grandeur. It causes great ruggedness of surface, impeding in many directions the transport of articles of commerce, which circumstance compels the extensive use of manual labour, the peasantry carrying very heavy burdens upon their heads. Where tolerable roads exist, they are inferior to those in Malabar. The government does not appear to be blameworthy in this matter, as the peasantry use the water-courses for purposes of trade; the government would alone be benefited by good military roads. Villages are not numerous in Canara. The people, as in Malabar, live in their own homesteads, on the ground they cultivate; their abodes are humble, often wretched, but generally shaded by trees, in consequence of the intense heat, so that the miserable character of the habitations is concealed in great measure from the eye of the traveller. The people are, however, more comfortable in circumstances than their dwellings would indicate, being generally proprietors of the land they till, and this seems to have been the case from very remote periods. This is a very different condition of things from what generally exists in India, where the land belongs to villages or communities; in Canara, as in England, it is the property of the individual. There are, however, tenants-at-will and lessees, and sometimes suits-at-law and bitter personal feuds arise out of the processes of letting and sub-letting, similar to what so extensively prevail in Ireland. None of the raw materials necessary for manufactures are produced in any considerable quantities throughout this province. Its staple commodity is rice; the ample rains and warm sun cause immense crops; and Canara is a great mart for rice grain to Arabia, Bombay, Goa, and Malabar. North Canara produces sandal-wood, sugar-cane, teak, cinnamon, nutmegs, pepper, and terra japonica. South Canara produces cocoa-nut, the calophyllum mophyllum, from the seed of which the common lamp-oil is pressed out, terra japonica, and teak. In this section of the province oxen and buffaloes are valuable. Generally it is rocky, and covered with low woods. The people of the interior of the province belong to a caste bearing the local designation of Buntar. The sea-coast is studded with villages of Brahmins. "Between Tellecheny and Onore there are five different nations, who, although mixed together from time immemorial, still preserve their distinct languages, character, and national spirit. These are the Nairs, the Coorga, the Tulavas, the Concanies, and the Canarese."* The proportion of the different religions has been thus estimated:—The Jains and Buddhists are few, the latter especially; the native Christians are in considerable numbers—one-fifth of the Mohammedan population, which is about one third of the Brahminical. The Brahmins of Canara are more tolerant to the Mohammedans than the latter are to them, or to any other sect; but both Brahmin and Mohammedan are intensely bigoted and superstitious—all honour, truth, and principle, seem to be expelled from the hearts of the people by their bigotry. The following is a curious exemplification of the way in which they sacrifice truth in matters of fact to their prejudices:—"A Brahmin of Canara, who had written a narrative of the capture of Seringapatam by General Harris, although he knew it happened on a Saturday, yet, because Saturday is an unlucky day, altered the date to Monday in his history."† He was un-

* Dubois. † Buchanan.

willing to let it appear that any prosperous event could happen on a day pronounced by Brahminical superstition to be unlucky, and, to save Brahminical credit, falsified the chronology. This circumstance shows how difficult it is to rely on the truth or accuracy of native historians, or, indeed, of native witnesses to anything.

The town of Carwar, about fifty-six miles south-east from Goa, is one of the most considerable in the province. Having early been the seat of an English factory, its trade was stimulated. The Jains were formerly possessors of the land, and under their more sensible judgment of temporal affairs the neighbourhood flourished; but they were extirpated, or nearly so, by the Brahmins, who resorted to assassination, as well as open attack, to rid the country of the hated sectaries.

The isle of Angediva (Andgadwipa) is about two miles from the coast; it is only a mile in circumference.

Marjsow is in the northern section of the province. Some writers have described it as the ancient Meesiris, "from whence they exported a variety of silk stuffs, rich perfumes, tortoiseshells, different kinds of transparent gems, especially diamonds, and large quantities of pepper." * Pepper is still abundant in that neighbourhood; all the precious articles have disappeared from its productions and its commerce, if ever they pertained to either, which is very questionable. Dr. Robertson's statements of this kind are frequently conjectures, having little basis in probability.

The seaport of Onore is a place of some little traffic; it was once an *entrepôt* of commerce.

Along the sea coast, from Cavai to Urigara, South Canara,† a sept of Mohammedans, called Moplahs, reside, the interior being inhabited by the Nairs. The Nairs belong properly to no caste, although generally spoken of as a distinct class, and are heathens, involved in utter darkness as to all religions. The Moplahs believe it a work of great merit in the eyes of the Prophet to catch a Nair, and circumcise him by violence, if he will not become a proselyte to Mohammed by persuasion. The persecutions of the Moplahs were not confined to the timid and unresisting Nairs; Brahmins, Jains, and native Christians, endured the most brutal injuries at their hands. Their sanguinary propensities were carried out against Europeans also. This fanatical sept seems to exist under different names in different parts of India. At Malabar a sect of Mohammedans sprang up, known in Europe as Wahabees, and such as in Bengal is professed by the Ferazees of Dacca, Baraset, and Furreedpore. These men, forming themselves into a secret society, with branches, went out singly or in bands, murdered rich and peaceable Hindoos and others *on religious grounds;* they then not unfrequently retired into some temple, and resisted the authorities until captured or slain, always selling their lives as dearly as they could, that as many as possible of the infidels might perish with them. The ordinary laws failed to put a stop to the murders thus perpetrated, and the administrators of the law were delicate of passing constitutional bounds, which would be regarded with jealousy at home; but the evil continued, and even increased, until a measure was enacted called "the law of the suspect." By this enactment all Dacoits and Moplahs under reasonable suspicion are arrested; and if they resist the law their property is confiscated, and they are otherwise dealt with, so as to act upon the superstitions of the people, and detect the crime.

In the south section of Canara the number of females born is much greater than that of males. In Southern India generally there is a similar disparity between the sexes, but it seems to obtain more in South Canara than elsewhere.

In this division, also, in spite of the most malignant persecutions on the part of both Brahmins and Mohammedans, the Jains continue to maintain a considerable footing. They are more numerous here than anywhere else in the peninsula. They have two sorts of temples in South Canara; one is covered with a roof, the other open to the heavens. In the open temples images of colossal size, representing a particular saint, are set up. At Carculla there is a very well formed image thirty-eight feet high, and ten feet in thickness, made from a block of granite; it is upwards of four hundred years old.

Mangalore is a seaport of some prosperity; it is beautifully situated. Ten miles up the river is the town of Arcola, of some celebrity, where a colony of Concan Christians settled at the invitation of the Ikeri rajahs.

Hossobetta is another seaport, but not of so much importance as Mangalore. It is remarkable as the residence of a very respectable class of persons, called Concanies—people descended from the natives of Concan. They fled to this neighbourhood from Goa, where they were persecuted by the Portuguese for their reluctance to embrace the teaching of the Jesuits, they professing an ancient type of oriental Christianity.

MALABAR, although not the most extensive collectorate of the Madras presidency, is the

* Dr. Robertson.

† Southern Canara is also called Tulava.

most populous. It extends along the western coast from Cape Comorin to the river Chandragiri, about two hundred miles. Under the direction of the East India Company, Lieutenant Selby, of the Indian navy, surveyed the Malabar coast, 1849–51. He represents the navigation of the coast as dangerous, currents and hidden reefs exposing to constant peril, while frequent storms render this danger more formidable. Writing of the Byramgore reef, called Cheriapiri by the natives, and the Laccadive Islands, he says:—

"The Laccadive islanders frequent these reefs to fish, which they catch in great quantities, and, with the cocoa-nut, is their staple and almost only article of food.

"Chitlac—the northern island of the Laccadive group, south end in latitude 11° 41′ north, and longitude 72° 42′ 30″ east—is a low sandy island, covered with cocoa-nut trees, a mile and a half long, and nearly half a mile broad, and may be seen from a vessel's deck ten miles. On the eastern side it is very steep too, there being no soundings two hundred yards off shore, but is surrounded on the western side with a barrier reef, off which a bank of soundings extends in places to a distance of nearly half a mile, gradually increasing from the edge of the reef to fifteen and twenty fathoms on edge of bank of soundings. Between the reef and island is a lagoon, into which, through a natural channel in the reef, their boats are taken, and where they are completely sheltered. The bottom, a fine sand, with coral patches. The best anchorage is off the south end of the island, in from seven to nine fathoms—coral rock about four hundred yards off shore. The rise and fall of tide we found to be seven feet high-water, full and change, at about ten hours. Chitlac contains a population of about five hundred inhabitants of the Moplah caste. Like all the inhabitants of this group, they are a very poor but inoffensive people, living entirely upon fish and cocoa-nut, the only produce of these islands, with a little rice, which they procure from the coast. They export to the Malabar coast large quantities of raw coir and coir-yarn. This is received from them by the collectors at Cannanore and Mangalore at a fixed rate. It is of a most excellent quality, and much better than that of Malabar. The rope made by the islanders is, for strength and durability, far superior to that which is produced on the coast. From having had the weight of the gale at north, this island must have been on the western extreme of the hurricane, which passed up the Malabar coast in April, 1847. It has, therefore, suffered comparatively little, when the ravages committed at Undewo, and others of the islands lying more to the eastward, are remembered. It lost only about six hundred trees, but this, on an island which counts about three thousand five hundred altogether, was seriously felt, and the inhabitants gratefully remember the assistance rendered them by government at a time when, from the loss of some of their boats, they were in great distress. Water and supplies may be procured here in small quantities, and at a very cheap rate; and we invariably found the natives most civil and obliging.

"Kiltan Island, south end in latitude 11° 27′ 30″ north, and longitude 72° 59′ 40″ east, bears from Chitlac south-east ½ east twenty miles. It is about two miles long by a quarter to half a mile broad, and, like Chitlac, has a barrier reef all round the western side, with good anchorage off both the northern and southern points of the island. Water may be procured here, and, indeed, at all the Laccadive Islands. As, however, it is merely the sea-water filtrated through the coral, it will not keep very long; it may, however, be used with safety, as we filled up both here and at Ameen, and found no ill effects resulting from its use. A few limes may also be obtained. With this exception, it produces nothing but the cocoa-nut; and it is from this island and Chitlac that the best coir is procured, and it would perhaps be worthy the attention of government that, in a late trial made between the rope manufactured at these islands and that from the coast for the naval service, the one from the islands, both in strength and texture, proved very far superior to the other. This island having been nearer by twenty miles to the centre of the hurricane of April, 1847, than Chitlac, has suffered in a much greater degree, and the northern part of the island, where its violence was most felt, has been entirely denuded of trees and vegetation, and on the eastern side, a belt of about one hundred and fifty yards broad,—by the whole length of the island of uprooted trees, and masses of coral rock, thrown up from the steep side of the island,—attests how great must have been the fury of the gale, and violence of the waves. From a measurement which I took of some of these masses, I estimated their weight to be from one to two and a half tons, and many of them are now lying one hundred and fifty yards from the beach, left there by the receding waters. Two thousand trees are said to have been uprooted, and a channel of twenty yards in width, and ten feet deep, now remains to show where, on the gale decreasing, the sea, with which the island had been partially submerged, returned

to its own level. In conclusion, I would only observe that, with respect to the characteristic features of this island, the remarks which I have offered on Chitlac, together with its inhabitants, their mode of life, &c., equally apply here.

"A succession of calms, and much bad weather, during the latter part of the season, prevented our surveying more of these islands than those I have described, but I have no doubt many other dangerous banks not known to us exist."

The Malabar shore is sandy, the plain of sand extending inland about three miles. The low hills which separate the level country from the Western Ghauts are wooded and picturesque, irregularly disposed, and forming, by their groupings, valleys which are fertile and beautiful. The hills themselves are cultivated, the summits being generally level, although the acclivities are steep; but these are productive, and are often cultivated in terraces. The downs near the sea are gracefully sloped, and rich, bearing the cocoa-nut tree in perfection. The rivulets which wind around these hills, as they escape from the ghauts, are innumerable, irrigating the whole country, and in such a way as to refresh the atmosphere and conduce to salubrity. The palm-tree flourishes in the uplands. Black pepper is cultivated in large quantities for export. The land is private property, as in Canara, but held generally on more satisfactory terms by the cultivators. The origin of landed property in this province is lost in the obscurity of a remote antiquity. The moral condition of the heathen portion of the people is of the lowest description; among the Nairs, and even amongst natives of higher position, female virtue is almost unknown, and vice is systematised with public sanction and native law.

There are more native Christians in Malabar than in any other part of India: very many of them belong to a primitive oriental church, and consider themselves to be the disciples of St. Thomas the Apostle. There are several sects who make this claim, but those professing the purest creed are fewest in number; they are supposed in the whole of Malabar to be about forty thousand persons. The Nestorian Christians are more numerous. The primitive sects of Christians in the whole province are supposed to be not less in number than a quarter of a million. The efforts of the Roman Catholic missionaries to win over or to force these native Christians into the communion of the Church of Rome were unceasing during the influence of the Portuguese, and many were detached from the simpler worship of their fathers. The converts of the British Protestant missionaries are considerable in number, and their success, especially in the department of education, is rapidly increasing.

The Malabar villages are picturesque. The Brahmins reside chiefly in these villages: the females of this caste are considered here the most beautiful in India; they are elegant in manner and attire. The animals of this coast, of almost every species, are inferior. The province is well intersected by roads.

COORG is an ancient Hindoo principality situated in the Western Ghauts, and chiefly attached to the province of Malabar. The Cavery has its source in Coorg. In this region the people, although very uncivilised, are much fairer than those of the lower countries: they are as fair as southern Europeans.

On the Malabar coast there are several ports which are important for their commerce, or interesting historically as identified with various European settlements. Cannanore was formerly a Dutch settlement. Tellecherry, about one hundred and twenty-six miles from Seringapatam, was for a long time the chief settlement of the English on that coast, but it declined when the company transferred its settlement to Mahé (*mahi*, a fish).

CALICUT is a sub-division of the Malabar province, and the chief residence of the Nairs. The word *calico*, a name given to cotton cloth, is derived from this place, formerly so celebrated for its manufacture. The moral condition of this district, like that of others where the Nairs predominate, is truly horrible. So perverted is the moral sense of the people, that it is deemed scandalous for a woman to have children by her own husband, with whom she never resides, always taking up her abode with her brother; her children are the offspring of various fathers. The Brahmins generally claim a numerous progeny. In the town of Calicut, which is the capital of the province, the people are chiefly Moplahs. This was a noted Portuguese settlement.

COCHIN (*coch'hi*, a morass) is a native state in charge of a British resident under the Madras government. Description here is unnecessary.

The collectorates of BELLARY and CUDDAPAH are amongst the most populous, but neither possesses features of such distinctive interest as to require separate notice. The diamond mines of Cuddapah have been worked for several hundred years; they are not very valuable, and the diamonds found are very small. They are always obtained in alluvial soil, or in connection with rocks of the most recent formation.

COIMBATORE is a much less populous col-

lectorate than either of the preceding. It is situated above the Eastern Ghauts, but is very unequal in its surface, which consists of a series of uplands and lowlands in great irregularity, generally contributing to its picturesqueness, although sometimes it is simply wild and rude. There is much waste land, which is quite valueless either to the government or the inhabitants, except that the latter annually let loose cattle upon its scanty herbage. The culture of the cultivated portions vies with that of other districts of India. Large and luxuriant rice fields, watered from immense reservoirs, may be seen in every direction where the land is not too elevated and rocky. There are several good towns in the province, as Coimbatore, Caroor, &c.

SALEM is a collectorate nearly of the same area and population as Coimbatore; its general character presents few features which entitle it to separate notice.

The town and fortress of Ryacotta (Raya Cotay) is well situated, being the key of the Carnatic. The country around is very well cultivated, and the climate mild, the glass seldom rising beyond 80°. Cherry, and other English fruit trees that will not bear in the hot climate of southern India, flourish in this particular part.

The town of Sautghur is also well situated, the rocky country around it being picturesque; some of the most splendid trees in southern India spring up from the rugged land. The tamarind and banyan-trees are of great age and size, rendering them objects of interest to botanists. The nabob of the Carnatic had, in the early part of the present century, an immense garden here, which, however, he farmed out to those who were willing to speculate in its produce.

Several large collectorates of the Madras presidency are comprehended in what used to be called the CARNATIC. The northern boundary commences at the southern limit of Guntore, and stretches thence to Cape Comorin—a distance of five hundred miles, the average breadth of the territory being about seventy-five miles. The Northern Carnatic extends from the river Pennar to the river Gundagama on the borders of Guntore. This was once a region over which powerful Indian princes reigned. The Central Carnatic extends from the river Pennar to the Colaroone, containing the collectorate of Trichinopoly, and part of the collectorate of Nellore. It also contains the French settlement of Pondicherry, the presidential capital of Madras, and the collectorate of Arcot. The South Carnatic lies south of the river Colaroone. The British collectorate of Madura, and Tanjore, and part of Trichinopoly, are comprised in this territory. The climate of the whole area of country comprehended under the European designation, "the Carnatic," is extremely hot—the hottest in India. It is, however, tempered by the sea breezes, and by the diversity of the country.

The Carnatic is studded with heathen temples, which are of large dimensions, with very little diversity of architecture; they are generally surrounded by high walls, as if it were intended to conceal the greater portion of the superstructures. Sometimes several temples exist in these enclosures. The religion is Brahminical, but Mohammedanism exists. The number of native Christians is increasing, and is probably not less than one hundred thousand. The people are inferior in physical qualities to the natives of Upper India. The industrial pursuits of the province are chiefly carried on by Sudras, and formerly slaves were the cultivators. The Brahmins disdain to hold the plough, or engage in any work requiring toil; they are clerks or messengers, assist in collecting the revenue, or are keepers of (*choultries*) wayside pilgrims' houses, or resting-places for travellers. These choultries are generally very filthy, but not too much so for native taste; for in spite of their frequent ablutions, the population is not cleanly in its habits. The people take snuff, but, excepting some of the lower castes, who smoke cigars, tobacco smoking is deemed irreligious, and cigars would deprive the Brahmins of caste. Hindoo customs are retained with great purity, even in the vicinage of the city of Madras. Fowls, which only Mohammedans would eat in Bengal, are in the Carnatic eaten by all castes and religionists. By the lower castes asses are used; and some affirm that their milk is drank, and their flesh eaten, by one particular class, which is regarded as outcast. The white ant is a favourite article of food with them.

Madras, the seat of government of Southern India, is situated in the Carnatic, on the shore of the Bay of Bengal, in latitude 13° 5′ north, longitude 80° 21′ east. The shore is here low and dangerous. Its Fort St. George, a place of considerable strength, may be easily defended by a small garrison. The population of Madras and its suburbs in 1836—7 was upwards of four hundred thousand. Madras is eight hundred and seventy miles south-west of Calcutta, and six hundred and fifty south-east of Bombay. The population and extent of this city are supposed to be the greatest in India next to Calcutta, but Benares is alleged by many to have a more numerous population, as well as to cover a

greater area. Madras is certainly the next city to Calcutta in political importance, although not in commercial enterprise or extent of commercial transactions. This deficiency arises from the ineligible site upon which the city stands—probably the most disadvantageous which any sea-board city could well occupy. Travellers and writers upon India are generally lavish in their censures upon the situation, and comparisons unfavourable to the English are drawn in reference to the selection of places for their settlements. The French are more especially commended at the expense of the British in this respect; but at the juncture of the English settlement of Madras there were weighty reasons, even of a commercial nature, which decided their choice.

The landing of passengers at Madras is a matter of considerable difficulty, and attended with some danger. This will be presented more vividly to the reader by the actual observation of modern travellers. One writer, well informed on India, thus describes the mode of landing at Madras, and the inconvenience of the site:—"Landing at Madras is a service of danger. A tremendous surf rolls towards the shore, with so much force at certain seasons of the year, that if the greatest care were not taken by boatmen, their craft must inevitably be swamped. The passage between ships and the shore is effected in large barges, called *Massoolah boats*, rowed by three or four pairs of oars. They have awnings for the purpose of enclosing passengers, who sit deep in the boat. As the boat approaches the land, the boatmen watch the roll of the waves, and, pulling as near to the shore as possible, leap out of the craft, and drag it high and dry before the next breaker can assail it. There is a class of vessel called the *catamaran*, which consists merely of a log or two of wood, across which the boatman, if he may so be called, sits, paddling himself to and fro. If he is capsized, an event which seldom can happen to his primitive vessel, he immediately scrambles on to the catamaran again, and resumes his work. These men, wearing conical caps, are very useful in conveying notes and parcels to passengers when communication by larger boats is impossible."

The commercial correspondent of the *New York Herald* gives the following description of the landing, and his general impressions of the place:—"We anchored in Madras Roads, five days from Calcutta, nearly three of which were passed in getting by the Hoogly, seven hundred and seventy miles. Twenty-four hours at Madras is amply sufficient for the most enthusiastic traveller, unless he is desirous of making excursions to the interior or the other coast. At any rate, the time on shore was all that I required to disgust me with the port. The explorer, the surveyor, or nautical man, or whoever selected the harbour, should have his name painted on a shingle. Is it possible that no better anchorage, no better landing-place, no better port, could be found along the coast? and if not, why was this place chosen? A hundred years and more have passed away since then, and still you have the same facilities. An open roadstead, without the least point of land, or rock, or hill to shelter; no breakwater, no wharf, no pier, no floating-frame, not even a landing-stage. Huge native surf-boats, thirty feet long, and eight feet deep, by as many broad, the timbers bound together with rope and string, without a nail, or bolt, or spike, and manned by eleven naked savages, came alongside to take us ashore—no, I must not say naked, for there is an attempt at costume. You may, perhaps, better understand the difference between the Calcutta and the Madras boatman in that respect, when I mention that the former appears with a small white pocket-handkerchief round about him; the latter contents himself with a twine string. The day was perfectly calm, yet the surf washed over our boat once or twice, and ultimately the black, beggarly natives—I hate the sight of them!—took us on their shoulders to dry land. This is the only contrivance yet introduced for landing or embarking passengers. Our sex can manage it very well, but I pity the women, who have to be carted round like so many bags of clothing. To order a supper at the Clarendon, and a carriage at the stable; to read the latest dates from England, and eat an ice-cream, occupied our time for an hour; and then we started off for a cruise, up one street, and down another; through dirty alleys and clean thoroughfares; visiting the jail, the parade-ground, the place of burning the dead, the railway-station, and the Bentinck monument; stopped a moment to witness the exercises of a Hindoo school; hurried on to the depots, the market-place, and the cathedral; drove some four miles into the country, and returned in time to meet the carriages on their way to the fort, for on Friday evenings the band holds forth. The fort was one of the first built in India. In 1622 the ground was bought of a native prince, and Mr. F. Day claims the honour of erecting the fortress, then named and now known as Fort St. George. Here the French and the English crossed swords so often—both nations alternate masters. At twelve o'clock we fired our guns, and turned our backs upon Madras, a place too barren and cheerless for

even a penal settlement, not to mention it as the residence of a voluntary exile. I would rather be a clerk in England than the head of a department in Madras. Without their semi-monthly mail, life would be insupportable. During the day of our departure we kept the coast in view, but saw nothing but the highlands and sandy plains at their base." This description, as to general appearance, is more accurate than complimentary; it is, however, instructive to mark what the impressions are which intelligent men of other countries receive when they visit our settlements abroad. Perhaps it is especially so where our American cousins are the critics, as there is in their general tone and style great frankness—no wish to flatter us; and if there be some tokens of a desire to find fault, there is at all events a keen acumen, which enables them to discriminate our strong and weak points, and to seize vigorously the peculiarities actually exhibited by our government, commerce, or social life.

The general situation of the town is commanding, occupying the sea-shore. The houses are of white and yellow stucco, with verandahs and Venetian blinds. The sea-shell mortar of Madras makes an efficient and beautiful fronting, but is too dazzling in the vivid light of such a climate. This, taken in connection with the absence of shade, gives a glare to the appearance of the place most oppressive to the eye. The neighbourhood for a considerable distance is studded with tasteful private residences, which are built low, but of a pleasing and appropriate style of architecture. They are situated in what are called *compounds*, surrounded by pleasant gardens, and altogether picturesque and agreeable. Some of these dwellings are delightful, being overshadowed with luxuriant foliage, and surrounded by gardens producing every luxury of the tropics.

The neighbourhood is well supplied with roads. One of these is very spacious and handsome; it is called the Mount Road, because leading to St. Thomas's Mount.

The most striking building is Fort St. George; although less spacious and imposing, as well as less important, than Fort William at Calcutta, it is more convenient, more easily garrisoned, and, on the whole, more efficient for its purposes.

The government house is large, handsome, and impressive, with a great banqueting house attached, in which superb entertainments are frequently given by the governor. The gardens of the nabob formerly intercepted the view of the sea, and otherwise incommoded the site, but this inconvenience has been meliorated.

The Madras club-house is commonly regarded as the best building in the city. "It is a very extensive building, designed for the accommodation of a great number of persons, under admirable regulations, and at a moderate expense. It has entirely superseded the necessity for hotels; such as are to be found here are small, and miserably furnished and attended. A statue to Sir Thomas Munro, formerly governor of Madras, and two statues in honour of the Marquis Cornwallis, attract the attention of visitors; and those who are destined to remain at Madras soon become interested in the great number of useful and charitable institutions with which the town abounds. Among these are the Madras College, the Medical College (which contains one hundred and twenty pupils), the Orphan Asylum, the Mission, Charity, and Free Schools, the Philanthropic and Temperance Associations, the Masonic Lodges, the Moneygar Choultry (a species of *serai*), the private seminaries, the institutions for the education of native females, &c. The churches are numerous at Madras; several excellent newspapers are published; and there are large establishments or shops, where everything that humanity, in its most civilised state, can require is to be had for the money. The prices at which the productions of Europe are sold are by no means high, considering the expense of carriage to India, warehousing, insurance, establishment, the interest of money, &c. Very large fortunes are made in trade in Madras; and it is remarkable that, while Calcutta has experienced a great many vicissitudes, some of which have scattered ruin and desolation throughout society, the Madras houses of business, by a steadier system, have remained unscathed." *

The representations made in the foregoing extract as to the cheapness of the place are not generally borne out by other travellers. Calcutta is a better market both as to variety of supply and the quality and price of commodities. This may partly arise from the commercial competition which is so fiercely maintained in the great Indian metropolis, but it is partly to be attributed to superior local advantages. Fuel is much more plentiful in the capital of Bengal than in that of Southern India. Except for cooking or for steam, it is but little required in either place—less at Madras than Calcutta.

The Black Town stands to the north of the fort, from which it is separated by a spacious esplanade. It is less wretched than the native portion of Calcutta.

Rather more than five miles on the road leading from Fort St. George to St.

* Captain Stocqueler.

Thomas's Mount, there is a cenotaph, erected to the memory of the celebrated nobleman, the Marquis Cornwallis. The drive to that place is very agreeable, the road being "smooth as a bowling green," and planted on either side with white tulip-trees and the luxuriant banyan. It is customary for the fashionable portion of Madras society to drive out to the cenotaph and around it in the cool of the evening, and much social intercourse takes place on those occasions. Mid-day is too hot for persons to appear out of doors, except as necessity may dictate, and the fore-noon is much occupied in visits from house to house.

The country around Madras, although not devoid of a certain picturesque effect, is sterile and uninviting. Good rice crops are obtained when the season is blessed with abundance of rain. The cattle are of the species common in the Deccan—small, but better than those reared in the southern portions of the Bengal presidency. The buffaloes are smaller than those of the last-named province, but are strong, and draw well in carts, for which purpose they are extensively used.

An observer would be necessarily struck with the apparent encroachment of the sea on the Madras shore, but nature has provided against this by the sand-binding plants which abound, and fix the loose soil along the shore. About two years ago the military board had its attention directed to the encroachments of the tide, and gave orders to have the condition of the south beach examined between the saluting battery and St. Thomé; and the report was interesting, as showing the processes of these plants in retarding the advance of the ever-surging sea. The roots and stems of that class of shore-grown weeds shoot out in quest of nourishment to a great extent, and in doing so become interlaced, so as to form a sort of basket-work, by which the sand is held up as a barrier against the waters. "If it were not for the subterranean stems of these sea-side plants, which can vegetate amidst dry and shifting sand, the banks which man heaps up as a barrier would be blown away by the first hurricane."* This subject has been since more investigated, and it appears that the encroachments of the ocean on some portions of the Madras beach arise from the fact of these sand-binders, especially the *ground rattan*, being burnt by the fishermen, as the weed impedes the spreading of their nets, and the spiny leaves injure their naked feet.† It is proposed to plant other specimens less objectionable to the men who fish on the coasts, and equally capable of resisting the landward wave.

In the domestic life of the people of Madras they are well supplied with servants—the men being generally Hindoos, the women native Portuguese.

The French from Pondicherry frequently visit Madras with fancy-work, displaying the taste of the lapidary, jeweller, and artificial flower-maker. Mohammedan pedlars offer tempting bargains of moco stones, petrified tamarind wood, garnets, coral, mock amber, and trinkets, which are sometimes curious and valuable, and often meretricious.

The collectorate of NELLORE is noticeable for the manufacture of salt. The town of Nellore is only remarkable for the frequent and obstinate defences which it has made. It is related by an old writer,* that in 1787 a peasant, while guiding his plough, was obstructed by a portion of brick, and digging down, discovered the ruins of a temple, and beneath them a pot of gold coins of the Roman emperors. Most of these were sold by him, and melted, but some were reserved, and proved to be of the purest gold; many of them were fresh and beautiful, but others were defaced and perforated, as if they had been worn as ornaments. They were mostly of the reigns of Trajan, Adrian, and Faustimas.

The collectorate of NORTH ARCOT was once famous for its Mohammedan influence, especially its Mussulman capital, bearing the same name, and the fortress of Chandgherry (Chandraghiri), built on the summit of a stupendous rock, with a fortified city beneath.

One of the most remarkable places in Arcot, the Carnatic, or, indeed, the Madras presidency, is Tripetty. The most celebrated Hindoo temple south of the Kistna River is at that place. It is erected in an elevated basin, completely surrounded by hills; and it is alleged that neither Mussulman nor Christian feet have ever profaned the inner circle of these hills. The Brahmins secured this immunity by paying to their Mohammedan, and afterwards to their European rulers, a certain portion of the revenue derived from the idolatrous worship and pilgrimages to the holy place; for although both the Mohammedan conquerors of India and British Christians are decided iconoclasts, yet both found it possible to reconcile conscience to the receipt of such a tax. In 1758 the revenue thus derived by the government amounted to £30,000 sterling. Since then it considerably declined, and in 1811 was not quite £20,000 sterling; it afterwards fluctuated, but never attained the magnitude of its earlier years. Vast

* Hugh Cleghorn, M.D.

† *Journal of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India.*

* Orme.

numbers of pilgrims visit the place from most parts of India, bringing offerings of every conceivable character — animals of various species, horses, cows, buffaloes, and elephants; fruits, grain, silk, calico; gold, silver, and jewels; exquisitely wrought garments, and ornaments of the precious metals, &c. Even tribute is paid to the idols from regions as far as Gujerat. The deity presiding is supposed to be propitious to commerce when duly honoured. Several thousands of sacred persons are supported in luxury, and a crowd of artificers, labourers, and servants, by the offerings presented. The impostures practised are as shameless as the ceremonies of the religious services are reported to be absurd and vile.

SOUTH ARCOT differs little in character from the collectorate just described. In it the French settlement of Pondicherry is properly comprised, but not being a portion of British India, will not be described here.

CHINGLEPUT is the smallest and least populous collectorate in the Madras presidency; it is also the most ancient possession of the company in the Carnatic. To the north it is bounded by the Nellore district; on the south, by the southern collectorate of Arcot; on the east, by the Bay of Bengal; and on the west, by Northern and Southern Arcot. The soil is generally hard and ungrateful; low prickly bushes cover a large area, and huge crags of granite project in the fields, around which cultivation is carried. The palmyra grows well upon this soil, which is too dry to produce rice or good cereal crops. The wild date flourishes in some places. The whole district was formerly known by the name of the Jaghire.

In this collectorate the city of Conjeveram (*cauchipura*, the golden city) is of some interest. It is not fifty miles from Madras. This town is built in a valley of six or seven miles in extent. The whole valley is populous. The city itself also contains a considerable population. The streets are broad, and well constructed, unlike the native cities of Central, Northern, and North-western India. Planted with cocoa-nut trees and bastard cedars, shade is afforded, which is refreshing in the bright hot climate. An air of beauty and taste is also imparted, especially as the width of the streets gives space for the trees to flourish. The streets cross one another at right angles, so that from the places of intersection the long rows of cocoa-nut trees and cedars present a beautiful aspect, such as few cities can boast. Round the whole town is a bound hedge, formed chiefly of the *Ogave Americana*. The small river Wagawatty winds round the western portion of the town, adding to its beauty, while it conduces to the fertility of the whole vale. Formerly this town was noted for its manufactures: the weavers were reputed for their skill and taste all over Southern India. Cloths adapted to native wear, turbans, and red India handkerchiefs, were here made for many years, but British imports at Madras have nearly extinguished the native manufacturers of Conjeveram. The great pagoda is of some celebrity, resembling that of Tanjore. On the left, upon entering, there is a large edifice, like a "choultry," which is said to contain a thousand pillars. Hindoo deities are wrought upon them with artistic effect; some of the pillars are covered with this description of work. The sides of the steps leading up to it are formed by two large elephants drawing a car. The second court is held in such superior sanctity, that Europeans or native dissidents from Brahminism are not permitted to enter it. From the top of the great gateway the view is exceedingly beautiful—wood and water, hill and vale, the city and landscape, are spread out before the eye, and in the background a range of stupendous mountains bound the scene.

The town of St. Thomé is situated within three miles of Madras, in a fine plain, the sea washing up into a bay, at the head of which the place is built. The plain behind the town is covered with cocoa-nut trees, which retain their verdure throughout the year. The inhabitants are Hindoos and Roman Catholics. There are also Nestorians and Chaldean Christians, who were formerly numerous, but decreased under the persecutions of the Portuguese. The Roman Catholic portion of the population is descended from intermarriages of the natives and Portuguese settlers, and are blacker in complexion than any other class of the inhabitants. The Hindoos call the town Mailapuram, or the city of peacocks. This little town has been rendered remarkable in connection with its frequent change of masters. The English captured it in consequence of the Roman Catholic priests and people having given secret information of their movements to the French at Pondicherry.* This occurred in 1749, since which time it has remained in possession of the English.

Mahabalipuram is a ruined town of great antiquity, thirty-five miles south of Madras, on the coast. The name means the city of the great Bali, who was very famous in Hindoo tales. The town is also called "the seven pagodas;" there are not now that number there, but probably were when it obtained that designation. The Brahmins

* Orme.

say that the sea now covers the ancient site of Mahabalipuram, which all native tradition represents to have been a city of vast extent and grandeur. The remains at present there are most curious, affording to the beholder the idea of a petrified town. A large rock-hill is covered with Hindoo inscriptions representing the stories of the *Maha Bharrat*. Near the sea there is an isolated rock of enormous dimensions, out of which a pagoda has been cut; the outside is covered with basso-relievo sculptures. On ascending the hill, there is a temple cut out of the rock, upon the walls of which are idols, also in basso-relievo. On another portion of this vast hill of rock, there is an immense figure, representing Vishnu asleep on a bed, with a large snake* wound round in many coils as a pillow. All the figures are hewn in the rock. A mile and a half to the southward of this hill are two pagodas, cut in the solid rock, each consisting of one single stone. Near to them is the figure of an elephant as large as life, and of a lion larger than the natural size. Mr. Hamilton, quoting Lord Valentia, says that the whole appear to have been rent by some convulsion of nature before the work of the contractors was entirely finished. In the same neighbourhood, nearer to the sea by about one hundred and fifty yards, is "a pagoda, upon which is the lingam, and dedicated to Siva."

TANJORE is a collectorate in which, although the extent is not comparatively great, the population is very numerous. Malabar, Cuddapah, and Bellary, of all the Madras collectorates, only contain a population of such numbers, and these exceed it by very little; it may even be doubted whether they do exceed it in the numbers of their inhabitants. It is extremely well cultivated, and yields in abundance all the productions of Southern India. It is remarkable for the number of its heathen temples, and their rich endowments; notwithstanding which, the British government contributed largely for the support of heathenism in the district! Indeed, wherever heathenism is rich and influential, there the largest endowments have been given by the government! This province was also remarkable for the number of its Suttees.

Tanjore is the capital. It is notable as containing a pagoda, which is regarded as the finest specimen of pyramidical architecture in India. Within this pyramid is the celebrated black bull, carved from a block of marble, and admirably executed. From one of the cavaliers a splendid prospect is afforded; the town, temples, pagodas, forts, rice-fields, woods, and lofty mountains, form a rich landscape.

* The many-headed serpent Amantis, or Eternity.

Combooconum is a town about twenty-three miles from Tanjore; it was the capital of the ancient Chola dynasty, and numerous remains attest its pristine splendour. Temples and pagodas are numerous, and the Brahmins make it one of the centres of their influence. There is a lake which, in Brahmin esteem, is composed of holy water; its virtues are always great, but every twelfth year it is supposed to overflow with healing and sanctifying efficacy, curing diseases, and washing sinners from the stains and defilements of all previous transmigrations. As may be conceived, when the periods of extraordinary efficacy occurs, multitudes of the diseased and conscience-stricken press thither in the hope of relief from its waters; and great numbers go away so free from sin in their own opinions, that they can with the less peril incur a very large amount to their future discredit, until the lake of expiation is again sought for its purification.

The town of Tranquebar is well known to Europeans, as having been a prosperous Danish settlement, until it was wrested from that power by the hand of England. It would appear that it was better governed by the Danes than it has ever since been. It is about one hundred and fifty miles from Madras.

The collectorate of TRICHINOPOLY does not need especial description. The island of Seringham, in the river Cavery, is very remarkable for its sacred buildings.* The Seringham pagoda is composed of seven square enclosures, the walls of which are twenty-five feet high, and four thick. These enclosures are three hundred and sixty feet distant from each other, and each has four large gates, with a high tower, which are placed in the middle of each side of the enclosure, and opposite to the four cardinal points. The outward wall is nearly four miles in circumference; and its gateway to the south is ornamented with pillars, several of which are single stones, thirty-three feet long, and five feet in diameter. Those which form the roof are still larger. In the innermost enclosures are the chapels. There is another pagoda of less importance in the island. The Brahmins are numerous and rich, and live in the greatest voluptuousness.

MADURA collectorate does not require a separate notice. The city of the same name, and capital of the collectorate, is mean, filthy, miserable, and unhealthy, lying low as compared with the surrounding country: it is, however, noted for its temple, called Pahlary, consecrated to the god Velleyadah. To this god the worshippers bring singular

* Orme.

offerings, consisting of immense leather shoes, often profusely ornamented in the oriental style of slipper decoration. The explanation is, that the deity is always out hunting, and, as the jungles abounding in the neighbourhood might hurt his feet, his admiring disciples present him with these appropriate gifts. This place is about three hundred miles from Madras.

Opposite the coast between it and the Island of Ceylon is the sacred Isle of Rameseram (*Rameswaram*, the Pillar of Ram). This island is about eleven miles long and six broad.* A very celebrated pagoda, alleged to be of remote antiquity, has its site on the island. The entrance is by a lofty gateway, one hundred feet high, covered with carved work to the summit. The door is forty feet high, consisting of perpendicular stones, with horizontal stones of a similar description, the style resembling what is termed the Cyclopean. The square of the whole is about six hundred feet, and it has been regarded as one of the finest structures of the kind in India.† A large revenue is derived from what the worshippers of the idol call his drink. This consists of the water of the Ganges, which is brought this great distance at considerable expense, and is poured over him every morning; but the cost is sustained, and great profit acquired, by selling this water to devout persons. The sacred isle is guarded by a family named the Pandaram, the males of which are celibates, the succession of guardians being found in the descendants of its female members.

The collectorate of TINNIVELLY may be briefly described. The coast is remarkable only for its salt marshes. The interior is picturesque, and the climate peculiar, formed by the positions of the hills, and the exposure of the land, over a considerable extent, to both monsoons.

The remaining portions of the Madras presidency, with its non-regulation provinces, are so much in character with the collectorates described, as not to require any distinct notice; especially as places thus passed over have sometimes an historic interest connected with the progress of British conquest, which will bring them again upon the pages of this History.

## CHAPTER VII.

### DISTRICTS AND CITIES—THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

In the last chapter the portion of India historically known as the Deccan received a general description: a small portion of it belonging to Bengal, a larger portion to Madras, and a still greater extent of its territory included in Bombay, it appeared expedient to define and describe that region before giving a detailed account of the Madras and Bombay presidencies, as in the historical portion of the work frequent mention must be made of the Deccan. On page 27, the collectorates and non-regulation provinces into which Bombay is divided for purposes of government are named. It is the smallest of the three presidencies, nor has it many large towns or cities. The principal seaports are Surat, Baroch, Cambay, Bhawnuggur, Gogo, Poorbunder, and Mandavie, in Cutch. From these the best seamen of India are procured, especially along the west side of the Gulf of Cambay. The small islands of Salsette and Oorum, and the little strip of land attached to Forts Victoria and Vingula, in the Concan, furnish native vessels and native sailors of superior quality. The only naval force in the possession of the East India Company is stationed at Bombay—partly from the facility of obtaining naval supplies there in men and material, and partly from the influence of a navy in the Arabian Sea. It is watered by the Nerbuddah, Tapty, Mahee, Mahindry, and various smaller rivers, which empty themselves into the Gulf of Cambay and the Indian Ocean. The Indus also flows through the non-regulation province of Scinde, where its mouths discharge its voluminous waters into the sea. The commerce of Bombay is very considerable with Arabia, and up the Sea of Oman and the Persian Gulf. The military stations are Ahmedabad, Ahmednuggur, Asserghur, Balmeer, Baroda, Belgaum, Baroch, Bhoog, Bombay, Dapoodie, Darwhar, Deeza, Duruganam, Hyderabad, Hursole, Kadra, Kirkee, Kurrachee, Kulladghee, Malligaum, Lackhann, Bukkur, Poonah, Ranjcote, Sattara, Surat, Seroer, Shikapore.

The capital of the presidency is the city of Bombay: it is situated on a rocky island lying on the west coast of Hindoostan, in latitude 18° 56′ north, and longitude 72° 57′ east. There were originally some hilly islets, but these, by the influence of the high tides, have been joined to each other, and now the island is composed principally of two unequal ranges

* Ward. † Lord Valentia.

of whinstone rocks, extending from five to eight miles in length, and at the distance of about three miles from each other. Bombay is the most unhealthy of the presidencies. The Fort of Bombay is situated at the south-east extremity of the island, on a narrow neck of land. Cotton is the principal article of export. The population is about two hundred and fifty thousand, composed of Christians, Jews, Mohammedans, Hindoos, and Parsees. Bombay is one thousand and forty miles west by south of Calcutta, and six hundred and twenty-five from Madras. The electric telegraph is complete to Madras, Calcutta, and Lahore. As a great centre of telegraphic and railway communication, Bombay is likely to hold an important place in the future of India. In an amusing but useful work, entitled *Young America Abroad*, the following opinions are given on this subject:—"You will be surprised to learn that India, during the last two years, bids fair to keep pace with the United States in the magnetic wire. Dr. O'Shaughnessy is the Professor Morse of India. With the powerful machinery at his command as a servant of the company, he has distinguished himself by his energy and his works. I am glad to find him a fellow-passenger *en route* for home, with a view of running the wire from England to India—an undertaking which, no doubt, will shortly be accomplished, judging from what has been done. The first wire, he tells me, was extended November 1st, 1853. Twenty parties of workmen (soldiers) left Calcutta and Bombay, under English leaders, and in March, 1854, the offices were opened at the half-way station of Agra; and, by the middle of June, the first message went through to Bombay, a distance of sixteen hundred miles; since which lines have been established from Bombay to Madras, eight hundred miles; from Agra to Peshawur, on the borders of Affghanistan, connecting the populous cities of Delhi, Lahore, and Attock, on the Indus, some eight hundred miles; besides a line, two hundred miles, from Rangoon to Prome and Meaday, connecting the seaport with the frontier of Ava; and other smaller lines, making a total of some four thousand miles in two years' time. In less than five years ten thousand miles of electric wire will connect the chief points of the Indian empire, says the doctor. No. 1 galvinised wire, about half a mile to the ton, would give an aggregate of two thousand tons. The original posts were made of cheap wood, but subsequently iron-wood from Birmah, solid granite posts, brick-and-mortar doors, and iron screw posts are those used; the cost is about two hundred and fifty dollars per mile. The wires are about sixteen feet from the ground, sufficiently high to allow a loaded elephant to pass under. About thirty miles of submarine wires, costing one thousand dollars per mile, have been laid down across the rivers. About three hundred manipulators are employed, and two hundred more servants, making a staff of five hundred men. There are seventy offices already erected, in charge of Europeans and half-castes. The great difficulty, however, has been in procuring proper workmen; and Dr. O'Shaughnessy purposes visiting the States before returning to India, in order to procure a staff of American managers. There are no double lines laid down, nor will there be. The annual cost of the establishment is one hundred and fifty thousand dollars. The only paying line will be that between Bombay and Calcutta, where one-third of the despatches are sent by natives. The object of the government in establishing such an agency throughout their wide extent of empire is, of course, to increase their political and military power, for the enterprise as an investment would prove disastrous. An instance of its advantage was noticed at the recent annexation of Oude. A few hours after the despatch arrived from the home government, giving consent, the council met, troops were on the way, orders were given, and Oude was a part of the British empire—all done by the lightning's flash. In times of war it must be of vast importance, until the native enemies learn to cut the wire, as speculators did when the Cunard steamers touched at Halifax. Railways do not progress so rapidly, yet something has been done in that way; and a guarantee of five per cent. interest on the outlay for the enterprise is made by the honourable company; but who is to make up the loss between the annual expenditure and the annual receipts? for profit and loss will be charged for many years with a serious balance. R. M. Stephenson, the railway king of India, is also a fellow-passenger for England. His perseverance, his untiring industry in the accomplishment of so arduous an enterprise, has won for him a public address. In his reply he shows how sanguine he is of the progress of his pet projects, for he expects that in less than ten years England may be reached in twelve days' time, and the magnetic wire communicate with the mother-country in as many hours. I shall not be surprised at the latter result, but the former appears formidable; for Asiatic, African, and European soil does not cultivate activity as does the American. The railway from Calcutta to Raneegunge, or to the Burdwan coal-mines, is one hundred and twenty-one miles—a single rail, costing about fifty thou-

sand dollars per mile. A company has been formed to connect Madras with the opposite coast, a distance of three hundred miles, passing through Wellington's and Brand's battle-fields, *vid* Arcot and Seringapatam (branching *out* to Bangalore), on to Trichinopoly and Coimbatore on the Malabar coast —thus connecting the great cities of Southern India. On the other side, the Bombay, Baroda, and Central Indian Railway, and the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, extend their branches some distance along the shore and inland. Another line is intended to join Bombay with the Madras frontier, *vid* Belgaum, Sattara, Toona, &c.—from Kurrachee to the Indus about one hundred and twenty miles, and a section from Bombay, two hundred miles to Surat. This is the grand trunk line of the north-west, and is to extend to Lahore, a distance from Calcutta of thirteen hundred and fifty miles. Contracts already have been made as far as Agra. Railway enterprise in India commands much praise for its projectors, for many are the impediments to be overcome. As in England and America, those in the front rank will sink their money, making room for those who follow later on, to profit by other's losses. But, nevertheless, the steam-whistle must work a moral change in India." Since this was written, some of the writer's anticipations have been fulfilled.

The buildings in Bombay are not so fine as those in Calcutta and Madras. The private houses are also inferior in general aspect, but formed more in keeping with the climate, both as to style and utility. The European inhabitants are fond of residing at some distance from the business part of the town, as they are at Madras, which, in each case, compels them to repair to the fort for the transaction of business. This, however, is becoming less the case, and the commercial arrangements of Bombay are as rapidly improving as its political position. The harbour scenery is very fine: Mr. Hamilton, thirty years ago, noticed this in his description. Mrs. Postans, in her lively little volume on Western India, many years after, expressed in graceful terms her admiration of it. Many modern writers have followed in their wake, and few have exaggerated the claims of Bombay in this respect, although some have gone so far as to call it "the most lovely in the world," and to describe the island on which the city stands as the fairest of all

> "The isles that gem
> Old Ocean's purple diadem."

It is certainly very lovely, the azure above, reflected in the wave below, the bright Indian sun shedding its glory over sky and sea, constitute a magnificent prospect from the verandahs of the inhabitants whose houses command the view. The harbour is dotted with palm isles, and the contrast of their green feathery foliage with the bright blue water is strikingly picturesque. In the distance the ghauts tower to the heavens, presenting all imaginable forms, and covered with all imaginable hues; in one direction tinged with the crimson sunset, in another as if clothed in a pale purple robe, elsewhere hung with fleecy drapery; and all these ever changing as day dawns or sets, as it pours its burning noon upon the gleaming rock, or as deep shadows sink upon them with the descending night. Heber, with his soft poetic pencil, has impressed the images of these scenes upon his pages, so as no eye that has rested upon them can ever forget. The island of Elephanta and the island of Salsette are covered with beautiful trees, which extend their boughs over the rippling waters, presenting every variety of graceful form, and of tint, such as oriental foliage only can exhibit. Yachting being a favourite amusement, pretty pleasure boats may be seen gliding among "the palm-tasselled islets;" so that amidst the prospects of soft beauty, and in view of the glorious mountain distance, tokens of human life and pleasure are perpetually indicated, adding that peculiar charm which solitary scenery, however fine, cannot impart. From the harbour the appearance of the city is not attractive; it lies too low, the new town being lower than the old, most of the houses having their foundations on the sea level, and many still lower. The walls of the fort flank the water's edge, and first strikes the eye of the beholder; then the esplanade, with its clusters of tents; and, stretching away to the west the island of Colabah, covered with palm-trees, and having the lighthouse at its extreme point. The landing-places are called *bundaks* in Bombay, and their neighbourhood is generally crowded with boats of different styles—some diminutive craft, filled with cocoa nuts for the market; others stronger, used for conveying goods or passengers to and from the shipping; small barges, covered with awnings, the property of native merchants and bankers; and pleasure-boats, tastefully fitted up with cabins and venetians, to carry parties on picnics, or other pleasure expeditions.

On shore, the first thing arresting attention is the palankeens, gaudily painted, and with silk hangings, in which the passenger is conveyed to his destination. Crowds of coolies and runners infest the landing-places; these men are dirty, half naked, with savage expres-

sions of countenance; they speak a little English, and offer to perform any service, in discharging which they are dishonest and faithless This vile crew is generally composed of Mohammedans, and they look upon Christians as fair game to be plundered, if that can be accomplished with any chance of impunity. The moment the traveller lands, he perceives that he is in a great commercial city; the signs of active business immediately surround him; bales of cotton especially attest that Bombay is the great emporium of that commodity.

The road to the city is very fine, and commands a good sea-view, which makes it a pleasant promenade, where refreshing breezes play upon the heated frame, and the soft sea views delight the eye. Every evening this road is thronged with carriages and cavaliers, gay ladies and rich natives, the sober-looking Parsee and the respectable Armenian being always conspicuous figures. Railed off from this road by a slight paling is an extensive lawn-like space, where the Parsees, Jews, and other orientals are fond of meeting to converse. This numbers of them will do while the road is covered with gay carriages, and European costumes, and even when the military bands attract the English around them. (The Persians and Parsees seem generally to avoid one another as much as their respective interests will allow; nor do the Arabs, or native Mussulmen, like the Parsees, who are the most respectable orientals, except the Armenian Christians, in Bombay.)(In the morning and evening the Parsees are fond of assembling on the esplanade and looking to their "fiery god," as he rises from the horizon, or sinks beneath it. They bring their children on these occasions to learn the devout worship of their fathers, but the ladies do not accompany them.) There is a fine statue of the Marquis of Wellesley, executed by Chantrey, placed in the centre of a causeway leading from the esplanade to the fort, which is much admired. It is customary in the hot season to erect bungalows by the esplanade, so as to obtain the cool sea breeze; these are light temporary dwellings, but cost from sixty to eighty pounds for the season. They are fitted up with exquisite taste, and are most delightful residences. When the rude monsoons beat upon Bombay, the Europeans seek the shelter of solid buildings; but house rent is expensive, obliging persons of limited means to retire several miles from the port into the country among the cocoa-nut woods—dwelling places more picturesque than healthy, where fever and insects infest the habitation, and render life miserable, or terminate it. The fort is divided from the esplanade by a moat; over this several bridges conduct to the chief gates. (Within the fort are some fine houses, and a multitude of shops, in close, narrow, dusty streets. Almost everything is dear, except China and Indian silks, and Indian cotton cloths. The Parsees are amongst the most respectable shopkeepers, but it is remarkable that these devotees of the sun keep their shops peculiarly dark.) From the fort the visitor emerges to "the Bombay Green." Several of the principal public buildings are there: the Town Hall, Library, and Council Chamber occupy one pile of considerable architectural pretensions. Mrs. Postans says, "with the exception of the British Museum, and the Bibliothèque du Roi, not inferior to any of the same description." Two statues by Chantrey adorn the interior of this building—one of Sir John Malcolm, and the other of the Hon. Mr. Elphinstone.

Bombay has long been especially well off for literature, and the means of promoting its increase. Several newspapers of superior merit exist. The *Bombay Gazette* is managed by its talented proprietor, J. Conan, Esq., secretary to the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, a distinguished political economist. The *Bombay Times* lately edited by Dr. Buist, who has obtained celebrity as a geologist, and also in other departments of science. "The Asiatic Society has an immense and well-chosen library and a museum; but books may also be obtained at the 'Europe shops,' where everything else is vended. The bazaars are not very handsome, but well supplied; there is a theatre, where amateurs occasionally act; enormous cotton screws, a spacious hotel, commercial houses and offices upon a grand scale, and an infinite variety of places of worship. The Roman Catholic chapels and churches are more numerous here than in any other part of India, as the descendants of the early Portuguese visitors abound. Mosques and Hindoo temples are constantly found contiguous to each other; and the Parsees—the descendants of the Ghebers, or fire-worshippers—have their *augiarce*, or fire-temple, where the sacred fire is constantly kept up by the priests, who receive, from pious Parsees, through the grating which encloses the silver stove, offerings in the form of sandal wood. There are few statues in Bombay, but the churches contain handsome monuments, and there are some busts and pictures in the Town Hall and the rooms of the societies and institutions." *

At Malabar Point is a house which belonged to Sir John Malcolm, and which afterwards became the residence of the governor when the heat became too great at

* J. H. Stocqueler.

Parell, the usual abode of the chief magistrate. The rocky headland of Malabar Point is a gorgeous situation. The sea-view is truly magnificent, and the inland prospect is beautiful; an undulated country, covered with the pale bamboo, the deep-tinged palm, and the amber-tinted cocoa groves, meets the gazer's eye. Night is also beautiful around this chosen spot. The stars shine out with a lustre unknown to our hazy clime, and the moonlight spreads a chaste glory over the sparkling sea and dark woods. Frequently the Parsee may be seen beneath as the sun sets, paying his homage to the retiring god of his adoration; and when the sun has gone down, the funeral pyres of the Hindoo show their red glare against the dark woods. Sir John Malcolm was a man of taste as well as genius; the selection of this spot proves the one, as his writings and his deeds have long since attested the other.

Five miles from the fort is Parell, the site of government house. It was built by the Portuguese for a monastery. The house is spacious, and the grounds well laid out; and on occasions of public receptions and festivities it appears worthy of being a viceregal seat.

The Horticultural Society's gardens are not far from the governor's chief residence.

The Pilgrim's Pool is one of the most singular places in Bombay. It is an asylum for aged and diseased animals! and well answers its purposes. Here horses, cows, dogs, &c., are fed and cared for as pensioners of the bounty of a tender-hearted native, who thus disposed of his riches.

The Elphinstone College and Native Education Society's schools are also creditable to the city, and to the founders of those institutions.

The character of the population of Bombay depends upon the religion professed. The professors of Brahminism are there what they are elsewhere, mentally and morally; the description given by the Rev. Mr. Milner is precisely expressive of the facts:—"They have considerable skill in the mechanical arts, produce cotton, silk, and woollen fabrics in high perfection, and are almost unrivalled in delicate working in ivory and metals. They have in general no standard of morality beyond convenience; and hence their character is largely a compound of selfishness, deceit, cunning, impurity, and cruelty. . . . . The mass of the population are idolaters. Multiplied forms and ceremonies, fatiguing pilgrimages, rigorous fastings, and acts of uncleanness, are exacted; while observances, amounting even to the wilful sacrifice of life, illustrate the connection proclaimed in the Scriptures between 'the dark places of the earth' and the 'habitations of cruelty.'"

The Jains are a peaceful and laborious sect. Their temples are not imposing; they resemble dwelling-houses, but are distinguishable by excellent external carvings. Only a few Buddhists are to be found upon the island.

The Mohammedans are not so numerous as in the Deccan, Central India, and Madras. They are morally and intellectually degraded. There are, however, some disciples of the Koran of respectability in the western metropolis.

The Parsees, or Ghebers, are very numerous; they have at Bombay, as at Canton, the chief share in the opium trade; they also take a respectable position as cotton merchants, bankers, and dealers in the bazaars. The richest inhabitants of Bombay Island are undoubtedly the worshippers of the sun. No inhabitants of the place—not even the most important European functionaries—can vie with them in luxurious living; at government house alone entertainments are given which exceed theirs in splendour. Within the last thirty years, one of this fraternity rose from the humblest condition in life to be one of the richest merchants and capitalists in the world. His name was Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, and his reputation as a merchant and a capitalist reached England and the English court, where his benevolence and loyalty received honourable marks of distinction. His first occupation in life was that of a dealer in empty bottles; these he used to purchase, by giving a rupee for so many to the butlers of English families. He accumulated money rapidly, by selling them at a profit, opened a place of business in one of the bazaars, and became the wealthiest man in the presidency, perhaps in India.

Another gentleman of this sect, Hormarjee Boomanjee, occupied some years ago a mansion near that of the governor, which in some respects rivalled it, and which was known by the title of Lowjee Castle. A visitor described it as spacious, built with architectural taste, and furnished richly and most elegantly. The drawing-room, decorated with princely expenditure and the propriety of a correct taste, and every apartment suitably provided with such costly articles as best became it. Luxurious couches and ottomans, covered with damask silk, arranged with gilded *fauteuils* of the most commodious form; good paintings, including full-length portraits of Lord Nelson and Sir Charles Forbes, ornamented the drawing-room; and superb windows of painted glass cast the brilliantly-tinged rays of the departing sun on chandeliers of daz-

zling lustre.) "When, after a lengthened visit, we rose, intending to take our leave of Lowjee Castle and its amiable inmates, a servitor brought forward a large silver salver, covered with blooming bouquets, most tastefully arranged. In presenting the choicest for my acceptance, Hormarjee gracefully expressed his hope that I would pardon the adoption of an Eastern custom, by which to denote the pleasure our society had afforded him."

(Polygamy is seldom practised by the Parsees, and their general morality is greatly superior to that of Brahmins, Buddhists, Jains, or Mohammedans. Their loyalty is unquestionable.) (Any portion of the native press that is not pervaded by bigotry or atheism, and by a disloyalty attending either phase of native opinion and feeling, is in the hands of the Parsees. They feel deeply grateful to the British for the protection afforded to their persons, religion, property, and commerce, and regard with unaffected disgust and abhorrence the sanguinary intolerance and disloyalty which pervade the natives, especially the educated portion of them, known as "Young India.")

(The beauty of the Parsees exceeds that of any other of the inhabitants of Bombay. The Parsee ladies are fair, with finely-formed features, and graceful, dignified mien. Many of the English and the Jewish ladies may be seen to vie with the loveliest of "the daughters of the sun," but there is a greater proportion of fine specimens of the fair sex, perhaps of both sexes, among the Parsees, than among any other class, European or Asiatic, at Bombay.)

The Parsees of Bombay are said to have come thither from Gujerat, to which place they emigrated from Ormuz, in the Gulf of Persia. Very few of them brought wives, generally single men having ventured on the enterprise. They selected maidens of Gujerat, their taste being for the fairest in complexion; hence the race now inhabiting Bombay is not purely Persian, yet much fairer than the people of Hindoostan.

In the fort there are two large fire temples, which are kept scrupulously closed against foreign inspection. They contain spacious halls, with central arches, beneath which are placed the vase of sacred fire. (The priests of the Ghebers resemble the Jewish priests in appearance and attire. They wear their beards long and flowing; and these being sometimes white, by reason of the age of the wearer, the turban colourless, and the vest or robe white and ample, their appearance is very venerable. They are not respected; whether this arise from the scepticism of the worshippers, or the general character of the sacerdotal class, it is difficult to conjecture, as the behaviour of the clergy is respectable, and that of the people devout. Some suppose that the origin of this contempt is difference of race, the people having landed without priests, and having employed a native race in Gujerat to adopt the clerical functions whose opinions were not remote from their own. Others attribute the feeling to the offices which devolve upon the clergy—chiefly that of bearing away the dead, whom they deposit in towers, where the corpse is exposed to birds of prey, which devour it.) The thought of this inspires, it is alleged, even loathing in the breast of the Parsee to his spiritual leader. The chief priest, however, is not the object of such feelings, but receives reverence from the whole community.

(The Parsees are variously estimated in numbers, some computing them as a fourth of the whole population of the island, and others as lower than one-tenth.)

The Jews are comparatively numerous, and many of them very wealthy. The men are always on the alert as traffickers or money-changers; the women live in great seclusion.

The Armenian Christians are much and deservedly respected; their numbers are small, and their church in the fort is of mean dimensions. They are generally settlers from Bushire or Bussorah, who transact business in stuffs and gems. Some of the Armenians are horse-dealers; they are considered good judges of the animal, and fair sellers, but are not at all equestrian in their own habits. They wear the dress of Persia, and disfigure themselves with henna, dying beard, hair, and whiskers with it, any dark colour pertaining to any of these ornaments of the male head being an object of distaste. A European blessed with auburn or sandy hair, whiskers, or moustache, is supposed either to possess the secret of some exquisite dye, or to be endowed by nature with attributes of great beauty. The moral character of the Armenians is excellent; their habits orderly; their business talents eminent; their loyalty undoubted, but not active. The people have a great respect for Protestantism, but the clergy prefer the Greek or Latin churches, and are extremely jealous of their people entering a Protestant place of worship, or perusing Protestant books, especially if written on any theological subject.

The descendants of the Portuguese are ill-looking, venal, bigoted, ignorant, and superstitious—despised by every other class.

There are a few Greeks, who differ in nothing from their compatriots all over the world.

In a chapter upon the social condition of the people of India, reference will be again made to the inhabitants of this city.

Since the establishment of communication with Europe by the Red Sea route, Bombay has acquired importance, being the first point of India gained by the outward-bound vessels, and the last left on the homeward voyage. The following are the travelling distances from it to the most considerable cities and towns, according to Major Rennell:—

| | Miles. | | Miles. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Allahabad | 977 | Juggernaut | 1052 |
| Ahmedabad | 321 | Indore | 456 |
| Ahmednuggur | 181 | Lahore | 1010 |
| Arcot | 722 | Lucknow | 923 |
| Aurungabad | 260 | Madras | 758 |
| Baroch | 221 | Masulipatam | 686 |
| Bassein | 27 | Mirzapore | 952 |
| Bednore | 452 | Moorshedabad | 1259 |
| Bijanaghur | 398 | Mooltan | 920 |
| Calcutta | 1301 | Mysore | 630 |
| Canege | 889 | Nagpore | 552 |
| Cashmere | 1233 | Oude | 1013 |
| Cuttack | 1034 | Oojein | 486 |
| Cochin | 780 | Patna | 1145 |
| Delhi | 880 | Pondicherry | 805 |
| Dowlatabad | 258 | Poonah | 98 |
| Goa | 292 | Seringapatam | 622 |
| Golconda | 475 | Sumbhulpore | 826 |
| Gwalior | 768 | Surat | 177 |
| Hyderabad | 480 | Tellecherry | 615 |

Should a canal be cut across the Isthmus of Suez, Bombay will become in all probability a more important position than Calcutta; it will at all events rival that city, now so much more wealthy, populous, and powerful. "The distance from the English Channel to Calcutta, by the Cape of Good Hope, following the route taken by the best sailing vessels, may be put down at 13,000 miles. By the Mediterranean, the proposed canal across the Isthmus of Suez, the Red Sea, and Indian Ocean, the distance would be about 8000 miles; as compared with the former, the latter would effect a saving of 5000 miles. By the Cape route to Bombay the distance may be computed at 11,500 miles, by the Red Sea route, 6200; and here the gain would be 5300 miles. By the aid of this maritime canal, troops would arrive at Bombay from Malta in three weeks; in Ceylon or Madras in four; and in Calcutta in five: and they would arrive fresh and vigorous, because unfatigued in body, and without experiencing that lassitude of the mind which a protracted and wearisome sea voyage generally induces. With such facilities, it may fairly be concluded that the maintenance of a smaller number of European troops in garrison would be perfectly compatible with security. Nor can it be doubted that when the natives became aware of this rapid mode of transit for man and munitions of war, the disposition to revolt would be greatly enfeebled. The mercantile marine, both of England and America, would be benefited by the shortening of distance. It would bring New York nearer to Bombay by 7317 miles, and New Orleans by 8178. Constantinople would save 12,900, and St. Petersburg 8550 miles. The countries on the coasts of the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, the eastern coast of Africa, India, the kingdom of Siam, Cochin China, Japan, the vast empire of China, with its teeming millions, the Phillipine Islands, Australia, and New Zealand, with the whole Southern Archipelago, would be brought nearer to the Mediterranean Sea and the north of Europe by almost 9000 miles: the whole world would be in proximity." The British government is opposed to the formation of such a ship canal on grounds of policy. Possessing, as France does, a powerful naval arsenal in the Mediterranean, she might, by means of such a passage, seriously menace our Indian empire. It is with a full knowledge of this that M. Lesseps and other Frenchmen have so perseveringly urged this scheme. Lord Palmerston energetically and clearly placed the views of the British government before that of France on this subject, and the Emperor Napoleon admitted the reasonableness of the sensitiveness of the government of her Britannic majesty in reference to such an enterprise. The scheme has, moreover, been pronounced by the most competent English engineers as impracticable; and by eminent men, who pronounce that it is not absolutely impossible, it has been admitted that the scheme is beyond private enterprise, and could only be executed and sustained by such a harmonious concourse of governments as is scarcely within the range of hope. The project finds, however, very general favour in Europe, perhaps as much from motives inimical to England as any other. Should a ship canal, by any concurrence of circumstance and combination of powers, be formed, it will in all probability tempt the British government into hostile operations from India and from the Mediterranean, involving wide-spread and sanguinary conflict.

The neighbourhood of the city is very beautiful, the whole island being exceedingly picturesque. Excellent roads exist, and the citizens enjoy their drives to the surrounding districts very much. On Sunday these roads are most frequented, the esplanade being comparatively forsaken. "The early riser, desiring to pursue his ride into the lovely scenes which skirt the town, will find these roads clear of all offence. The porters and artizans then lie shrouded in their cundies;

the market people have a wide path, as they bring in the fresh fruits of the neighbouring country; the toddy drawers appear, crowned with an earthen vessel, overflowing with the delicious juice of the palm-tree; and Hindoo girls, seated behind baskets of bright blossoms, string fragrant wreaths to adorn the altars of their gods. Thus fresh and tranquil remain the elements of the scene, until the hurry and the toil of life fill it with that suffocating heat and deafening clamour attendant upon the interests of eager traffic."

The roads of the island are, from the undulated character of the surface, much curved, thereby affording great variety of prospect; now turning towards the sunlit bay, and anon presenting prospects of wooded knolls and palm forests. In the evening the dusty roads are trodden by bullock-drivers and the heavier description of vehicles, carrying produce for the early morning market of the city; this circumstance causes the drives through the island to be preferable at early dawn to the soft season of sunset.

In the bay boating affords pleasant recreation, and an ever-changing land and sea scenery. The little island of Colabah is a place of constant resort, and some Europeans prefer it to any other place in its neighbourhood as a residence. It is considered peculiarly healthy, and its situation is delightfully picturesque, affording from its shores views of exquisite beauty. The lighthouse and the lunatic asylum are on this islet; a good road runs through it, and it is connected with the island of Bombay by a causeway, over which formerly the sea rose at high tide, rendering the passage difficult and dangerous.

The diseases are such as are produced by the high temperature of the climate, the low site of the city, and the prevalence of paddy fields on all the low grounds of the island. The guinea-worm is a dangerous nuisance to Europeans and natives; many of the former suffer so severely from it, as to be obliged to return home. Fever and cholera often carry away Europeans who expose themselves too much to the climate, frequent the woods and paddy fields, or are in any other way brought within the influence of the malaria which infests the low grounds. Bombay has improved in health within the last ten years very rapidly, and there is every prospect that it will eventually become one of the healthiest neighbourhoods in India.

The collectorate of SURAT is situated at the south-western extremity of the ancient province of Gujerat. It is a part of that territory adjacent to the Gulf of Cambay, and is so intersected with the dominions of native princes, that it is difficult to define its limits. It is made up of lands taken from independent princes at various times. The neighbourhood was long noted for the plunder, by gulf and river pirates, of trading-vessels; the vigilance of the police, the exertions of the Bombay marine, and the representations made by the British residents at the courts of native princes, have all conduced to put a stop to these piracies. The country is populous, and highly cultivated, producing wheat, rice, jouree, hajeree, and other Indian grains, diversified by crops of cotton, hemp, tobacco, colouring plants, seeds, &c. The cotton of Surat has become an important article of commerce.

The city of Surat is large, mean, and dirty, destitute of good public buildings, and containing few Europeans for so large a city. There was an hospital for animals at Surat, similar to that at Bombay, but remarkable for its "wards," containing rats, mice, bugs, and other noxious creatures! The site of the city is unfavourable for trade, as large ships cannot ascend the river; but the country behind is so fertile, and produces such vast variety of commodities, that the commerce of Surat is very extensive. Its moral condition is deplorable. The Mohammedans are the perpetrators of nearly all the violence committed in the place, except what is performed by imported bravoes and thieves, who are hired by the richer natives for purposes of revenge, and formerly for the object of plundering the houses of their own friends and connexions! The Parsees are so frequently made the objects of violence by the Mohammedans, that they are obliged in self-defence to inflict personal chastisement, for they are a brave and athletic race, physically and mentally superior to the followers of the false prophet. The Hindoos are sly, timid, treacherous, and furtively vindictive; many perish by poison, which they administer upon slight provocation—a mode of murder in which they are singularly expert. This offence is not so common as formerly; twenty years ago its occurrence was awfully frequent. Opium intoxication is very common, and very debasing.

Caste is not so dominant as in most other places, and some "old Indians" attribute the laxity of morals to the "want of respect for their betters" which prevails among the native mob of Surat. Religious intolerance is carried to bitter extremities by Hindoos and Mohammedans, not only against one another, but against the Parsees, who offer no provocation to the insults and outrages of which they are the victims. The Brahmins are not so hostile to the Parsees as to the Mohammedans, nor are they so ready to persecute the Parsees as the Mohammedans are.

The worshippers of the sun have grown so influential and wealthy, that they are able to protect themselves; and the British, although generally they lean to high caste men, and "hold up the aristocratic principle for the sake of order," are too generous to allow injustice to be done to the quiet and manly Ghebers.

The distance from Bombay is about one hundred and seventy miles. Before the English obtained possession of Bombay, Surat was the capital of the presidency. The population is still larger than that of the metropolis of Western India. The intervening shores are low, flat, and sandy, destitute of any interesting scenery, except the panorama of the distant hills.

The scenes in the streets of Surat are peculiar, in some respects resembling those of Bombay, as to the quality and character of the native population. Not only are the three prevailing religious septs described above to be met with, but also Jains, Jews, Syrians, Armenians, Greeks, and descendants of the Portuguese. The most remarkable of all are the Arabs; these at certain seasons pitch their tents upon the pleasantest spots on the banks of the Tapty, just as gipsies would in the neighbourhood of an English city. They are the most picturesque-looking of the dwellers in or frequenters of the great city; their many-coloured turbans and showy vests cannot fail to attract attention, and their countenances are often fiercely fine.

There are many traces of the former opulence of this city in the remains of gardens and mansions, which once belonged to the merchant princes of Surat, before Bombay tore the wreath from her brow; and these mansions and pleasure-grounds were easily placed on sites tastefully selected, for in the neighbourhood of the city the banks of the Tapty are very pleasant.

The ghauts, or landing-places, do not, as in so many other cities of India, already noticed, lead to temples, nor are they constructed with the lavish expenditure and richly creative taste of those flights of steps elsewhere. They are more frequently to be seen occupied with dhobies than devotees. The dhobies are washerwomen, who ply their calling very much in the manner which Sir Walter Scott described his fair countrywomen in rural districts performing similar operations.

Within six miles of the city there is a place of religious ablution, called Pulpunah. There sacred groves, altars, and temples abound. The groves are hung with wreaths of choicest flowers. The ghauts are sculptured and festooned, leading to temples, where domes and columns look down in their cold and stern majesty upon the bright and careering river. It is a noted place for funeral pyres; the ashes of the dead are solemnly spread upon the holy current, which seems, as if a thing of life, to bear them willingly away from the sacred scene. It is astonishing what crowds of fakeers, and other religious devotees, assemble among these clustering temples. Nowhere is this vagabond class so ripe in imposture as in this holy vicinity. Their control over the laity is astonishing, and their exercise of it rapacious, violent, and disgusting. Whatever these revered robbers choose to demand the people give them, a denial involving the peril of their soul's ruin. Among the chief curiosities of the place are the herds of sacred bulls, which are kept by the Brahmins, and treated by the people with the greatest reverence.

Pulpunah is not the only interesting suburb of Surat; all its vicinity is as pleasant as the city itself is dirty, dreary, and decadent. Long shaded lanes, reminding the English visitor of the green lanes of England, surround the city, and the cultivated fields and river scenery cannot fail to arrest the attention. The wooded hills are the haunts of game. At Vaux's tomb, in the Gulf of Cambay, near the embouchure of the Tapty, the wild hog, often hunted by the Europeans of Surat, is numerous, and affords ample sport. The French town and gardens are objects of pleasant interest, and within pedestrian distance of the city.

The military cantonments are regarded as pleasant by the military; and Surat has long borne a reputable character among gentlemen of the Bombay army, as a sociable and cheerful place in which to be quartered.

BAROCH is another district of Gujerat, and is bounded on the west by the Gulf of Cambay. Few ports of the west of India are so well cultivated or populous. The capital of the district, also named Baroch, is situated on an eminence on the north bank of the Nerbuddah, twenty-five miles from the entrance to the river. The town is as dirty and dreary as Surat: it is surrounded by a most fertile country, and its market is one of the best in India. The town was once the seat of a considerable trade, especially for cotton cloths, which were beautifully white, the river Nerbuddah having the property of bleaching. The neighbourhood is picturesque, chiefly because of the superior cultivation. Many ruins of mosques and mausolea are scattered in the vicinity. About ten miles from the city there is an island in the river, where aged or sick Hindoo penitents bury themselves alive, or are buried alive by their rela-

tives as an act of piety. On this island is a banyan-tree, said to be the most extraordinary in existence; but it was formerly much larger than it is now, for the floods, rising, have washed away portions of the island, and with it the branching roots of the tree where they had extended themselves too far. The tree is still represented to be two thousand feet in circumference, measuring round the different stems; but the hanging branches, the roots of which have not yet reached the ground, measure a much wider area. The chief trunks of the tree number three hundred and fifty, each of these larger than an ordinary English elm; and the smaller stems, forming strong supporters, are more than three thousand. The natives allege that it is three thousand years old, can afford shade for seven thousand persons, and that it originally sprung from the toothpick of a certain Hindoo saint. A writer on the productions of India states that "this is the tree alluded to by Milton in his *Paradise Lost*."

The collectorate of AHMEDABAD is not remarkable for anything except the city and its vicinity. This city was once the capital of Gujerat, but it has long fallen into decay. So splendid was it in the reign of Akbar, that the ruins now cover an area the circumference of which is thirty miles. In fact, the country is covered with remains of palaces, serais, mosques, temples, tanks, aqueducts, and other works of grandeur and great public utility. Wild beasts now infest the neighbourhood. The city is noted for its jugglers and itinerant musicians, classes to which the natives of the villages of Gujerat give extensive encouragement.

The collectorate of KAIRA is a large district in the Gujerat province: it is very wild and unsettled, and has been remarkable for the practices of the Bhatts and Bharotts, a species of fanatics who, if denied a demand, will inflict upon their own persons a gash with a knife, which the natives suppose that the gods will hereafter inflict upon him who, denying the request, occasioned the misfortune. If this does not intimidate, the Bhatts will murder an old woman or some outcast, and leave the crime at the door of the person who denied their request, which alarms the Hindoo more than if he had himself perpetrated the crime, which he would seldom fail to do if moved by what he considered to be an adequate religious motive. If the Bhatts or Bharotts do not obtain their infamous end in that way, they will not hesitate to murder one of themselves, or one of their relations, still more exciting the horror and the alarm of the unfortunate victim upon whom the demand is made. Should, however, the Hindoo have firmness to resist the demand after all these wild manifestations of cruel importunity, the Bhatts will probably murder the man who dares so persistently to refuse compliance with their wishes. Kaira, the capital of the district, is in no way noticeable.

CANDEISH is a province of the Deccan, of which ancient division of India a general description was given in the last chapter. The Mahrattas here held sway in the days of their power. A considerable portion of Candeish belonged to the Holkar family, having been, like the adjacent province of Malwah, divided between the Peishwa, Scindiah, and Holkar. The Tapty, Nerbuddah, and their tributaries water the country, which, however, is not well cultivated. The interior is curiously cut up by ravines, from thirty to forty feet deep, winding along sometimes for miles. The ridges of the Western Ghauts extend along the Tapty. Among the hills, and along the courses of the rivers, many Bheel tribes reside, who became troublesome to the government immediately previous to the military revolution of 1857, and again during the progress of that crisis. Candeish proper comprises what in the reign of the Emperor Akbar comprehended the whole of Candeish. It is the most fertile and populous region of the territories which are known under that general designation. Berhanpore was the ancient capital: it is situated on a fine plain, fairly cultivated. This city was once ten miles in circumference, but it is now shorn of its glory. It is about three hundred and forty miles from Bombay, in latitude 21° 19′ north, and 76° 18′ east longitude.

Husseinabad is a noted city in this province, being regarded as a good position in a military point of view, and the key of this portion of the Deccan. The town is nevertheless neither well built nor populous. The water of the Nerbuddah is here peculiarly sweet and agreeable; the valley through which it flows in the vicinity of the town is, notwithstanding the advantage of its presence, badly cultivated, and covered in most places with jungle. During the month of February the appearance of this jungle is very beautiful, in consequence of a shrub which bears flowers of the brightest scarlet. At the same season another flowering shrub fills the air with the richest perfume; these odoriferous flowers are gathered and dried, when they assume the appearance of berries, and are as sweet as raisins. The natives distil a sort of vinous spirit from them.

POONAH, now a collectorate of Bombay, was once the metropolitan province of the Mahratta empire. The city is situated latitude 15° 30′ north, longitude 74° 2′ east;

about thirty miles to the east of the Ghauts, and one hundred miles from Bombay. The rank of this city is superior to its area or population. The streets are all named after mythological personages, and the gods of the Hindoo Pantheon are painted on the fronts of the houses: judging from the nomenclature of the streets, and other signs, it is the most religious city in the world. At this town the Moota River joins the Moola; their union is called the Moota Moola, and is emptied into the Beema, which afterwards forms a junction with the Kistna. By this route, during the rainy season, a river-voyage may be made from within seventy-five miles of the western coast of India to the Bay of Bengal, provided the passage be undertaken in a canoe. The ancient palace of Poonah is surrounded by high thick walls: a modern one was erected more to the taste of the peishwa. The native population probably exceeds one hundred and fifty thousand.

Poonah is an important situation in reference to the large portion of the Deccan subject to the Bombay government. The military cantonments are not large, but are pleasantly situated, and very convenient. The neighbourhood is famous for hog-hunting, in which the officers of the cantonment mingle with great zest, whatever may be the corps there stationed. This is a perilous amusement; it would be so in ground more favourable to horsemanship than the Deccan, which, in these districts, is made up to a great extent of rock, hill, and ravine. The wild hog holds his retreat in rather elevated situations, and can defend himself, to the peril of his pursuers, man and horse, of which both soon become conscious.

Within a mile or two of Poonah the governor has a bungalow, which is beautifully situated; the choicest plants, native and exotic, bloom in the gardens. The collection of geraniums is very fine, the soil of the Deccan being especially favourable to them. The scarlet species abound in the gardens, and are found wild in the neighbourhood.

The Temple of Parbuttee is still an object of interest at Poonah, although shorn of its former glory. The Temple of Pawatti, the Mountain Goddess, is beautifully situated on a lofty hill, surrounded by luxuriant gardens, "rich in the empurpled clusters of the Deccan vine, and the dusky fruit of the sweet-juiced pomegranate." In the neighbourhood of Poonah there is a remarkable grove of mango-trees, planted by the peishwa in expiation of the murder of his brother. The Ketuah Bang, a country seat, also a creation of the peishwa, is very beautiful—the building is supported on handsome Saracenic arches, the grounds are tastefully laid out in the best oriental style—cool kiosks, and numerous jets of sparkling water, causing a freshness the most salutary and agreeable. About two miles from Poonah is the cavalry cantonment of Kirkee, where Sir Arthur Wellesley wooed fortune on the battle-field.

Between the bridge of the Sungum near Poonah, and Kirkee, there is a beautiful cave-temple cut in the limestone rock. In the centre a circle of rude columns, in the simplest style of Hindoo architecture, support a huge block of rock; below this kneel the sacred bull of Siva (Nandi), uncaparisoned and rough hewn. At the other end is a number of square pillars, which support the roof. The whole structure is curious. The banks of the Sungum River in the neighbourhood of Poonah are very pretty, but the beauty is of the ordinary description of Indian rivers.

In connection with Poonah, the district of SATTARA naturally claims attention. The peishwas by whom Poonah was governed virtually ruled Sattara for more than one hundred years. The rajah, however, was treated as supreme, the peishwa pretending allegiance, and offering an ostensible obedience. The rajah was, in fact, a prisoner at his hill fort of Sattara. When the British expelled the peishwa, in 1818, the rajah was reinstated by them as sovereign over a considerable portion of his dominions, bounded to the west by the Western Ghauts, to the south by the Warner and Kistna Rivers, to the north by the Beema and Neera Rivers, and on the east by the frontier of the nizam's dominions, the whole area occupying a surface of eleven thousand square miles. When of late the deposition of the Rajah of Sattara raised such a clamour in England, it was overlooked by his advocates that the rajahs would have continued the actual, although not nominal vassals, of the peishwas, had not British power rescued them from their thraldom. The conditions then imposed were thankfully accepted. Whatever might be the opinion justly drawn as to the rajah's fulfilment of his engagements, these facts ought to be borne in mind in any discussion concerning his deposition.

The hill fort of Sattara was so called (the word meaning *seventeen*) because possessing originally seventeen walls, towers, and gates. The fortress occupies the highest pinnacle of a hill, the access to it being by a circuitous path of great difficulty. The cantonment is situated in a lovely valley, surrounded by magnificent hills, which are crowned in every direction available for defence by a fort. The scenery generally in the dominions once those

of the rajah more resembles that of England than probably any part of India. The cottages are thatched—flowers and creepers in front and around them; the cattle browsing in the fields, guarded by hedges, present quite an English home picture. There are, nevertheless, tokens sufficient to convince the visitor that, however English such features of the landscape may be, the scenery is still that of India; for the cottages are in the vicinities of grotesque temples, that tell of idolatry, and bring the long past and the present together, and the fine English-like roads are skirted by avenues of bright tamarind-trees. The following pleasing picture is from the pencil of a lady:—"The dâk traveller, leaving Sattara in the evening, dawn sees him at the foot of the stupendous ghauts, on which has been cut the road leading to the Mahabeleshwar hills. Winding along the steep brows of lesser ghauts, piled, as it were, to oppose the desecrating foot of man, the scene becomes rich in the features of sublime and fertile loveliness, each ghaut being thickly wooded, from its pale purple and sunlit brow, to where the gathering and snow-like wreaths of fleecy clouds conceals its union with the lowlands. On either side of the curving pathway rich and graceful trees, festooned with a variety of blooming creepers, charm the eye, while about the gnarled roots, as if hurled by the thunder-armed power of the great storm, lie massive fragments of time-stained rocks, crushing the verdure on which they fell, until time has again, with tenderest touch, encouraged fragile and flowery weeds to spring from their dark clefts, and sun their sweet heads in the glorious light." Continuing onwards, new heights sink into insignificance before other and towering elevations. These mountains are fantastic in form, bearing a sweet and glowing verdure, until the traveller reaches the summit of the Mahabeleshwar hills, and an atmosphere clear, cold, and invigorating. This spot is four thousand eight hundred feet above the level of the sea, and has been chosen as a sanatorium. In all the Deccan none more appropriate could have been chosen. Pretty bungalows are erected on eminences which command the most splendid combinations of scenery. These bungalows are interspersed with tents, variously formed and grouped, adding much to the picturesque aspect of the place. An obelisk to commemorate Sir Sidney Beckwick, many years commander-in-chief of the Bombay army, is expressive of the lasting fame which the brave and good receive. Plants of fern and arrowroot, exceedingly pleasing to the eye, grow luxuriantly wherever the hills have soil; and from the clefts of the ragged rocks, plants, shrubs, and trees, shoot up in great diversity of beauty. The jungles conceal tigers, bears, wolves, elks, and other animals—some ferocious, and others beautiful and harmless. The points of view most inviting are Sydney and Elphinstone rocks. From these the rich scenery of the Concan lies stretched beneath the beholder's gaze. At a distance of about thirty miles the sea is visible, adding to the magnificence of the scene, and inspiring a sense of the vast and the sublime. From the gorges of the mountains innumerable cataracts flash in the sun's rays, leaping from crag to crag, as if in wild pursuit of each other, to the plains below. In the lower grounds streams wind their way, seeking the ocean, and in their course blessing with irrigation the grateful soil. It is in this range that the Kistna River has its sources, in the village of Mahabeleshwar ("the great and good God"). The sources are two in number, and are covered by arched and many-columned temples. In each the source of this river flows from the mouth of the sacred bull Nandi, and is received in a tank, whence it overflows, winding its way, until, the two streams uniting, and forming confluence with minor streams, the Kistna is formed. Viewed from the temples, the valley of the Kistna River is extremely lovely. A more fair and pastoral landscape could hardly be presented in the beautiful west of England, while the rich oriental woods, now dark, now bright, crown every upland, and bend over the waters of the descending current. The supplies of grain, fruit, game, beef, mutton, and all the necessaries of life, are abundant at the sanatorium, the whole country beneath being one beautiful garden. It has been confidently affirmed by the admirers of Indian scenery, who have also travelled much in Europe, that neither the Alps nor the Pyrenees possess scenery so lovely, and at the same time so grand, as these ghauts present.

The fort of Portabghur, perched upon the peak of a ghaut which overlooks the Mahabeleshwar hills and the splendid scenery of the Southern Concan, affords a very magnificent prospect, and is in other respects interesting. Here there is a temple built to the goddess of destruction, in which human victims were annually offered by the Rajah of Sattara before British authority brought the horrid rites to extinction with the tyranny of the peishwa. Many deeds of terror and oppression were enacted in the blood-stained fort of Portabghur.

The collectorate of TANNAH takes its designation from a town and fortress in the island of Salsette. The length of the island is eighteen miles by thirteen wide—the average

breadth. It was formerly separated from Bombay, across to which a causeway has been made. The population is small. The island is picturesque, but badly cultivated, notwithstanding its proximity to Bombay. It is customary for the residents in that island, because of the agreeable voyage, to visit Salsette, although not a healthy place, from the prevalence of marsh and jungle. This island contains a collection of singular caverns, excavated in the rocky hills. In one of these caverns the Portuguese built a church, and in order to make the place appropriate for such a purpose, defaced the heathen inscriptions; two gigantic statues of Buddha, however, remain.

In this collectorate the island of Elephanta is situated. It is in the Bay of Bombay, about seven miles from the castle, and is a place of constant resort from the great western capital. The isle is composed of two long hills, with a narrow valley between them; it is about six miles in circumference. The caves of Elephanta have a world-wide celebrity. Notice was taken of them in the chapter on the religions of India, to which the reader is referred. Opinions are very diverse as to the claims of the caves found in both these islands to superior taste on the part of those by whose labour and ingenuity they were wrought—some travellers extolling them as wondrous efforts of art, and others depreciating them as much. The celebrated historian of India, Mill, thus wrote:—"The cave of Elephanta, not far from Bombay, is a work which, from its magnitude, has given birth to the supposition of high civilisation among the Hindoos. It is a cavity in the side of a mountain, about half-way between its base and summit, of the space of nearly one hundred and twenty feet square. Pieces of the rock, as is usual in mining, have been left at certain distances, supporting the superincumbent matter; and the sight of the whole upon the entrance is grand and striking. It had been applied at an early period to religious purposes, when the pillars were probably fashioned into the sort of regular form they now present, and the figures, with which great part of the inside is covered, were sculptured on the stone." Horace Hayman Wilson, Esq., the distinguished editor of Mill's History, affixes the following note to the above quotation:—"The cave of Elephanta is not the only subterranean temple of the Hindoos exhibiting on a large scale the effects of human labour. In the isle of Salsette, in the same vicinity, is a pagoda of a similar kind, and but little inferior to it in any remarkable circumstance. The pagodas of Ellora, about eighteen miles from Aurungabad, are not of the size of those of Elephanta and Salsette, but they surprise by their number, and by the idea of the labour which they cost. (See a minute description of them by Anquetil Duperron, Zendavesta, Disc. Prélim. p. ccxxxiii.) The seven pagodas, as they are called, at Mavalipuram, near Madras, on the Coromandel coast, is another work of the same description; and several others might be mentioned."

Dr. Tennant expresses views in harmony with those of Dr. Wilson when he says—"Their caves in Elephanta and Salsette are standing monuments of the original gloomy state of their superstition, and the imperfection of their arts, particularly that of architecture." *

Forbes, so generally recognised as an authority, has these opinions:—"However these gigantic statues, and others of similar form, in the caves in Ellora and Salsette, may astonish a common observer, the man of taste looks in vain for proportion of form and expression of countenance." † "I must not omit the striking resemblance between these excavations (Elephanta, &c.) and the sculptured grottoes in Egypt," &c. "I have often been struck with the idea that there may be some affinity between the *written mountains* in Arabia and those caves." ‡

The general character of the collectorate does not merit any distinctive notice.

The collectorates of DHARWAR and RUTNAGHERRY belong to the ancient province of Bejapore, and the characteristics are too much identical with other portions of the Deccan to require a separate description.

Attached to Bombay as a non-regulation district is that of COLARA. This small territory is a portion of the ancient province of the Mysore, a country in the south of India, nearly surrounded by the Madras presidency. The natives of this district are fond of planting hedges with aloes, of the leaves of which they make cordage. The language of the people is the Canarese.

The capital of the district, called by the same name, is noted as the birthplace of Hyder, father of the notorious Tippoo, whose name is so signal in Indian history. The latter erected there a handsome monument to the former, and near it a mosque, or college of moullahs, improperly called by most writers Mohammedan priests, as the Mohammedan religion has no priesthood. These moullahs, or ministers, exercised considerable influence there—even beyond what they obtained in other parts of India.

SCINDE is a non-regulation province of the Bombay presidency: its conquest, after so

* *Indian Recreations*, vol. i. p. 6.
† Forbes' *Oriental Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 423.
‡ Ibid.

severe a struggle, by Sir Charles Napier, gives an especial interest to it with the present generation. It is also a valuable province, both from its area and population.* Its vicinity to the important province of Gujerat, and to the Punjaub, renders it of consequence: through it properly lies the way from the Punjaub and Affghanistan to the sea. By way of Scinde from the west, direct and profitable commerce with Persia must be opened up from the Bombay presidency. Scinde was in ancient days only a province of Mooltan, before that once great dominion became itself a province of the Lahore government. It occupies both banks of the Indus; Mooltan and Affghanistan bound it on the north; Cutch and the sea bound it upon the south; to the east are Ajmeer, the Sandy Desert, and Cutch; and on the west it is contiguous to Beloochistan and the sea.

Scinde lies along the plain of the Indus from the sea to Sungur. From the sea to Shikapore is called Lower Scinde; from thence to Sungur, Upper Scinde. East of the Indus the province is flat from its most northern limits to the sea, with the trifling exception of a few low hills called the Gunjah. On the western bank of the great river, the country is much diversified—mountain, vale, and undulated surface are comprised within it. The soil is various: in some places productive—in others poor; in most districts capable of high culture, and requiring care and improvement in nearly all. The climate is good, except where marshy land creates miasma. In the months of June and July the thermometer ranges from 90° to 100°; but the air in northern Scinde is refreshed by cooling breezes from the west, so that the heat is seldom complained of by Europeans, even when the temperature ranges very high. About Hyderabad the climate is very agreeable, and in August, when other portions of India suffer much from heat, that region is most balmy and agreeable to those who can endure a high temperature. In no part of India is the air on the whole purer than in Scinde.

The productions of this province, notwithstanding the low state of cultivation, the poverty of the soil in some districts, and the necessity for artificial irrigation over a large area, are extremely various. Rice, ghee, hides, shark fins, potash, saltpetre, asafœtida, bdellium, madder, indigo, oleaginous seeds as fodder for animals, frankincense, musk, alum, and gums, are all exported in greater or smaller quantities to the neighbouring states. In the Bombay market the productions of Scinde are of great value, and constitute an important trade.

During the reign of the Ameers, the country retrogaded: that vile race plundered it, and discouraged in every way its progress. To the Brahmins these Mohammedan tyrants were tolerant, but the lower castes they loaded with oppression. The mass of the population are Hindoos, Jats, and Beloochees—the first-named of these being the oldest race of the present settlers, or, as some think, the aborigines. The men of Scinde are not very tall, and seldom are of small stature; to the other Indians they are, in this respect, like the Spaniards among Europeans. They are well formed and strong, much superior to the natives of India in the lower provinces of the three presidencies. They are very brown in complexion, with dark hair and brows. The females are both finely formed and featured; they are not secluded like the women of the south, but are in this particular nearly as free as the Sikh ladies.

The general resemblance of Scinde to Egypt must strike every one: a fertile plain bounded on the one side by mountains, and on the other by a desert; a large river dividing it, which forms a delta as it approaches the sea, and periodically inundates the country—constitute a singular resemblance. The districts or sub-districts into which Scinde is divided are Shikapore, Hyderabad, and Kurrachee.

HYDERABAD has been noticed in another page as remarkable for its peculiar situation, and its excellent climate. When treating on the climate of India generally, reasons were assigned for supposing that the locality was more favourable to health than any other in India.

SHIKAPORE is a district to the west of the Indus, lying between that river and Beloochistan; it is the southern province of Scinde. Near to the Indus the soil is fertile; it becomes sterile as it approaches towards Beloochistan. The inhabitants are Jats, with a large sprinkling of Beloochees, especially to the west of the district; there are Hindoos scattered along the river portion. Formerly their reputation was very bad, and they continued the practice of Dacoitee and other delinquencies until the conquest of the British enforced order. The town of Shikapore stands in latitude 27° 36′ north, and longitude 69° 18′ east. The inhabitants are generally termed in Scinde Shikaporees; they are Hindoos. The commerce of this city is considerable; and before the British occupation of the country there were many rich bankers there, and a considerable trade kept up with the Punjaub, Affghanistan, and Rajpootana.

* See page 27.

From Shikapore to Turkistan the bankers of this city were famous.*

Kurrachee has of late years become exceedingly important—its commerce being rapidly on the increase. The establishment of a fair there was expected to produce great consequences, but they were not realised. The commodities were various and valuable which were brought thither, but vendors rather than buyers made it their resort on these occasions. Notwithstanding the failure in this respect, its position is such as to justify great expectations concerning its future prosperity, and its utility to India and to Britain. "Kurrachee is a position of very great importance, whether regarded in a commercial, a political, or a military point of view. In a commercial point of view, it may be defined the gate of Central Asia, and is likely to become to India what Liverpool is to England. It has been officially reported that accommodation exists for the reception within the harbour, at the same time, of twenty ships of eight hundred tons (and any number of smaller craft). The climate of Kurrachee is cool in proportion to its latitude; and under British auspices, the town must speedily become a most important place."† It is situated in latitude 24° 51′ longitude 67° 2′.

Mr. W. P. Andrews, chairman of the Scinde and Punjaub Railway, thus describes the port: "The port is protected from the sea and bad weather by Munorah, a bluff rocky headland, projecting south-eastward from the mainland, and leaving a space of about two miles between the extreme point and the coast to the east. The harbour is spacious, extending about five miles northward from Munorah Point, and about the same distance from the town, on the eastern shore, to the extreme western point."

The great obstacle to commerce, and also to the use of the harbour for military purposes, is a bar at the mouth. This bar, however, admits at times of a depth of twenty-six feet of water, which allows vessels of considerable burden to come in, and also ships of war. Commodore Young, of the Indian navy, twice in the year 1854, took in the steam-frigate *Queen* in the night, and while the south-west monsoon prevailed. During the expedition to the Persian Gulf, consequent upon the Persian occupation of Herat, Commodore Rennie, of the Indian navy, was constantly in the harbour, conveying troops, and reported that the bar-water was more than was indicated by the port-register.

During the year 1855 the following ships, among others, entered the harbour of Kurrachee:—

| From London. | Tons. | Draught. |
|---|---|---|
| Dec. 1. Marion | 684 | 18 ft. 6 in. |
| Nov. 23. Norwood | 850 | 15 ft. 0 in. |
| Oct. 19. El Dorado | 841 | 21 ft. 0 in. |
| Sept. 24. James Gibb | 813 | 21 ft. 6 in. |
| Aug. 12. Marmion | 888 | 16 ft. 3 in. |
| „ 6. Kenilworth | 582 | 16 ft. 6 in. |
| July 30. Granger | 878 | 19 ft. 6 in. |
| „ „ Sir James | 646 | |
| „ 26. Alexander Wise | 295 | 15 ft. 0 in. |
| „ 2. Saxon | 526 | 15 ft. 2 in. |
| „ „ Tamar | 556 | 17 ft. 10 in. |
| June 30. Semiramis | | large steamer. |
| „ 14. Agamemnon | 756 | 16 ft. 3 in. |

Brigadier-general Jacob, C.B., officiating commissioner for Scinde, reported, under date the 30th of April, 1856, that during the year 1854–5 vessels to the number of 1086, of the burthen of 56,695 tons, entered the port of Scinde, thirty-nine of which, including steamers, were square-rigged, of a burthen of 13,841 tons. The number that cleared outwards was 1103 vessels, burthen 58,194 tons, including square-rigged ships and steamers.

These statements bear upon the commerce of India as well as upon the capabilities of Kurrachee, but are necessary here to show the relative capacity and position of the province to which this section refers.

The court of directors of the East India Company commissioned a skilful engineer to examine how far the harbour was capable of improvement. Lieutenant Grieve, of the Indian navy, was directed by the commissioner thus appointed to furnish detailed surveys. The result was a report favourable to the harbour:—"'It is satisfactory to me to be able to state, at the outset, that I think the objects which the court of directors have in view—namely, the deepening, or even the entire removal of the bar, and the general improvement of the harbour of Kurrachee—are not of doubtful execution; but that, on the contrary, there is good reason to expect through the application of proper means, the accomplishment of both—and this at a moderate expense, when compared with what I understand to be the almost national importance of a safe harbour at Kurrachee, capable of receiving and accommodating sea-going vessels of large tonnage;' and 'that Kurrachee is capable of being made an excellent harbour, and that there are no very great engineering or other physical difficulties to contend with in making it such.' The court of directors have sent out an experienced harbour engineer to assist in carrying out the plans of Mr. Walker. To that able and excellent officer, Captain C. D. Campbell, of the Indian navy, belongs the credit of having been the

* Elphinstone.

† Thornton's *Gazetteer*.

first to take in on his own responsibility a large armed steamer into the harbour of Kurrachee." . . . . "Colonel Turner instituted a series of very careful experiments by boring, and showed most conclusively that there was not a particle of rock anywhere on the bar; that the whole was composed, to considerable depth, of soft sand. The establishment of this fact of course removed one principal ground of the fear which mariners before had—of approaching or touching on the bar."

It would appear that the harbour is practicable, and that for commerce and travel the position is one of great consequence:—"The pilgrims from the countries on our north-west border, *en route* to Mecca and other holy cities, would supply traffic to the railway and steam flotilla, and increase the intercourse already established between Kurrachee and the ports of the Persian Gulf." "From the Sutlej to the Oxus, whoever wishes to communicate with any place beyond the sea must pass through Kurrachee. It occupies a position scarcely less favourable to commerce than that of Alexandria." *

The military importance of the port has been asserted in very strong terms by various officers of high standing, and by civilians, whose official connection with government and military affairs qualified them to form an opinion. "Of the harbour of Kurrachee I have always had the highest opinion." † "It can hardly be doubted that Kurrachee is destined to be the great arsenal of the Punjaub and North-western India—perhaps the emporium, and even the real capital, of British India." ‡ Brigadier-general Parr, commanding at Kurrachee, stated that, "by the facilities afforded for rapid communication with Suez and Mooltan, he hoped at no distant date it would positively take less time to move a brigade from Southampton to the Punjaub than it would at present take to move the Kurrachee brigade from this camp to Mooltan; in other words, *you might have Southampton, instead of Kurrachee, the base of your operations for any campaigns in the Punjaub, or any countries beyond it.*"

The question as to how far Kurrachee may afford a suitable port of debarkation for troops destined for the north-west provinces of India, whether under the government of Bombay or Agra, and for the non-regulation provinces (attached to those governments) of Scinde and the Punjaub, or in case of operations against Eastern Beloochistan and Affghanistan, is one of great concern to the British government, and has obtained additional interest from the events of the revolt of 1857. During that period the government availed itself for the first time, on a scale of any magnitude, of this medium. The following is a list of vessels which sailed for Kurrachee with troops from the 14th of July to the 15th of October, 1857:—

| Sailed. | Ship. | No. of Troops. |
|---|---|---|
| July 14. | Sir George Seymour | 227 |
| „ 19. | Ramilies | 212 |
| „ 19. | Castle Eden | 234 |
| „ 21. | Roman Emperor | 193 |
| „ 21. | Seringapatam | 218 |
| „ 21. | Bombay | 348 |
| „ 21. | Albuera | 227 |
| „ 21. | Owen Glendower | 263 |
| Sept. 2. | Alipore | 208 |
| „ 24. | Ireland, S.S. | 301 |
| Oct. 3. | Bahiana, S.S. | 433 |
| „ 3. | Austria, S.S. | 718 |
| „ 15. | Southampton, S.S. | 624 |

TROOPS DISPATCHED BY THE OVERLAND ROUTE.

| Sailed. | Ship. | Men. |
|---|---|---|
| Oct. 2. | Sultan, S.S. | 117 |
| „ 14. | Dutchman, S.S. | 122 |

In connection with the rapid transmission of intelligence to and from India, the future of Kurrachee seems to promise much. During the rebellion of the Bengal sepoys, the want of a rapid medium of imparting and receiving news and official communications was severely felt. Those who are sanguine of the prospects of Kurrachee dwell much on this point. Mr. Andrews, already quoted, thus argues:—"To be the nearest point to Europe of all our Indian possessions is important in many points of view, but more especially with reference to 'the Euphrates valley route,' and every remark relative to the direct communication of Kurrachee is equally, if not more applicable, to that with Bussorah, as materially reducing the sea voyage from India. The electric wire will soon connect Kurrachee with the Punjaub; and when the proposed telegraph communication is established with Europe, whether it be by the Persian Gulf or the Red Sea, or, as it ought to be, by both routes, the advantage will be great, of being the medium of disseminating the political and commercial intelligence of Europe to the most distant parts of our Indian possessions, and giving in exchange the most recent events in India and Central Asia. Hitherto beyond the pale of the electric chain that spans the empire, Kurrachee is destined, ere long, to become the chief seat of the telegraph in India."

Sir Henry Pottinger, so famous in the civil and military administration of India, regarded Kurrachee as the point between India and

* Vide appendix to the reports of Colonel Jacob and of Mr. Dalzell, collector of customs, regarding the trade of the province during the year 1855-6.

† Sir Henry Pottinger.

‡ Sir Justin Sheil.

Europe the best adapted for a port of communication.

The facilities for the navigation of the Indus enter into the discussion in connection with this port. The difficulties in the way of making the Indus navigable are great. Sir Henry Pottinger pronounced it so, after giving much attention to the matter under the most favourable opportunities. The reports which he prepared for the directors of the East India Company were, unfortunately, lost. In conveying at a later period to the court his views of the advantages of Kurrachee as a port, and the facility for railway enterprise afforded in the valley of the Indus, he observed:—"I had a very complete journal of all the events and circumstances attending the first mission to Scinde in 1809, in which the dangers and difficulties of the navigation of the lower delta of the Indus were fully described, and exactly tallied with what have now been brought forward. My journal and all my notes and papers were destroyed on the breaking out of the war in 1818, when the residency at Poonah was burned by the Mahratta army. What I now state may be so far satisfactory, perhaps, to the directors, as showing the views which were early forced on me with regard to the important question now under discussion."*

The advantage of a line of railway in the direction specified would be important in a military point of view, whatever might be its commercial value. Mr. Frere, the government commissioner, has used very conclusive arguments on the subject:—"The practical value of the railway was to increase the available power of every ship, and of every man employed in military and naval operations. In reference to the Punjaub, the capacity of moving troops to a given point was of immense importance. If they looked at the map they would see that they had a mountainous range, between which and our possessions the Indus formed a natural boundary, and the company proposed to make a line along its level plains. In a military point of view the advantage would be this, that if the Khyber Pass should be closed to our forces, they could be moved with rapidity to the Bolan Pass, and in either case the enemy would be taken in flank or in the rear. In the meantime the Euphrates Valley Railway would give them the command of the sea-board of the Persian Gulf, and not only this, but the completion of that railway would practically make Chatham nearer to any point of action in the Persian territory than any military force which could be brought to bear upon it from Central Asia."

* Lieutenant-general the Right Hon. Sir Henry Pottinger, Bart., G.C.B.

Whatever may be the effects, military or commercial, of the Scinde Railway in connection with that of the Punjaub, the improvement of the Kurrachee harbour may be made of vast use to India and to England irrespective of it. A Scinde paper, published at the close of 1857, contained the following:—

"The camel train has commenced its work: eight hundred camels are laid on the line from Kurrachee to Rohree, and it is hoped that within another fortnight the line to Mooltan will be completed. Twenty camels are stationed at each chowkee, and each camel carries a load of four maunds or three hundred and twenty pounds. A rather novel proposition has been made by Moorad Khan, contractor at this station. He engages to convey the regiments expected from England at Kurrachee, to Mooltan in twelve days. He proposes to lay a dawk of one hundred or one hundred and fifty camels, at each of twenty-five chowkies, at intervals on the road. Two soldiers with arms, accoutrements, and ammunition, with water, will form the load for one camel, to proceed to the first halting-place, where fresh camels will carry them on to the next stage, and so on. The first lot of camels will return at night, and next day a fresh batch of soldiers will proceed; thus the whole of the regiments will be in advance together, in batches of three hundred each. The men on each camel will be provided with a cajawah, made quite convenient for them to lie down on. The contractor will only require government to supply biscuits and grog, he guaranteeing a regular and good supply of mutton, eggs, poultry, milk, butter, &c., the whole of the way. This we consider a much better plan than keeping up a large establishment of camels, with the delay of moving up troops by regular marches, the attendant casualties, &c. All this will be obviated by a fair remuneration to the contractor, who stands all risks."

The Indus also, whatever the difficulties of its navigation for commercial purposes, can be made available for military objects, as the following extract, taken, at the close of 1857, from the *Scinde Kossid* will show:—"The steamers *Planet*, *Napier*, and *Assyria*, with the flats *Ethersey* and *Nitocris*, have been ordered down from the Persian Gulf, and are expected here daily. The *Indus*, undergoing repairs at Gizree, will be ready for work again at the end of next week. There will be no delay now in launching the first of the new steamers at Keamaree, as the *Wings of the Wind* has brought up from Bombay all the wood-work required in this operation, and ere long we may hope to see her afloat.

With these valuable acquisitions to the existing defective flotilla on the river, the naval authorities will be able to render invaluable service in the conveyance of troops and stores up the country. With this fleet, and the camel train, organised so efficiently by Colonel Hutt, we ought to be in a position to dispatch some thousands of soldiers for the relief of the upper provinces, in a shorter space of time than can possibly be done from the Calcutta side; and we think the public will agree with us in saying, that it is very much to be regretted that the home authorities did not order the greater portion of the reinforcements now on their way out, to disembark at Kurrachee rather than in Bengal. Had this been done, the present rebellion would have been entirely suppressed much earlier than it can possibly be by the arrangements already made in England for our succour."

Finally, in reference to these views of Indian authorities in reference to this new emporium of commerce, and position of political resource, the *Calcutta Englishman*, so well qualified to offer an opinion, may be consulted:—"Kurrachee, situated at the mouth of the Indus, is fast advancing in prosperity, and into notice as a seaport; it will probably soon be known as the first in the empire, being superior to Calcutta, Madras, or even Bombay. In a commodious harbour, and safe anchorage, it will become a depot for the commerce (export and import) of all Northern India and Scinde with Europe."

The modes of opening up communication through Scinde affect also the commerce and military arrangements of the Punjaub; but serious discussions exist as to whether the railway system or the river navigation is the better mode of accomplishing the object. Two different schemes, based upon different views, on this subject at present occupy the attention of practical men, the East India Company, and the government. One party proposes a railway of more than one hundred miles from Kurrachee to Kotree, on the Indus, so as to render unnecessary the circuitous route of the river through the delta. At Kotree the goods and passengers brought by the train are to be embarked on the Indus, and borne by steamers to Mooltan: another railway is to be constructed thence to Lahore. Originally it was supposed that a canal should connect Kurrachee (or rather Gizreebunder, which is very near it) with Kotree. For this plan the East India Company guarantee five per cent. to the investors. Upon this guarantee, however, the following critique has been made in a letter to Lord Palmerston by Mr. S. H. Clarke, who has been for many years a merchant in Scinde and the Punjaub:—"It would be impossible for any government to ensure to the persons embarking in a railway, or any other speculation, the receipt of a specific dividend, without contracting obligations to an indefinite amount. If the scheme does not pay, the loss must be sustained by some party or other, and that party is the government, until the limit of five per cent has been reached. But if the loss is more than five per cent., not only may the whole of the guaranteed interest be swallowed up, but the company may be gradually run into debt, which debt, if contracted, the shareholders must necessarily pay. I believe that the misconceptions which have existed as to the nature of the East India Company's guarantee have had this mischievous effect, that they have taken away that inducement which would otherwise have existed to investigate the intrinsic merits of any of these guaranteed projects before embarking in them—the shareholder resting on the conviction that he was sure of a five per cent. return upon his money, however worthless and disastrous the enterprise might be."

In favour of the united river and railway scheme, comprising the Punjaub as well as Scinde, the following eminent authorities are pledged, irrespective of those already quoted as approving of *some* railway and river communications being speedily opened up through these provinces:—

"The railroad and the steamers may be said, with truth, to be the crying wants of the Punjaub."*

"What a glorious thing it would have been, had the Euphrates Valley Railway and the Scinde and Punjaub Railway been accomplished facts at the time of the present insurrection!"†

"It is sufficient to say that the Punjaub section will, in a military and political point of view, be of more consequence than perhaps any other part of the railway. Following generally the line of the present Grand Trunk Road, it will bind together the series of first-class military stations held by the very flower of the army, European and native. It will connect the whole of these with the most salient point (Peshawur) of the most important of the several frontiers, by which the British Empire in the East is bounded. It will render the whole power of the empire capable of being rapidly concentrated and brought to bear upon a spot of vital consequence to the politics of Central Asia and of the countries bordering upon Europe. Further, in a commercial point of view, the

* Chief Commissioner of the Punjaub.

† *Lahore Chronicle*, August, 1857.

Punjaub section will command a portion of the commerce between India and Central Asia." *

The survey of the country from Lahore to Peshawur has been recommended by the government of India, and authorised by the East India Company, and its execution entrusted to the engineering staff of the Scinde Railway Company.

Notwithstanding such high authority, and the guarantee given by the East India Company above referred to, it is maintained by other persons of authority that the scheme can never answer the ends proposed. The railway from Kurrachee to Kotree, or to Hyderabad, must be carried, it is maintained, through a comparatively barren track, which would itself afford no means of support; and when vessels come down from the Punjaub to the point where the rail meets the river, it would be unremunerative to unload and consign the cargo to the more expensive conveyance of the rail. By those who advocate this scheme, a company has been formed to navigate the Indus and its confluents by steamers and barges adapted to the depth and character of the streams. The authorities who maintain this view affirm that it will be long before Northern and Western India will be in a condition to support railways, and if ever it be, it must arise from the increased wealth and commercial power and requirements fostered by the more adequate navigation of the great rivers.

Admiral Sir Charles Malcolm, late Commander of the Indian navy; Captain Woodley, one of the most experienced captains of river steam-vessels in the Indian service; the late chief engineers of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay; Messrs. Boulton and Watt; Mr. Fairbairn of Manchester; Mr Penn, Mr. Miller, Mr. Summers, Mr. White, shipbuilder, of Cowes; Mr. Steele, shipbuilder, of Greenock; Captain Hall, C.B., late of the *Nemesis*, one of the most distinguished officers in the English navy; Captain Hoseason, whose talents and scientific attainments are well known in professional circles; Captain Cotton, brother of the celebrated Brigadier Cotton of Peshawur, and of the equally distinguished Colonel Cotton, chief engineer of Madras; Lieutenant Wood, of the Indian navy, who surveyed the Indus, and organised the navigation of that river as it is now conducted under the government;—are authorities in favour of the Indus navigation scheme to the exclusion of the Scinde railways.

There is thus not only a wide field for action, but also for discussion, as to which plan will best suit the wants of Scinde, the Punjaub, and Western India. Both projects can hardly exist long together; and as the railway system is patronised by the East India Company, it is certain to be tried. In a chapter on the commerce of India, the report of the commissioners of the Punjaub will be given, which will probably satisfy the reader as to the commercial value of the respective schemes. In this place it is only appropriate to notice it as it regards the geography and topographical relations of the countries in question, and of the port of Kurrachee in relation to Scinde, the Indus, and the countries above them.

Scinde is not so rich in ancient remains as many other parts of India. One of the most interesting is the ancient city of Brahminabad. Mr. Bellasis has investigated the ruins, and brought to light various objects of value to the antiquarian and historian. The city is situated about fifty miles east of the Indus, near the bank of what then must have been the principal channel when it debouched at Luckput, and which now forms the Eastern Nurra, with its dry channel, and its strings of lakes, or *dhunds*. About the eighth century of our era, if we are to credit the ancient histories of Scinde, Brahminabad was large and flourishing. No histories written since the ninth century refer to it as an existing city, whence it is inferred that about one thousand years ago it was destroyed by an earthquake—no uncommon catastrophe in Indian cities, and Scinde has suffered extensively from such convulsions of nature. No portion of the city was swallowed up, and its ruins can be easily traced. A wall surrounds it, which is provided with gates at certain distances. This circumvallation is about four miles in extent, and probably enclosed a population of one hundred thousand persons, which is far below the amount that the old historians assign to it. The walls and houses are composed of well-made brick, and the building was well executed. Skeletons are found scattered in the ruins, as if the disaster came suddenly, leaving the people no opportunity of escape. Glass and glazed earthenware were in use among the inhabitants, and their vessels of these materials were formed upon Greek models, and are exquisitely elegant. Carvings in cornelian and ivory, and glass enamels, elegantly executed, have been discovered. It has been observed, as a singular circumstance, that the art of dyeing the onyx was known to the dwellers in Brahminabad one thousand years ago, as it is practised in Germany at the present day, by boiling in oil, and then heating. This art was also known in India proper, but has been long lost. Exquisite productions in ivory—toys,

* Report of Punjaub Government on Railways.

cups, and inlaid ornamental work—have also been found, similar in style of execution to the inlaying for which Bombay is so famous. Sets of ivory chessmen were among these delicate manufactures, similar in all respects to those now in use—confirming the opinion entertained by some Indian antiquaries,* that the game was known in India from very remote times. There is now proof that chess was a favourite amusement among the nations of India, not only when Europe was buried in the darkness of the early portion of the middle ages, but long before Christianity shed its light upon western lands.

Scinde and portions of Beloochistan are, like Egypt, almost without rain. That this was not formerly a condition of the climate of Scinde Mr. Bellasis thinks proven by the condition of the bricks in Brahminabad, and other ruined cities in the same neighbourhood; for it is remarkable that in rainless countries clay is seldom baked, the dryness of the atmosphere rendering that process unnecessary. In the ruined cities near the Indus the bricks were invariably baked, affording presumptive evidence that the climate eleven hundred years ago was not what it is now; indeed, there must have been some considerable alterations to cause the river to abandon its course, and form for itself another fifty miles distant. Whether or not the meteorological inductions of the learned antiquary be correct, it is at least certain that he has started an interesting inquiry, and supplied data to guide it.

It is supposed that the vestiges of former generations discovered in the ruins of Brahminabad will throw light upon the interval between the Greek and Mohammedan periods of Indian history, aiding in filling up the historical gap which still exists.† One of the practical advantages at the present day of these antiquarian speculations has been the suggestion that by planting trees, and by cultivation, forced by irrigation, the climate of Scinde may be influenced so as to procure frequent rain.‡

It must not be supposed by the reader that Scinde is entirely without rain; it occasionally falls, and sometimes in furious storms, which smite the earth like a deluge. On a former page, when referring to the rainy seasons of India, notice was taken of such rain-falls in Scinde. The last signal instance of the kind occurred in 1851, during the months of July and August; there had been none other such for thirty years previously. The phenomena attending this exceptional season were remarkable. Reports were made to the commissioner of Scinde concerning them, by whom they were communicated to the Bombay Geographical Society. One of the assistant collectors, while visiting the country between Ghorabbarree and Kotree, near Hyderabad, observed that, although a steady wind blew from the south-west, the clouds invariably came from the east and north-east, and passed over the level country with a gyratory motion to the south-east, apparently turning off towards the latter direction by the western hills. When the wind blew only from the north, there was a cessation of rain. The effect on the delta of the Indus was to destroy cultivation by the sudden and overwhelming rise of the river and the subsequent rains. The assistant commissioner had every reason to apprehend that, by the rising of the Oochta and Lewara Rivers, the low-lying town of Ghorabbarree would be entirely swept away.* In Kurrachee such effect was produced on many houses by the torrent of the Laree. The better class of the houses in Scinde have substantial stone foundations; the frames are of the babool, or even better wood; and to support a coating of prepared mud, with which they are covered, the short wood of the country, either tamarisk or mangrove, is made use of as lathes are in houses of English construction. The roofs are flat, and are protected with mud only.† From the 10th of July to the 4th of August 9·99 inches of rain fell at Kotree (where a register was kept), whereas the usual fall of rain for the whole season at Hyderabad is about two inches.‡

In many portions of Scinde good water for drinking is scarce; the village wells often yield an inadequate supply; and where there is no cultivation or jungle, the small quantity of rain that falls is insufficient to yield a supply for any length of time. This is one cause of the limited population of large districts.

Among what may be termed the phenomena of the climate of Scinde is a peculiarity referred to frequently by the people—that rain falls, at all events in Upper Scinde, in cycles of years, so that there are series of dry years and of rainy years of from forty to fifty in each series. The natives declare that thirty years ago rain fell every year during the hot season, and they foretell that a similar series of years, having their rainy months, is about to commence. There is abundant evidence in the remains of old bunds, and the marks of cultivation along the western frontier, that the river streams at one time afforded a much larger

* Sir William Jones.
† General Woodburn.
‡ The *Bombay Times*, March, 1856.

* G. Elander, assistant to collector for land clearances.
† H. B. Ellis, assistant commissioner.
‡ J. Craig, assistant civil surgeon.

supply of water than they have done of late. The deputy-collector of Sewan informed Mr. Ellis, the assistant-commissioner of Scinde, at the close of 1851, that it was his impression, from his own observation, and what he had heard from the inhabitants, that such cycles of rainy seasons were characteristics of the climate of Scinde.

Reference has been made on former pages to the frequency of earthquakes in India, and in Scinde in particular. On the frontier of Upper Scinde, in 1852, a disastrous instance of such a natural convulsion occurred. On the 24th of January, Kahun, the chief town of the Murrees, was totally destroyed. The people of Cutchee state that every three or four years shocks are felt in the Murree hills. In a report made to the Right Hon. Lord Viscount Falkland, a list of earthquakes for the year 1851 was officially drawn up:—

*January* 17.—A slight shock felt at many places in the Punjaub.
*February* 2.—At Pooljee, near Sewan.
*February* 4.—At Lahore and Wuzeerabad.
*April* 19.—Three shocks felt at Gwadir, in Mekran; several houses destroyed.
*April* 22 and 27.—Earthquakes felt at Oothul and at Syaree, in Sup-Beila.
*December* 13.—Beloochistan; at Shahpore, in Cutchee; at the foot of the Murree hills.

These statistics were communicated by Major John Jacob, C.B. In his letter an inclosure from Lieutenant Merewether, of the Scinde horse, an officer who greatly distinguished himself in the command of irregular cavalry, afforded more detailed information. That officer affirmed that the earthquake of the 9th of February, 1852, extended to Gundava, Dadur, Lakree, Pooljee, and Chuttur. About four o'clock in the morning, at the appearance of the false dawn, the first heavings of the earth gave indications of the approaching catastrophe. Successive shocks threw the people of the whole neighbouring hill country into consternation, and consigned numbers, besides cattle and houses, to a common burial.

In any speculations which Englishmen indulge as to the cultivation and civilisation of Scinde, Beloochistan, and the Punjaub, account must be taken of the peculiar natural laws to which these regions are subjected.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### CEYLON:—GEOLOGY—PRODUCTIONS—POPULATION—RELIGION—LITERATURE—CHIEF TOWNS.

On the second page a general view of Ceylon was given, and it was then intimated that a more detailed description would appear in its appropriate place.

The island is situated between 5° 56′ and 9° 50′ north latitude, and 80° and 82° east longitude. From its shape and position, it has been called "a pearl on the brow of the Indian continent." The superficial area is about two thousand four hundred square miles. It is bounded on the north-east by the Gulf of Manaar, by which it is separated from the mainland; its other limit is the Indian Ocean.

The sea-shore presents more diversity of scenery in proportion than the continent. In many places it is marked by bare and bold rocks, which are for the most part picturesque; generally the shores are wooded, especially with the cocoa-nut tree, and the scenes presented are characterised by rich oriental beauty. The interior is mountainous, the elevations ranging from six to eight thousand feet. The mountains form a sort of natural circular defence, of which the natives frequently availed themselves to resist foreign aggression. Primeval forests clothe the mountains, with few exceptions, to their summits. The cinnamon laurel, the coffee shrub, and other useful and agreeable trees and shrubs, flourish in or near these forests on spots where the situation favours their growth.

The geological character of the island is almost uniform, being, with little exception, constituted of primitive rock. The exceptions consist of new formations, and are to be found in a few places on the shore. The varieties of primitive rock are numerous. Dolomite, quartz, and hornblende, are often met with, but granite greatly predominates. This rock, with gneiss, is found in such varieties as to test severely the skill of the geologist in classification. Grey-coloured granite, fine-grained, is sometimes found. A clergyman well acquainted with the geology of the island says,—"I have seen very beautiful specimens from the sea-shore in the vicinity of Trincomalee, in which the quartz is of a grey or blackish coloured rock-crystal, and the felspar of a vivid fleshy hue." In the Kandian provinces gneiss and sienite are found; the former is considered very beautiful, formed of quartz and white felspar, with black mica, and a multitude of garnets of a

pale colour. Hornblende and greenstone abound in the mountains; the first is seldom seen in massive form, nor are the dolomite and quartz. Dolomite is to be met with as frequently as granite in great variety, "generally crystaline, and of a pure white colour; and very frequently it is formed of rhombs, which a blow of a hammer separates with facility." Embedded and in veins it is found in the neighbourhood of Kandy, and in the lower hills in other districts. In the vicinity of Trincomalee there is a remarkable hill, formed of quartz. Sandstone exists all along the coast—sometimes of a dun colour, and more frequently of a dull yellow. In the north the limestone formation prevails; it contains multitudes of shells, generally of a drab or grey colour. When this rock is broken the fracture is conchoidal.

The minerals of Ceylon are chiefly iron and manganese; others are obtained in scanty proportions. Iron exists all over the island in one or other of its forms—bog iron, magnetic, red hematite, pyrites, specular iron, or blue phosphate. No large vein of iron ore has as yet been discovered. "Black oxide of manganese occurs scattered and imbedded in gigantic rocks in small quantities, but at so great a distance inland, that the carriage would be too expensive to admit of a profitable export trade. It is very remarkable that no other metals have as yet been discovered in a country where the nature of the rock would indicate their existence. However, although some authors have asserted that gold and mercury are found native in Ceylon, such we believe to be most incorrect, and we have never heard that either lead, copper, or tin, has as yet been discovered.

"Lanka-diva* abounds in every variety of the quartz family—hyalite, chalcedony, iron flint, and rock-crystal, which latter is found crystalised and massive in great quantities, and of a variety of colours. This is made use of by the Cingalese, who form lenses for spectacles from it, and employ it for statuary and ornamental purposes. Rose quartz, phrase, amethyst, and cat's eye, are also abundant. The Ceylon cat's eye is the most valuable in existence, and is much more prized there than in Europe. Topaz and schorl are also found in Ceylon; the former is commonly of a yellowish or bluish white colour, but perfect crystals of it are very rarely to be met with. Common schorl occurs very plentifully in granitic rocks, and in some places it is mixed with felspar and quartz; tourmalin is occasionally to be met with, but of a very inferior description, and these are either of red, green, or honey colour.

* The native name for Ceylon.

"In the granitic rock garnet, cinnamon stone, and pyrope abound, and the common garnet is found diffused in gneiss through the whole island; the crystals, however, are diminutive and ill-defined. The precious garnet occurs in hornblende rock in the neighbourhood of Trincomalee, but of an inferior description. Cinnamon stone has heretofore been exclusively found in Ceylon, where it is very abundant, although confined to particular districts, and is principally met with in Matura. It is found in very large masses of many pounds in weight, and small pieces of irregular form in the granitic alluvial. The zircon, called by the Cingalese 'Matura diamond,' which is found in the island, is considered to be the best in the world; besides zircon and hyacinth there is another species in Ceylon, which is opaque, uncrystalised, and massive. Zircon is found both of yellow, green, red, and light grey colours, which the native merchants dispose of respectively for topaz, tourmalin, rubies, and diamonds. Ceylon has for a considerable period been renowned for its rubies, of which there are four species—namely, sapphire, spinell, chrysoberyl, and corundum, which are found in granitic rock. The principal varieties of sapphires—such as red, purple, yellow, blue, white, and star stone—are met with, sometimes of large size, and in perfection, at Matura, Saffragam, and other places. The purple, or oriental amethyst, is rare, and the green still more so. Spinell is very rare, and is occasionally met with in the clay-iron ore in the Kandian provinces, where gneiss is abundant. Chrysoberyl is peculiarly rare, and is said generally to come from Saffragam. Corundum is very plentiful at a place called Battagammana, where it is found on the banks of a small river called Agiri Kandura; it is of a brownish colour, and is in the form of large six-sided prisms.

"In the family of felspar Ceylon produces tablespar, Labrador stone, adularia, glassy felspar, compact felspar, and common felspar. The Labrador stone is found at Trincomalee, and adularia is plentiful in Kandy. Common hornblende is abundant, and glassy tremolite and pitch stone occur in the neighbourhood of Trincomalee. Mica, forming a component part of granite and gneiss, is very plentiful, and frequently is found enclosed in these rocks, where it occurs in very extensive flakes, which the Cingalese employ for ornamental purposes. Green earth is rather uncommon, but is found in Lower Ouva of a green and pea-green colour. At Galle and Trincomalee common chlorite is found scattered through quartz. Talc, dolomite, carbonate of magnesia, and native carbonate of magnesia, are occasionally discovered.

Sulphur and graphite also occur—the former rarely, but the latter is abundant in Saffragam. Nitrate of lime and nitre are very common, and the nitre caves appear to be formed of carbonate of lime and felspar.

"Salt lakes exist to a large extent in the district called Megampattoo, on the sea-shore, and which in all probability are supplied from the sea, as the saline contents of both prove to be of a similar nature.

"All the soils of the island appear to have originated from decomposed granite rock, gneiss, or clay-iron stone, and in the majority of cases quartz is the largest, and frequently nearly the sole ingredient. It is very remarkable that the natural soils of Lanka-diva do not contain more than between one and three per cent. of vegetable substance, which may be attributed to the rapid decomposition, occasioned by a high degree of temperature, and heavy falls of rain. The most abundant crops are produced in the dark brown loam, which is formed from decomposed granite and gneiss, or in reddish loam, which is formed from Kabook stone, or clay-iron stone. The soils which have been found to produce inferior crops are those in which a large proportion of quartz is contained. The soil derived from clay-iron stone is of a reddish brown colour, and has the property of retaining water for a very long time, to which may be attributed its productive quality. To the practical and scientific agriculturist Lanka-diva affords abundant opportunity for experiment and investigation where the soil is in a state of nature, and unimproved by the admixture of any description of manure."*

Ceylon is very favourably situated as to its water supply, a most important condition to the prosperity of a tropical country. The streams flowing from the higher grounds are numerous and pure, and in most parts of the island excellent springs supply the people. The remains of tanks and reservoirs are frequently traced, and on a vast scale, showing that the whole island at a very remote period was brought under high cultivation. So stupendous were those formations for the purpose of irrigation, that it has been observed of them by a competent authority, "they were hardly surpassed by the kindred wonders of Egypt." The British government has neglected to restore these great works, although it must be obvious that the soil might be made vastly more productive, that many ages past the population was many fold what it is now, and the wealth of the island proportionate. Sir Thomas Maitland, half a century since, proposed the restoration of the tanks. "Giant's Tank," at Cattoe Kare, was especially made the subject of this recommendation, but the estimated cost was £25,000, and the time required to bring it back to something like its former efficiency was three years. These estimates were probably erroneous, but they were sufficient to deter the government from the undertaking. Some idea may be formed of the magnitude of that ancient work from the fact that villages have been formed *within its limits*, whose inhabitants have made several other tanks to irrigate their fields. Sir Emerson Tennant instituted inquiries, and urged the supreme government to undertake the matter, on the ground that it was "certain to repay the revenue the whole, and more than the whole, of the expenditure."

The productions of Ceylon may be inferred from its geological character, climate, and amount of irrigation. Its most characteristic production is lemon-grass, which is so called by the English because it exudes a powerful smell of lemon. The natives call it Lanka-diva, and the botanical name is *Andropogon schenanthus*. It is excellent pasture for buffaloes, and yields an essential oil, which would prove an exquisite perfume. This grass grows on all the Kandian hills; its smell and taste are refreshing, unless too frequently used.

The vegetables of Europe do not grow well, except in Newera Ellia, but the indigenous vegetables are luxuriant—such as sweet potatoes, yams, occus, bringals, &c.

The chief cultivation is rice. The paddy fields are the grand reliance of the Cingalese husbandman. The mode of sowing and tilling is much the same as throughout the East generally. The plough is drawn by oxen or buffaloes, which also tread out the corn. The superstition of the people causes in various ways much loss to the agriculturist, especially loss of time. Some of the ceremonies connected with the harvest are eminently absurd. "The treading out of the paddy is performed upon a hard floor, prepared for the purpose by beating the clay; before the natives begin the work, however, a mystic rite and incantation are observed by the owner of the paddy, in the expectation of preserving the produce from the evil spirits. The ceremony is performed by describing three circles, one within the other, on the centre of the floor, with the ashes of wood, which the owner scatters from a large leaf; the circles are equally quartered by a cross, the four points of which are terminated by a character resembling a written letter *M*; within the inner circle the owner lays some paddy-straw, upon which he places a few pieces of quartz and a small piece of the kohomba-tree, the whole of which he covers

* *Ceylon and the Cingalese.*

over with paddy-straw; he then walks round the cabalistic figure three times, and stops at one of the ends, salaams three times with upraised hands, and finally prostrates himself upon the earth, all the time repeating incantations. When this ceremony has been completed, the paddy is piled upon the concentric circles, and the buffaloes are immediately after urged to the task of treading the corn." Wheat and maize are also grown.

Coffee is indigenous to the island (*Coffea Arabica*). The natives have used the decoction of the berry as long as anything definite in Cingalese history can be traced. The coffee now grown in the island is, however, generally supposed to be an importation from Java, where it was obtained from Mocha. The wild coffee of Ceylon is very inferior. The appearance of the cultivation is most pleasing. The bushes in the flowering season are covered with silvery blossoms, which contrast finely with the deep green leaves. When the shrubs are in fruit, the appearance is also striking, the berries, when ripened, being of a deep red colour, harmonise with the foliage. The ordinary appearance of a coffee plantation is that of an extensive garden of evergreens, with occasional forest trees among them, which are preserved to shelter the plantations.

The sugar-cane is cultivated with some success.

Various plants and shrubs, profitable for commerce, are also cultivated. Tobacco, of a quality highly valued in the Madras presidency, has for some years received attention from cultivators.

Cotton has been neglected, but some fine specimens have been grown. The opinion of an experienced American planter was taken a few years ago as to the adaptation of the soil and climate to this article, and he made the following report:—"I am of opinion, from what I saw of the climate, temperature, and soil, that Ceylon will produce cotton *equal in quality*, and when the comparatively *small amount of capital* required is considered, I doubt not it may even produce the article *cheaper than we can in America*, where a large sum must be laid out for labour, and where the expense of food and clothing is much greater than the cost of importing labour into Ceylon, independently of the risk of a mortality among the labourers after they had been purchased."

Under the Dutch rule indigo was cultivated, and considerable quantities exported; since the British acquired the island that cultivation has fallen off. The plant is indigenous, and the soil adapted to yield a superior quality under proper management.

One of the most curious productions of Ceylon is the water-nut (*Ambuprasudana*). The natives rub the nut over the interior of their "water chatties," by which means all impure and earthy matter which the water holds in solution is precipitated, rendering it healthy. Even muddy water, and water which, although apparently clear, is known to be unhealthy, are purified by this nut.

Various fine trees, which render luxurious and wholesome fruit, and some of which, by their foliage, bark, or timber, are valuable for commerce, are natural to the soil of Ceylon.

The cocoa-nut tree holds a prominent place among these, encircling nearly the whole island. The appearance of this tree is very imposing everywhere, but viewed from the sea upon the shores of Ceylon it is especially so. Growing to a height considerably more than a hundred feet, its form, leaf, and fruit all picturesque, it is an attractive object, and groves of these trees present an aspect so tropical to Europeans, and so peculiar, as always to excite their interest, especially when first seen. Europeans, also, generally relish the arrack distilled from the juice of the flower, and the sugar, although deep-coloured and coarse-grained, which is prepared from the same source. The natives eat the pulp of the green fruit, and it yields a refreshing drink, which orientals and occidentals alike prize. With the ripe fruit, and the oil extracted from it, English people are well acquainted. The refuse, or oil cakes, is also known in England to be good food for cattle. Cordage, matting, mattress-stuffing, &c., are used in Europe when beaten from the husks of the cocoa-nut. The young branches are used as brooms; the fibre as cordage; the leaves as thatch; and when burned they produce a useful alkali. To the Cingalese, especially those living near the coast, the cocoa-nut tree is of unspeakable value in sickness as well as health, for the bark oil is an emollient in cutaneous diseases, and the root affords a decoction, the medicinal virtue of which is much relied upon. It is probable that articles of furniture made from the cocoa-nut tree will be ultimately used in England, for the wood takes a fine polish, and has a beautiful vein.

The areka, or betel-nut tree (*Areka catechu*), is also a useful growth of the island. It is a tall palm, with handsome feathery foliage, which is attached to the tree by a tough impervious bark, which is used by the natives for preserving drink or rice on their journeys. The nut is used for various native purposes; and when exported is also turned to account by foreigners.

The bread-fruit tree (*Artrocarpus incisa*)

has been too frequently described in popular works to require description here. The natives make a curry of the fruit, and the British boil it or fry it as a vegetable.

The orange-tree is especially beautiful in Ceylon, and noted for the richness of its odour.

The nutmeg, clove, and other sweet spice shrubs, are interesting in appearance, delightful in odour, and valuable as materials of commerce.

The cinnamon (*Laurus cinnamorum*) is well known as a staple of Ceylon commerce. The anti-free-trade system, so long pursued by the government, has, however, oppressed the cultivation, and thrown the trade to a great extent into the hands of the Dutch at Java. By levying and maintaining an export duty for many years, the production has been repressed, to the permanent injury of the colony. The cinnamon laurel is not so beautiful as some others of the useful shrubs and trees noticed, but it is nevertheless pleasing to the eye.

The jack-tree (*Artrocarpus integrifolia*) is one of the enormous species of trees indigenous to Ceylon. This tree is elegant in form, most agreeable to the eye, and it extends a grateful shade by its far-spreading branches. The fruit is of enormous size, varying from six inches to two yards in circumference, the form being oval. Both the trunk and branches of this tree bear fruit. "Their external covering is rough, and of a greenish hue, and their section of a whitish colour, containing a number of kernels, enveloped in a yellowish coating, which is of a most luscious flavour, but peculiarly disagreeable to the olfactory nerves. The kernels are the size of a pigeon's egg, and, when cooked, make good food, and excellent curry. The timber is of a yellow colour, but when polished with beeswax it approaches to a light-coloured mahogany, and all ordinary furniture is manufactured of it."

The mulberry-tree flourishes in various parts of the island, but little use is made of it. The production of silk in Ceylon ought to be considerable.

The tala, or taliput (*Carypha umbraculifera*), is a magnificent palm, which grows to nearly a hundred feet in height. The appearance of this remarkable tree is very graceful, being about nine feet in circumference, measured near the ground, and tapering gradually away to the top. The leaves are often twenty-five feet in length, and more than half that breadth; they droop, and spread out at the top, like a Siamese umbrella. The flower is very large, and of a bright yellow hue. This is enclosed in a pod, or sheath, which, when the flower comes to maturity, bursts with a loud explosion. The expanded blossom displays its rich colour for three months, when it disappears gradually, and a plum-like fruit ripens. The natives aver that the blossoms never arrive at full perfection until the tree is half a century old, when it begins to die, and at the age of about a hundred years withers away. The uses to which this splendid specimen of Ceylon palms is put are very various. The trunk contains a pith, which the natives dry, and make into sweet cakes of a delicious flavour. This pith is formed into a sort of meal, and also flour, which the natives employ for divers culinary purposes. The leaves are used for state fans by persons of dignity; they are also converted into a species of papyrus, and, like the cocoa-nut leaf, form a good thatch for houses.

The mee-tree is another of these huge specimens of the Ceylon forest. It bears minute white blossoms of an unpleasant odour. These are easily shaken down by the slightest breeze, and cover the vicinity like flakes of snow, so profuse are they. When driven into the tanks by a higher than ordinary wind, they float for a short time on the surface, and then decomposing, spread a peculiar pestiferous influence. The fruit is chiefly used to express from it a pungent oil, which the natives apply to a great many purposes.

The ebony (*Dyopsiras ebonum*) is a very notable tree of Ceylon. The jet black colour of the wood, together with its peculiar hardness, and the polish of which it is susceptible, make it valuable as an export. The foliage is nearly as black as the wood, but the bark of the trunk is a bright silver grey, almost white. The branches shoot out about thirty feet from the root, and droop, presenting a mournful appearance. It might appropriately displace the cypress above the graves of the dead.

The calamander (*Dyospyrus hirsuta*) is a variegated ebony, and of great value. This tree has ceased to be so common in the forests as formerly, having been extensively sought after for exportation, and for the manufacture of furniture. The prevailing colour of the wood is black, but it is mottled with a rich brown. It takes as high a polish as the ebony proper, and is as close grained. The appearance of the tree is magnificent.

The red sandal-tree, and the satin-wood tree, are also still to be met with in the forests, but are becoming scarce, the satin-wood being much used in the island for household articles of taste, and the sandal-wood being in great request for exportation.

The kabook-tree attains an immense growth.

The timber is hard, and of a reddish dun colour, not pleasing to the eye. It nearly always fastens its roots near springs, and with the condition of a supply of water will flourish in any situation whatever. It is found near the sea, in the interior, upon the level plain, and high up on the steep mountain.

The bo-tree (*Ficus religiosa*) is one of the most noted trees in Ceylon, because sacred to Buddha. It grows to a great elevation, is richly umbrageous, and its branches and leaves are exquisitely formed. The last-mentioned are heart-shaped, and so sacred to the superstitious people, that it is sacrilege to carve their form on any article for common use, or on any building, except on temples and palaces, and their respective furniture. The blossoms are milk-white, except a golden tinge within the centre; they are bell-shaped, and extremely beautiful, both in colour and perfection of form. These trees grow to a great age, and are jealously guarded by the people.

The stately tamarind and the glorious banyan are to be seen in insular as well as peninsular India. The citron, wild jessamine, and a host of flowering shrubs, adorn the wood scenery of this beautiful isle, while the perfumes of these sweet offsprings of the forest constantly load the delicious air.

The floral productions of the island rival those of most parts of the mainland. There are few places, except some spots in the Deccan and Cashmere, to be compared with it for flowering shrubs; and only in the valley just named, and some spots at the foot of the Himalayas, can such floral wonders be seen as charm the eye, and captivate the sense, in Ceylon.

Trees in the Ceylon forests are very generally attended by parasites. The pepper-vine, and many rich flowering creepers, cling to the trunks, and form their delicate tracery around them.

The produce of the island of a European character does not abound, and the markets for such commodities are consequently dear. Mutton generally costs two shillings a pound; fresh butter is dearer; kid, which is much used instead of mutton, bears about the same price as mutton in England. Ham, bacon, tongues, &c., are imported, and are costly. Beef is easily procured at the price usual in England, but it is seldom good. Pork is plentiful, but good bacon is seldom cured. Poultry of all kinds is sold at rates similar to those in London, but it is inferior to that of England, unless kept some time and fattened by Europeans. There is game to requite the hunter or the fowler—deer, the wild hog, and various birds, all more or less suitable for food.

The fisherman, who for sport or profit pursues the piscatory art in the waters of Ceylon, will find his labour requited. The seir fish is the most valued; it resembles in colour and flavour the salmon, but is supposed to excel the fish so much prized in Britain. Some weigh as much as twenty pounds.

The bull's-eye pomfret is a beautiful fish, with head and body of a vermillion tint—the scales being bright yellow, as if tangled with gold. Mackerel is very plentiful, and soles, whiting, and other fish abound.

The mullet is much valued; it is taken by a sort of small harpoon at night, the fishermen waving lighted torches, which bring the creatures to the surface in surprising numbers. The river fish also abound, and are delicious eating.

The species of shell-fish along the coast are numerous, but few of them are fit for food. Only in one particular place are oysters edible, and for these divers descend and strike them with hammers from the rocks.

The fisheries of Ceylon are neglected, and there is an actual importation of dry fish for food, while the rivers and seas are rich with finny treasures. No trouble is taken to dry and preserve such sorts as are suitable for the process.

The animals mostly used by Europeans for food have been already noticed. The island abounds with wild animals, beasts, and reptiles of nearly every species known to continental India, and some that are peculiar.

The elephant of Ceylon is supposed to be a very superior creature of his species. The oldest naturalists and historians, who refer to the natural history of Lanka-diva, express themselves strongly as to the superior quality of the ivory of the elephants' tusks exported thence. Both ancient and modern writers have affirmed that the Phœnicians shipped large numbers of elephants from this island to the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea; and it is alleged that those used in the Punic wars were obtained thence. It is indisputable that the monarchs of continental India highly valued the Ceylon elephants for their superior strength, docility, and courage. Some modern writers affirm that the elephants of South Africa are much superior to those of Asia. The narrative of the great African hunter, Gordon Cumming, and that of the celebrated missionary to the Bechuanas, Moffatt, would certainly lead to such a conclusion. According to Cuvier, the Indian and African elephants manifest much diversity of form; he pronounces in favour of the former. Tauconier says that the African elephant

recognises by tokens of extraordinary intelligence the superiority of the former. These creatures are now only to be found in the thickest forests of the interior.

The elk, the finest of the deer tribe, bears a miniature resemblance to the fossil elk of Ireland. Mr. Sirr, in his work on Ceylon, notices the smallest of the species in the following terms:—"It is called by some naturalists the musk-deer, the Linnæan name of which is *Moschus meminna*, the Cingalese walmeenya. These diminutive creatures, perfect in their proportions, are the most exquisitely lovely of all quadrupeds; the beauty of their delicate limbs, lustrous eyes, spotted skins, and graceful forms, baffling all description. We had a full-grown male, whose height did not exceed ten inches, and length fourteen; the throat, neck, and stomach where milk-white; the remainder of the body was grey, regularly striped with black, over which were equi-distant yellow spots. The head gradually tapered to the snout, whilst from either side of the mouth protruded a small but perfectly-shaped tusk; the eyes and ears large and open, the tail short, and the weight under five pounds." The Kandians prize the albinos more than any other of the deer family.

The wild buffalo is a fierce and vindictive animal, who often turns on the hunter with obstinate and ferocious courage.

The leopard is said to be marked by this peculiarity—that he cannot draw back the claws within the paw, as other varieties of the species. They are very powerful, attaining sometimes to the length of seven feet and a half. They are not willing to attack man, except in self defence; but are destructive to cattle and dogs. This is the most formidable animal to the natives, because of the loss of property occasioned by it. The bear is, however, more dangerous to man personally, for although a small animal, his strength is great, and his courage daring: he never fails to attack man if he approach.

The wild hog is powerful and ferocious—not only ready to defend himself against the hunter, but also to attack him, and almost any animal that enters the precincts of its haunts, which are the thickly-wooded districts. The flesh is much prized by epicures.

The jackal infests the jungles, as does also the ichneumon. Monkeys, squirrels, sloths, weazels, porcupines, and flying foxes are numerous in the low woods and in the forests. The porcupine is injurious to the cocoa-nut tree, digging down to the tender roots and destroying the life of the tree.

Rats are almost a plague in the island; they are to be seen in the houses and in the fields, and display the greatest boldness in the presence of man. "The musk-rat will occasionally measure twelve inches from the snout to the tail; the head is slender, the upper jaw projecting considerably beyond the lower, the whiskers bushy, long, and white, the colour of the coat grey, but the feet are totally devoid of hair, and the tail is thick at the root. The effluvia of this creature is most powerful; and, if it runs over any edible, the article becomes so impregnated with the peculiar smell as to be totally unfit for use." *

Reptile nature is prolific in the hot climate of Ceylon. Crocodiles are very large, sometimes measuring twenty feet in length: they differ much in the formation of the head from the crocodiles of the Ganges. Nothing can exceed in ferocity these monsters, who will invariably attack man when opportunity occurs. They swarm in the tanks as well as in the rivers, and after the rains take up their haunts on low inundated ground. In seasons of long-continued drought they become especially dangerous, as they make their way from the dried-up tanks to the rivers.

The cobra-di-capello, or hooded snake, is regarded by the natives as sacred; and although its deadly sting is feared, they will not kill it. It can hardly be said to be worshipped, notwithstanding the reverence paid to it, but formerly it was the object of adoration. There are two species of the cobra—one, of a light colour, is called by the natives high caste, and the other, of a dark colour, they call low caste. The tic-polonga, although not so large, is more dangerous; the attack is sudden, and the sting almost momentarily fatal. It attacks all creatures that come within range of its venomous power.

The cobra has a formidable enemy, which is also numerous in the island. "The beautiful little creature, the ichneumon, is the declared foe to this snake, and is invariably the assailant: the animal springs upon the back of the snake and seizes the nape of the neck, and never uncloses its teeth until the snake is lifeless. Those who have witnessed the battle, say that the cobra always tries to escape; and that before commencing the fight the ichneumon runs to a particular plant and eats a portion, and this serves as an antidote to the reptile's poison. We are rather incredulous upon this latter point, but are quite certain that the ichneumon will assail the snake in the open air, and as scrupulously avoid the encounter in an enclosed space." †

The monster snake of Ceylon is the

* *Ceylon and the Cingalese.* † Ibid.

amaronda (of the genus Python). It measures from seventeen to twenty-five feet, and attacks jackals, deer, and young buffaloes—entwining itself round them like the boa-constrictor, it crushes its prey, and then covers it with saliva before devouring. It seldom attacks man.

The insect world is very numerous, as might be expected in such a climate. The fire-flies are, as in continental India, brilliant and beautiful. Beetles exist in endless variety, and are much admired by Europeans. The white ants are as destructive as on the shores of the peninsula; and many other noxious insects torment the inhabitants and quadrupeds. The tick, which attaches itself to the leaves of trees, will, if shaken down, attack men or horses, drawing blood with painful voracity. These creatures will insinuate themselves into the soft flesh of horses and dogs, especially the latter, driving the animals mad with pain.

The land-leech is one of the most tormenting creatures in the island, every morass and jungle containing it. No clothing is impervious to its attacks: it insinuates itself through garments or between their folds, and, fastening upon the flesh, gorges itself with blood. Many Europeans suffer from inflammation and ulceration following their bite, and loss of life sometimes ensues. Animals are often destroyed by them, especially sheep. They infest the grass and wooded heights.

The birds of Ceylon rival those of the neighbouring continent. The wild peacock is a singularly beautiful creature. The Cingalese starling has a plumage varied and pleasing. The blue-rock pigeon, jungle crow, and rhinoceros-bird, are remarkable specimens of the ornithological characteristics of the island. It is contended by some authors on natural history that "Lanka-diva" is richer than any other country in birds of gay plumage and fine form. "The Paradise flycatcher, or sultana bulbul of the Hindoos (*Muscipita Paradisi*), is met with in jungles, gardens, and shrubberies, from the warmer parts of the Himalayas to the most southern extremity of Ceylon. It is a peculiarly graceful bird, the body and long sweeping tail of the male being white, with the primaries black, edged with white. The body and tail of the female are of a reddish brown, with the breast-feathers clouded grey." *

In the high regions of the island, a bird which is common in the Himalayas is occasionally found—"the monaul, golden fowl, or Impeyan pheasant (*Lophophorus Impeyanus*). The male bird has a remarkably beautiful plumage, its crest, head, and throat being of a rich bronzy green; the middle of the neck is purple, glossed with a coppery hue; back and wing coverts rich purple, each feather tipped with bronzy green; the legs and feet are of a greenish ash, whilst across the lower part of the back is a band of pure white. The female is buffy-brown, mixed with black and white. A more beautiful object can scarcely be imagined than this gorgeously plumaged bird taking his lofty and sweeping flight through the air, full in the light of the noon-day sun, the rays of which are reflected in surpassing brilliancy from his brightly-tipped feathers." *

All the birds of the island are not to be admired. The carrion crow is a common tormenter. These ravenous creatures will tear food from the hands of children, ravish a morsel from the teeth of a dog, and even fly into apartments, making prizes from the table around which Europeans are seated.

"The devil bird" is remarkable for its "discordant and unearthly calls" in the evening. These are believed by the natives to be omens of evil to all who hear them.

The Brahmin kite is an ill-looking creature, the relentless enemy of the tortoise, which he bears on high, and dashes down upon some jutting rock. He is also a fierce and effective foe of the snake and serpent.

Ceylon has often been called "a land of contradictions" as to its animal haunts—beasts, birds, reptiles, and insects, being often found where persons acquainted with other tropical climates would never look for them, or expect to find them. Thus crocodiles often wander, as before shown, into the jungles. The black adder and scorpion are fond of entering human habitations, and coiling themselves up in the bed-clothes, or in garments that may happen to lie in their way. The leopard approaches the village wells to drink, although the river may not be distant, and will walk quietly into the enclosures of houses or bungalows, and carry off dogs or poultry. The wild elephant will break his way into gardens, and, crushing down fences, take up his abode for the night close to a human habitation. The red-leg partridge is sometimes shot where aquatic birds might only be supposed to come within range of the sportsman's gun; and the snipe is bagged in localities such as his species in other countries are supposed to avoid. This may possibly be accounted for by the fact that hill, dale, vale, river, and ravine—cultivated ground, morass, tank, paddy field, and seashore, are all found within a comparatively small compass. Whatever the *rationale* may be, it is unquestionably the fact that animal life of all sorts seems to find means of

* *The Birds of Asia.*

* *The Birds of Asia.*

preserving itself within the island in spots not usually adapted to the species which, nevertheless, resort to them. An exemplification of this occurs in the pages of a light and agreeable writer in the following instance:—"We had frequently camped in swamps of most ominous appearance, and had closed our mosquito nets with suspicious care, when, to our surprise, not an enemy appeared; while here, on the banks of a dry stream, with not a drop of water to generate the race, we were attacked in the most cruel manner. Venus Anadyomene, rising from the sea, was the original type of the mosquito: like her, the insect springs ephemeral and beautiful from the water, leaving its shell behind; and once fairly launched into this upper world, never ceases from stinging and tormenting miserable humanity when an occasion offers."*

The tortoise, or land turtle, is found in great numbers in the beds as well as on the banks of rivers.

The large size of most animals natives of Ceylon is remarkable. Generally, island animals are smaller than those of their species inhabiting neighbouring continents, but this is not the case in "Lanka-diva." The elephants, as already shown, grow to a great size; so do leopards and wild hogs. The peacock is only equalled in size and beauty by that of Pegu and Tenesserim, but in Ceylon the bird is strong and fierce, attacking snakes, and even the cobra, with success, so that vast numbers of reptiles perish by them. These birds live in great flocks, and when in flight, their magnificent plumage reflecting the bright clear light in so pure an atmosphere, presents a spectacle of wondrous beauty. The adjutant bird is larger here than elsewhere, measuring generally seven feet in height, and more than fifteen from tip to tip of the spread wings. They appear as if subjected to some stern discipline, as they are ranged motionless along the rivers in long line, watching eagerly until the appearance of a fish, when they promptly seize the prey. They are equally expert in seizing and killing cats, dogs, snakes, and even large serpents; indeed, the adjutant bird, peacock, carrion crow, and Brahmin kite, by their incessant warfare upon reptiles, prevent the latter, in such a climate, and with such a superficial configuration as Ceylon, from becoming overwhelmingly numerous. It is astonishing, considering the vast number of them thus destroyed, that they remain so numerous in the island as they are. An experienced traveller writes of forest life in Ceylon,—"Hundreds of *polychromatic* birds (songsters would suit the sentence better, but unfortunately, the birds in Ceylon don't sing) sport in the higher branches, and clouds of butterflies, 'the Cynthias of the hour,' that, large as larks, and as flaunting as dahlias,

> "'Make the rose's blush of beauty pale,
> And dim the rich geranium's scarlet blaze,'

flit and hover about, and, in their 'frank lustinesse,' as Spenser has it, gambol amongst the gorgeous tropical foliage, and chase each other from mead to flower." The red ants, hornets, centipedes, leeches, land-lice, &c., are of extraordinary size, and the tick, although not bigger than the head of a large pin, when gorged with blood, will swell until it is nearly a quarter of an inch broad.

The trees and foliage, like the animal life, are large in comparison with those of their species on, at all events, the neighbouring coasts of Coromandel and Malabar. Flowers, also, grow to huge size, as well as beautiful perfection. The red lotus, which is extremely pretty, surprises by its magnitude, and the white lotus rivals it in magnificent appearance.

Nature seems as if in a perpetual struggle to produce the beautiful and wonderful, but at the same time constrained to yield creatures most noxious in strange variety, and with all conceivable means of inflicting torture. These latter cause great drawbacks to the enjoyment by Europeans of the lovely scenery of the island. One "who has hunted in Ceylon" has expressed the pleasure and pain of country pastime there in a light at once humorous and instructive:—"What picture can be more delicious and enticing, and who would not give up the stale enjoyments of a smoky city for an hour of such an existence? But before the enterprising and enraptured Londoner *does* give up the comforts and sports of his native land, let him first consider the reverse of the picture, and then decide. In the first place, three, probably, out of the four individuals of our party are suffering from fevers, dysenteries, agues, leeches, or land-lice! The refreshing tea is probably sucked from a beery bottle; the chicken, from too close contact with the heated body of some nigger, has become disagreeably lukewarm; the cheroot, having been sat upon several times during the ride, can be made to answer no other purpose than that of exhausting the temper and lights of the smoker; the tree is still umbrageous, but every shaking twig or leaf causes one to glance furtively upwards, to see that no snake or scorpion is crawling above you, ready to plump on your nose at any moment. You may, indeed, close your eyes—in fact, that you probably would do—to keep out the eye-

* *The Bungalow and the Tent.*

flies that swarm around you, but as for sleeping, or ruminating on anything peaceful or agreeable, the red ants, almost as large as wasps, or the soothing hum of Brobdignagian hornets, of bat-like dimensions, entirely put that out of the question. It is my humble opinion that the annoyances, and heat, and dirt of an out-door existence in a tropical country far exceed any pleasure or benefit to be derived from it. I would rather shoot grouse on a hill-side in Scotland, or follow the fox across any *tolerable* country in England, than return a second Gordon Cumming in the matter of wild sports. Then, ambitious Briton, *crede experto*, trust one who has tried, and stay at home. Ceylon is, in truth, the paradise of insectivora. The worms attain the length of three or four feet, the beetles are the size of mice, the ants of wasps; spiders' webs are tough enough to pull one's hat off, and the bite of a hornet or a wasp is sufficient to swell you up like a human toad. All these animals, and many others are most tender and unceasing in their attentions to strangers, and 'pasture on the pleasures of each place,' whether nose, eyes, mouth, or ears, with a zest and pertinacity that is anything but soothing to the owner of the soil."

The climate of Ceylon has been exceedingly extolled, and in certain seasons and localities the praise seems merited; but there is excessive moisture in some portions, while others are dry, and subject to intense heat. On the whole, the climate is less healthy than on the neighbouring continent. The sanatorium of Sattara, in the Deccan, far surpasses in salubrity and rivals in beauty any part of the island. Europeans are much subject to cholera, especially in the evenings, after a full meal, and indulgence in the tempting and delicious fruits which follow that repast. They are also harassed with enlarged and indurated livers, and a very short residence leads to functional derangement of that organ. The peculiar yellow complexion of Europeans long resident in Ceylon strikes all new arrivals. Fever and ague are common in almost every part of the country, and in several of the towns. A residence in the capital and its vicinity is almost sure to entail such complaints upon natives of England. Those who hunt in the jungles and forests are more in danger from the jungle fever than from elephants, bears, leopards, cobras, adders, scorpions, and all the other powerful or dangerous creatures that make their haunts there. Europeans who superintend the great roads are frequently carried away by fever; and merchants and their agents who visit the interior and even such as reside in the healthiest coast towns, pay a severe penalty in exhausted strength or fevered veins for their pursuit of wealth. A competent witness thus describes the climate, which, with the characteristics of the country already described, will account for its general insalubrity:—"I am not aware of any country that presents such opposite peculiarities of climate as Ceylon, or in which an admirer of continual moisture, or unbroken drought, could so easily suit himself. The island is swept alternately by the south-west and north-east monsoons, each of which remain in full force for six months; but the south-west monsoon, saturated with the enormous evaporation from the tropical ocean and the supposed wet land of Abyssinia, brings far more rain than the north-east monsoon; in fact, the rain in some parts of the island during the time it prevails is incessant. After discharging abundant moisture in its south-westerly course, it is at length intercepted at its rain-level by the mountains of the interior, and completely emptied of its moisture, and thence it continues its course indeed over the north-east part of the island, but with the material difference of having totally changed its nature from a cold and saturating to a dry and almost parching wind. In November the north-east monsoon commences to blow, and continues during five or six months, but, in consequence of its having traversed far cooler seas and drier lands than the south-west monsoon, it bears comparatively little moisture; and the rain does not extend beyond the mountains of the interior: so that whilst the south-west half of the island has six months' fine weather, and is saturated for the other six, the north-east portion has ten months' consecutive, unbroken, fine weather, during which not a drop of rain falls, and only two months' moisture. This peculiarity of the monsoon may account for the fact of all the tanks, the gigantic nature of which render Ceylon so interesting as telling of bygone wealth and prosperity, being situated in the north-east portion of the island. Standing on Lady Horton's Walk during the south-west monsoon, and looking towards the north-east, you can distinguish the line in the clouds distinctly marked where the rain ceases abruptly. And whilst the hills and mountains immediately around you are rank and reeking with excessive moisture, the background is filled up with mountains that for ten months scarcely see rain, displaying those hazy roseate tints that constitute so peculiar a beauty in Indian scenery, and that tell plainly of a parched soil cropping out through a stunted and scanty vegetation." *

* Edward Sullivan, Esq.

The scenery of Ceylon can be better appreciated by the hunter or fowler than by men engaged in other occupations. The pursuit of the elephant or wild boar will bring the sportsman into many situations of surpassing beauty, which can hardly be witnessed by persons under any other circumstances—unless perhaps soldiers during a campaign, in which hostilities might be directed against insurgent natives. To pass round the island in a steamer or pleasure yacht, entering the bays, creeks, and harbours, from which prospects would be afforded differing from the open sea-views, would also enable the lover of the picturesque to realise much of the beauty for which Ceylon is so celebrated. All, however, who visit it, and travel upon the public roads, will have opportunity sufficient for testing its claims to be the Elysium of the East. The roads are far superior to any in continental India. This arises from the system of forced labour adopted by the rulers of the island from very remote times. The native kings accomplished all their great public works, as long as history can conduct us back, by the labour of men constrained to work without requital. The British continued to enforce labour, but recompensed it: without adopting some compulsory method, labour could not be procured, so little industry is there in the natives. In continental India the governors of the presidencies have no such resources, hence the superiority of the great roads of Ceylon. If the traveller in quest of sublime and beautiful scenery passes along these roads, he will have his desire abundantly gratified, for they generally conduct through some of the finest country in the world.

Point de Galle is usually the first place with which acquaintance is formed on arrival from Europe, and the great line or lines of road lead from that place to Colombo, thence to Kandy, and thence to Trincomalee. From each of these towns good roads branch in various directions.

The road from Point de Galle to Colombo lies along shore, proceeding north on the south-west coast. A thin wood of cocoa-nut trees lies between the road and the sea. The distance is about seventy miles. The line of country is populous, both sides of the road being studded with native huts, the appearance of which an English traveller compared to those which usually adorn the illustrated editions of *Paul and Virginia*. The cocoa-nut groves are so continuous, as to give an unpleasant impression of sameness; but the perpetual views of the sea are delightful and refreshing, sea and sky shining in the purest azure. Near to Colombo the cocoa-nut groves pleasingly alternate with the cinnamon gardens of the government. This shrub, which is so profitable to commerce, grows to the height of between four and five feet, and resembles the dwarf lilac both in the hue and form of the leaf. The vicinity of Colombo is not so picturesque as that of Point de Galle; and although there are many pleasant inland prospects along the road, it is much less agreeable than almost any other on the island, or at all events would be considered so but for its fine sea-views.

From Colombo to Kandy the route lies through magnificent landscapes. The length of the road is over seventy miles. A few miles from the first-named town there is a fine bridge of boats, over which the traveller passes, which pays an enormous toll yearly. For a third part of the journey after leaving the coast the scenery is low, paddy fields and other cultivation affording their peculiar interest. The appearance of the young rice is very agreeable, the plant being then of an exquisitely bright yet delicate green. At the distance of about eighteen miles the country changes in its aspect, the groves of cocoa-nut gradually disappear, and plantations of areka and suriya-trees are observed—the latter tall and stately as an English elm, displaying their beautiful yellow blossoms above rich foliage, like English fields covered with the crowfoot. The road ascends all the way after the first stage to Kandy, and as the lower grounds are left behind, the scenery becomes commanding in the extreme. Travellers are particularly struck by the pleasing contrast presented between the bold prominent masses of black gneiss rock and the delicate, fragile, and gently-tinted flowering creepers that climb around them.

One of the finest scenes on this road is obtained from "the rest," or half-way house. The building is situated in a lovely and extensive vale, begirt with a magnificent amphitheatre of hills, richly wooded; trees of many kinds clothe their sides and crown their summits; the variety of colour presented by blossom and foliage, according to the season, is wonderful and beautiful. The neighbourhood is, unfortunately, unhealthy, or no doubt independent settlers would take up their abode in a spot so surpassingly lovely. The next eighteen miles of the route is remarkable for the fair scenes of cultivation presented by the plantations of coffee, sugar, and indigo. About two miles from Attoomakandy the mountain zone opens up before the traveller with a stupendous grandeur, which, except in the neighbourhood of the Himalayas, continental India does not exceed. The road so winds round the Kadagawana as to vary the prospects perpetually, new wonders and glories of scenery being pre-

sented at every turn to the ravished eye. The road itself is a superior specimen of engineering skill. It required a long time to construct it, in consequence of the unwillingness of the natives to work, and the unhealthy character of the neighbourhood. Jungle fever carried off many of the officers and non-commissioned officers who superintended the labourers.

The ascent of the mountain probably opens up finer views than any which the alpine lands of Europe can yield: bold rocks, mountains coroneted with flowering trees, as if a succession of fairy bowers were constructed along their summits—the park-like declivities, interspersed with ravines, torrents, waterfalls, streaming currents, winding through the lowlands, and the undulated country stretching far into the distance, all bathed in a mellow and golden light, constitute scenery which human genius has never pencilled or described in colour or language befitting its claims.

Writing of the road, and the scenery presented from it, one who travelled it when the season most favoured his journey observes:—"As the steep sides of the mountain are climbed, ravines and fissures are wound round, and often a perpendicular mountain rears its lofty crest on one side, and descends in the same manner on the opposite. Sometimes a brawling waterfall appears over the traveller's head, as if threatening instant annihilation, by hurling him into the deep abyss below; then the road will become so narrow, that there appears to be scarcely room sufficient for the vehicle to stand on, and the strongest nerves may be shaken, as the eye glances below at the steep precipice, down which some crumbling earth is rolling, loosened by the coach-wheels. To this circumscribed path, upon turning the next angle, succeeds a wide road and view of the surrounding country, terminated by the Blue Mountains in the distance, whose towering heads blend with the azure heavens, Adam's Peak rearing his lofty crest above his fellows. The combination of sublime and beautiful scenery brought under notice during the ascent of the Kadaganawa Pass is nearly incredible; roaring torrents, dashing down frightful abysses, from whose sides spring enormous trees, and at whose base are lands teeming with grain; terrific chasms, and overhanging masses of rock, where bright coloured flowering shrubs have taken root, rapidly succeed each other: and, when the summit of the mountain is attained, and the boundless extent and beauty of the prospect fully perceptible, many beholders of this magnificent scene cannot find utterance to express their sense of the might, majesty, and glory of the Almighty's works, and the humiliating feeling of their own littleness. The freshness of the atmosphere, and the splendour of the scenery, are admitted by all, and extolled by numberless Europeans who have ascended the Kadaganawa Pass." *

The remaining portion of the road is remarkable for great variety of prospect, but more especially for its rich wood scenery. A description has been already given of the trees which flourish generally throughout the island, but in the neighbourhood of Kandy, which possesses several peculiarities of climate, there is greater diversity, and some magnificent specimens unknown in the lowlands. The country around Kandy is like a vast garden—foliage, fruit, and flowers offering a variety beyond description; for it is as yet imperfectly explored by botanists or florists, although a few devotees of their beautiful sciences have expended labour, time, and fortune in the research. The attention of the stranger is more engaged by the taliput-palm than by any other of the lords of the Kandian forest: it flourishes in various directions close to the city and by the road. One road-side specimen has been much noticed by naturalists. This palm (*Corypha umbraculifera*, as named by some, or *Licula spinosa*, as others designate it) is a beautiful specimen of the high regions of Ceylon. The banyan, which flourishes everywhere in Ceylon, is a glorious exemplification of the forest wonders of the highlands. The myrtle-tree (*Myrtus*), and the bay-tree (*Laurus*), are numerous and beautiful. The tick-seed sunflower is a gorgeous flower of the woods, being covered in the season by golden-tinted blossoms. It is curious that near the yellow rock common in this region there spring up luxuriant balsams, bearing a delicate white and a brilliant red blossom, forming a combination of colour which the most exquisite designer in art could hardly conceive. In the midst of these wooded scenes animal life is curious and picturesque. Monkeys peep and chatter from overhanging branches; parrots, and birds of more delicate form and feather, appear in flocks, or crowd the clustering foliage, appearing as if themselves bright blossoms blooming there. Large carpenter bees, and beetles with wings beautiful as an Iris, hover about the flowers which spring up or the blossoms which bow down their graceful petals by the wayside. The tree-frog may be seen creeping into the distended cup of the rich blossoms, or the spotted or striped lizard glistening on the trunk. At times a huge serpent will reveal his speckled skin as he glides from the shaded jungle into the

* *Ceylon.* By Henry Charles Sirr, A.M., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-law.

warm ray. Sometimes the leopard may be seen stalking away into cover, or the elephant (more frequently tamed) lifting his huge proboscis as he proceeds on his heavy tramp.

Within three miles of Kandy is Pendenia, with its celebrated bridge and botanical gardens. The former is built of satin wood; the waters of the Mehavelleganga, ennobled by flowing through the capital, pass beneath a magnificent arch, whose span is two hundred and seven feet. The botanical gardens owed much to the celebrated botanist Dr. Gardiner; and it is alleged that under his superintendence a specimen of every tree, shrub, and plant known to be indigenous to the island was under culture there. There are some very large tamarind-trees, but the finest of this species in the island is in the Mohammedan burial-ground at Putlam, which is appropriately called the giant's tree. The foreign plants and trees in the botanical gardens of Pendenia are numerous and beautiful.

The route from Kandy to Trincomalee is much praised by European travellers and officers who are acquainted with it. About six miles on the road there is a singular suspension bridge formed of cane, thrown across the Dederoo-oya. This was made by the natives, and is ingeniously constructed; but its frail appearance, and the dashing impetuosity of the stream which bounds beneath, try the nerves of Europeans when they first attempt the passage. The following description of this bridge is given by the writer last quoted: "This structure is composed of cable-rattan, which frequently grows to the length of two hundred yards; and varies but little in thickness from one end to the other; is extremely light, flexible, and tough. The bridge is commenced by entwining canes a few feet apart round the trunks of two large trees, that grow on the opposite banks of the stream, and whose branches bend over the river; when the required number of canes are securely fastened in this manner, portions of the same material are laid across to form the path, which is the same breadth as the circumference of the stems of the trees. Rattans are then placed at a sufficient height to form hand-rails, these being attached to the bridge by thin bamboos, or sticks, which alike support and retain the rails in their proper place. From the overhanging boughs are suspended cane or coir ropes, which are attached to the bridge, thus strengthening the structure, and lessening the vibration. The means of ascent are by a ladder composed of the same materials, which rests against the trunks of the opposite trees; and it is perfectly astonishing to see the fearlessness with which women, children, or men carrying heavy burdens, will cross one of these aerial structures."

About half way is Dambool, the neighbourhood of which is remarkable for ruined tanks, choked up with brushwood and rank vegetation, which at certain seasons send forth the noxious influences usually emitted from decomposing vegetable matter. In this vicinity, also, are the far-famed rock-temples of Buddha, similar in their character to those in continental India. The late deputy queen's advocate for the southern circuit of Ceylon says of these rock-temples, that they are "complete specimens of the ingenuity, skill, and perseverance of man, and may almost be classed among the wonders of the world." The late editor of the *Ceylon Examiner* uses language equally strong of the rock-temples of India, continental and insular:—"The prodigious extent of most of these rock-cut temples astonishes the spectator not less than the elaborate finish of their complicated details delights him. The ingenuity and skill, equally with the labour of the architects, must have been called into active demonstration in the excavation of these extraordinary places." Other writers have laboured to depreciate them. Dr. Bryant insists that they were chiefly formed by nature; and, with extraordinary indifference to the force of evidence, also alleges that the pyramids of Egypt owe their existence chiefly to nature!

Knox says that the Cingalese had a passion for such structures, "as if they had been born solely to hew rocks and great stones, and lay them up in heaps;" and he denounces the folly of inferring from these excavations the civilization of the people. However judged, the cave-temples of Dambool are extremely interesting to the traveller, although they may not afford the evidence of early and superior civilization ascribed by some to the people who formed them; and there can be no doubt that what the great Oxford professor of Sanscrit says of the early Hindoos, is true of the early Cingalese, that they possessed but three arts—architecture, weaving, and jewellery.

From Dambool to Trincomalee the way lies through forests, where the scenery is rich and beautiful, the foliage appearing at the same time in every stage of progress; the fresh green tint of the young leaf, the dark green of the more matured, the mellow tinge such as is given by an English autumn, the bright bronze when the leaf has passed its prime, and the deep rich orange of its decay, are all present together, affording a beauty of sylvan scenery unknown to the occidental world. In these forests the ruins of ancient works are numerous, and on a scale to prove

that the buildings they represent were magnificent temples and tanks, mingled with the vestiges of villages once extensive and populous. Captain Aitcheson, who superintended the construction of the road, gives this account of these remains:—"The ruins of *wihares* (temples), remains of deserted villages, tanks, and other remnants of antiquity, prove that the vast wilderness of beautiful and valuable forest trees through which the new line of road passes, heretofore supposed a trackless desert, obnoxious to the existence of man, and destitute of water and inhabitants, once contained a considerable population, by whose labours an extensive tract of irrigated land was regularly cultivated."

Within seven miles of Trincomalee there is a range of wooded hills, from which spring the hot wells of Kanya. There are seven of these, of unequal temperature, ranging from 100° to 112°. Each well has a low embankment, and the whole are encircled by a wall of kabook. The waters are used for laving the person, and are supposed to possess restorative powers in various diseases, such as cutaneous irruptions and rheumatic pains. English medical men have admitted their value in these complaints. It is remarkable, that notwithstanding the fine climate, rheumatic affections are not uncommon either in insular or continental India. Rheumatism is incurred chiefly during the rage of the monsoon. The Ceylonese regard these wells as holy, and under the protection of the Hindoo god of wisdom, Ganeesa. A temple is erected to this deity, containing a colossal stone statue to represent him. Approaching Trincomalee, the scenery assumes a still nobler appearance as the ocean is descried; the varied coast-line, bold shores, blue sea, palmyra groves, and uplands covered with variegated forests, present rare combinations of the beautiful.

The roads described in the foregoing pages are those over which persons travelling on pleasure, business, or duty generally proceed; but there are several others which afford scenes worthy of being sought. One of these is the route to Newera Ellia, the sanitorium: it branches off from the Pendenia Bridge already described, and runs through a mountainous region, celebrated in Cingalese and Hindoo history as the theatre of exploit connected with Rama, Rawana, and the beautiful Seeta. The road winds round deep precipices, to which the English soldiery have given the names of "the Devil's Punchbowls." The character of the scenery is much like that already noticed as belonging to the road approaching Kandy from Colombo and from Trincomalee. About twelve miles *en route* there is a rest-house at a place called Gampala, where invalids and travellers often remain some time to enjoy the extraordinary prospects presented to the beholder at that place. It is also common to tarry there, in order to witness a mountain conflagration which, during the hot season, often occurs. The ambulance which overhangs Gampala is the most frequent theatre of such a display. The mountain is covered with large patches of lemon-grass, which is liable to spontaneous ignition. As the grass is often eight feet high, dry, and inflammable, when it takes fire the flames burst forth with fury, and rapidly pour their burning tide along the mountain slopes, even against the wind, as the breeze causes the long blades to bend towards the flames. Generally the fire rolls on irresistibly until some deep ravine checks its career; and sometimes it leaps the gulf, or sparks borne aloft fall on the prairies beyond, when the roaring cataract of flame rushes down the mountain sides, and rolls in surging, struggling waves upwards to the summit. This process seems to benefit the vegetation, for in a single week after the hill sides are charred and blackened, the young blades sprout up, and the grassy slopes appear reinvigorated.

In 1829 Sir Edward Barnes, then governor of Ceylon, established the sanitorium in these mountains, in what the natives call "the City of the Plain"—probably because it is in the neighbourhood of still greater elevations. When the traveller, in approaching this beautiful retreat, leaves Gampala, his attention is arrested by the cataracts of Rambodde, and the valley of Kattamale. The former rushes with noisy vehemence from a great altitude, pouring a large body of foaming water from rock to rock; the latter is remarkable for a quiet and salutary stream, which flows peacefully through its verdant circle, and which is celebrated for its curative efficacy; it is unfortunately the occasion of many puerile superstitions. From Rambodde a glimpse is caught of Newera Ellia. The remainder of the journey is only remarkable for the rapid alteration in the character of the foliage, and plants, and flowers. The trees and shrubs of the tropics disappear as if by magic, and those of temperate regions, familiar to European eyes, are at first mingled with intermediate species, and then predominate. The rhododendron, the white guelder, white and blush rose, peach, apple, pear, plum, cherry, and other European trees and shrubs abound; the violet, sweet pea, cowslip, primrose, and daisy also cover the slopes. When in the vicinity of Newera Ellia, gardens are formed: all European vegetables are produced in luxuriance. "The plain" is situated six thou-

sand three hundred feet above the level of the sea; the atmosphere is bracing, and in the mornings and evenings cold enough for domestic fires. The houses of the settlement have consequently chimneys, reminding the new comer pleasurably of home. At all hours the occupants of the sanitorium may roam about, and fowl or hunt, or enjoy equestrian or pedestrian exercise; so that a marvellous efficacy is exercised by the situation in restoring invalids to health. Ice, half an inch in thickness, is sometimes found in the morning, and the thermometer frequently falls below 28°: it is seldom higher than 65°. The scenery from the immediate site of the settlement is exquisitely lovely, and to the European eye perhaps not less so, because of the familiar objects which cover the face of nature—the wild fields blooming with home flowers, and the hills graced with English foliage. The mountains rise on every side to a vast height; the highest peak in view is two thousand feet above the sanitorium. Cascades are numerous, and add much to the beauty of the bold landscape; while the pure water rushing into the plain occupied by the settlement, affords a wholesome supply for man and beast.

Although reserving descriptions of the towns of the island until its general features are depicted, it is appropriate here to notice the sanitorium, as it can hardly be called a town, and possesses no distinctive native peculiarities. The governor, commander-in-chief of the forces, bishop, colonial secretary, and other government functionaries, have pleasant residences, and gardens containing the choicest English fruits and flowers, with such of the productions of the East as will grow at that elevation. A church and schools have been built near the governor's house. A canteen, hospital, and excellent barracks for troops have been erected, and European soldiers exhausted by the climate of the low-lands, speedily recover their strength, and even complexion. Immigration of English farmers and farm-labourers has been contemplated, and in some degree has already been tried. Certainly no more beautiful and healthful situation could be chosen, and with every prospect of prosperity, so far as site, soil, and climate may conduce to success. As emigration is so important a question in this country, it may afford satisfaction to the reader to have competent opinion as to the desirableness of preferring this region to Australia, the Cape, or America. Mr. Baker, an enterprising traveller, says that the natives produce five crops of potatoes annually from the same land, so prolific is the soil. The following is a summary of his statements as to the prospects of an English farmer settled there:—Cows and buffaloes may be purchased from 25*s.* to 40*s.* per head; sheep from 3*s.* to 7*s.*; pigs from 3*s.* to 7*s.*; fowls from 7*s.* per dozen; ducks from 12*s.* ditto. Mr. Baker proceeds to show that, notwithstanding the very low price of stock, fine meat is unknown in Ceylon, the beasts being unfattened, and slaughtered without discretion. Although in many parts of the island the calf is permitted to take the whole supply from the mother, yet not a cheese has ever been manufactured in Ceylon, and butter sells for 2*s.* 6*d.* per pound. Notwithstanding the abundance and cheapness of pigs, hams and bacon have never been cured; and yet all these articles are consumed in large quantities, and imported from England at an enormous price—cheese, hams, and bacon being generally sold at two shillings per pound. All these articles may be prepared at Newera Ellia, with the same facility, and at one-fourth of the cost, of those produced in England; and would therefore sell at a large profit both for home consumption and for exportation. The island is chiefly supplied by Bombay with potatoes, but those of a superior quality now produced at Newera Ellia sell at twenty-eight shillings per cwt. In three months from the planting of the sets they are fit to dig, and one set has frequently been known to yield fifty potatoes. Wheat has been experimented upon, and the quality produced proved infinitely superior to the seed imported; and yet Ceylon is entirely dependant upon America for the supply of flour. Oats and beans thrive well, but have been neglected; consequently the horses in the island are fed expensively upon paddy and gram, the principal portion of which is imported from India: thus a most extensive market is open to supply the home market, as well as that of the Mauritius. Mr. Baker offers to the enterprising farmer of small capital, a comfortable and most profitable farm, free from those heavy taxes which burden his industry at home, where he may not only amass a considerable fortune, but may live a happy, luxurious life, with the advantages of residing in a comparatively civilised society, with a school for the education of his children, and the house of God within his reach.

The grand difficulty in the way of success with the farmer and planter anywhere in Ceylon is want of labour. The Cingalese will not work if they can procure as much food as will enable them and their families to subsist. This is easily procured, and is an almost insuperable impediment to obtaining continuous labour. Mr. Sullivan, describing

the road *en route* from Point de Galle to Colombo along the coast, says that he saw the men lying in the sun chewing betel root, the women performing the little work of which there was any sign, children and dogs pursuing the coach or diligence, alike unheeded by the lazy beings who claimed a property in them. Coolies arrive periodically from the Malabar coast, as Irish reapers attend the harvest fields of England; but as these visitors are satisfied if they can procure as much money as will lay in a stock of rice until the next season, which is easily accomplished, they, on acquiring that amount, or something near what they presume will enable them to maintain themselves and families at home in their own way, will desert their work, violate their engagements without scruple, make their way to the sea-coast with surprising rapidity, and swarm like slaves in the middle passage on board any ship which will convey them to the continent. Many planters have been ruined in this way, and fine estates have gone out of cultivation. At Newera Ellia the same consequences would ensue from the same causes, unless settlers could bring with them a supply of labourers.

A few miles from the sanitorium there are also fine plateaux, which are called "the Horton Plains," constituting the highest tableland in the island. This vicinity is noted for "the pitcher plant" (*Nepenthes distillatoria*). The name is derived from the blossom, which is pitcher-shaped, and nearly a foot in length. This is not the only plant peculiar to the region which is an object of interest. The *nelee*, or honey-plant, emits from its flowers an odour resembling that of honey, in which the natives take great delight: it flowers but once in eight years, and as the blossoms decay, bees swarm in multitudes around it, the odour being at that season strongest, which seems to attract them. This plant is further remarkable as being generally attended by a beautiful although leafless parasite, which bears a bell-shaped flower, exquisite in tint, having an amber heart, the edges scarlet: these flowers, blending with "the pitcher blossoms," afford an appearance of most strange but captivating beauty.

No race are prouder of their lineage than the Cingalese. According to them, thousands of years before our era the island was peopled by a civilised community, endowed with superior intellectual powers, and famous in arms. From these worthy occupants of their fair realm the present Cingalese declare that they are descended. They represent their island as inhabited from the remotest antiquity, Adam's Peak, the top of the highest mountain, having been the primeval abode of the human family—

> "Ere man had fall'n, or sin had drawn
> 'Twixt man and heaven her curtain yet."

They even profess to trace the footprints of the first man on his departure from the paradise of the peak, to the shores of the island from which he was expelled.

Ancient historians do not assign to the aborigines of Ceylon a date as old as the creation, nor a descent direct from the first family. "The Chinese, from a remote period, were the masters of oriental commerce; and some of their vessels were driven upon the coast of Ceylon, near the district which they subsequently termed Chilau. The mariners and passengers saved themselves upon the rocks; and, finding the island fertile, soon established themselves upon it. Shortly afterwards, the Malabars, having discovered it, sent hither their exiles, whom they denominated Galas. The exiles were not long in mixing with the Chinese; and from the two names was formed Chingalees, and afterwards Chingalais." *

Some of the ancient Hindoo historians represent the island as originally the locality of demons and other evil beings, of an extra-human origin. Such a tradition rather tends to establish the antiquity of its population. Others state that one Singha, a prince of the neighbouring coasts of the continent, conquered the island, and his people, mingling with a wild aboriginal race, were designated Cingalese, and are the progenitors of the present population of Ceylon.

The people bear no resemblance to the Chinese in complexion, countenance, or character; but they do exhibit a very strong resemblance to the inhabitants of the neighbouring shores of continental India. There is a race inhabiting the interior called Veddahs; these are literally wild men, living in caves and forest-huts; they are predatory and migratory, subsisting chiefly on game, which they kill with bows and arrows; refusing all intercourse with the other natives, their language is unintelligible to the other people of the island. These are with reason supposed to be the oldest race in Ceylon.

Marco Polo visited the island in 1244, and from his account the tradition of a remote antiquity, and of the island having been the home of our first parents, existed then as it does now. His words are:—"Both men and women go nearly in a state of nudity, only wrapping a cloth round their loins. They have no grain besides rice and sesame, of

* Ribeiro's *Historia de Ilgha de Zeilan.*

which latter they make oil. Their food is milk, rice, and flesh, and they drink wine drawn from trees. The island produces more valuable and beautiful rubies than those found in any other part of the world; and likewise sapphires, topazes, amethysts, garnets, and many other precious and costly stones. In this highland there is a very high mountain, so rocky and precipitous, that the ascent to the top is impracticable, as it is said, except by the assistance of iron chains employed for that purpose; by means of these some persons attain the summit, where the tomb of Adam, our first parent, is reported to be found."

Subsequent writers and travellers affirm, that the Malabars and Moormen of the opposite shores made frequent incursions, and fixed settlements, mingling with the inhabitants. The result was that the latter classes influenced in a great degree the character of the population of the Kandian districts of the island, who have a peculiar character. The Cingalese in the lower regions seem to be a mixture of races from China and India. Since the Portuguese and Dutch conquests, the population has become still more mixed, both of these nations having mingled more freely with the people than the English, and left their traces in the population to some extent. The population of the lowlands is more diverse than that of the hills, the Kandians having retained their independence long after the people along the shore were subjugated, and their race influenced by successive conquerors.

The Kandians were thus described by Knox, who spent many years in captivity in the hill capital:—"In understanding, quick and apprehensive; in design, subtle and crafty; in discourse, courteous, but full of flatteries; naturally inclined to temperance, both in meat and drink, but not chastity; near and provident in their families—commending good husbandry; in their dispositions, not passionate—neither hard to be reconciled when angry; in their promises very unfaithful—approving lying in themselves, but disliking it in others; delighting in sloth—deferring labour till urgent necessity compel them; neat in apparel; nice in eating, and not much given to sleep." *

On the whole, the following comparative estimate of the races, and judgment upon their probable origin, as given by the late queen's advocate, bears the impress of accuracy:—"Although it is affirmed by writers that the Kandians and Cingalese are both descended from the same parent stock, we disagree with them materially, as the Kandians have all the distinctive marks of a nobler race and purer blood—being, in our opinion, the offspring of Malabars, who had intermarried with the Veddahs, or aborigines of Ceylon, whose blood has remained pure, owing to non-admixture with foreign conquerors; as Kandy remained a free, warlike, and independent state long after the lowlands had experienced the yoke of numerous conquerors, of various nations: whilst the Cingalese are the descendants of the followers of the Indian king, Wijeya, who conquered Ceylon long anterior to the Christian era. But the latter race has deteriorated, both physically and mentally, by constant admixture with the various tribes and nations who have conquered, colonized, or visited the lowlands and maritime districts."

The average height of the Cingalese is not more than five feet six inches, but they are well formed. The Kandians are rather more muscular, and, although living in an elevated region, their complexion is darker. The women of both races are often attractive in appearance, but their habit of chewing betel gives to the mouth a filthy colour: they chew much more than the men. The *modus operandi* is to select a betel leaf, then to take a small piece of areka-nut, and another of chunam, or prepared lime, and roll them in the leaf, forming a small ball the size of a boy's marble; this is placed in the mouth, and the flavour is much enjoyed. Much saliva is secreted, and tinged by the betel as red as blood, staining the teeth and lips most forbiddingly. This practice, and the exhausting energy of the climate, deprive the ladies of all personal comeliness by the time they are thirty years of age. The Cingalese idea of beauty may be gleaned from the following extract from a native work:—

"A woman's tresses should be abundant, as voluminous as the tail of a peacock, and as long as a palm leaf of ten moon's growth; her eyebrows should be arched like the rainbow; her eyes long as the almond, and the colour dark as midnight when there is no moon. Her nose should be slender as the bill of the hawk; her lips full, and the colour of red coral; her teeth small, even, closely placed together, and the colour of the pearl when it is newly taken from the oyster, and cleansed. Her throat should be thick and round, like the stem of a plantain tree in full growth. Her chest should be wide; her bosom full, and the form of a young cocoa-nut; and her waist small, round, and taper—so slender, that it could be clasped within the two outstretched hands. Her hips should be large and round, her limbs slender, and the soles of her feet without any arch or

* Knox's *History of Ceylon*.

hollow; and the surface of her person should be soft, delicate, smooth, and round, neither bones, sinews, or angles being visible. Not a blemish should be found on her skin, the tint of which should be bright and brown."

The half-castes, or, as they are commonly called, burghers, dress like Europeans, more particularly the men. They are generally of European descent, especially from Dutch or Portuguese, by Cingalese women. They are, like the Indo-Portuguese, darker in complexion than any of the native races, and singularly unprepossessing in countenance. They are less intellectual than either Kandians, Cingalese, Moormen, or Malabars, and are utterly grovelling and sensual. Their attire gives the men of this class a less effeminate appearance than the Cingalese proper, but in manner and spirit they are more so. The effeminacy of the Cingalese men is rendered much more striking than it otherwise would be by their extraordinary costume. They are clad in petticoats, carry parasols, and turn up their long black hair as women do in England, fastening it on the crown of the head by a very high comb. The petticoats constrain their gait, and still more conduce to a mistake of their sex. The women are frequently more masculine in features, wear shorter jackets, seldom carry parasols, and do not turn up the hair under tall combs. It is a curious sight to see the men sitting in groups, combing their long hair, and anointing it with oil.

The religious condition of the inhabitants of Ceylon is such as might be expected from the influence of the Buddhist doctrines, which they profess, the genius and character of which have been already shown in a previous chapter devoted to the religions of India. Buddhism, however, has its sects, and in every country where it is professed it assumes diversities, theoretical and practical. In Ceylon the professors of this creed, more particularly than elsewhere, look forward to a further manifestation of their spiritual chief, "the Maitree Buddha." They aver that the surface of the earth had been destroyed by fire at a remote period, and was since revivified by water. This doctrine seems more or less to pervade the philosophical theologies of most oriental nations, and is doubtless a traditional influence of the Deluge. "The beneficial effects of water in the history of this world, and in the history of their gods, seems to be a very general impression in the East, and the 'Spirit of God moving upon the face of the waters' is fully realised in all heathen mythologies. From the earliest days there appears to have been some very general system of worship of aquatic plants. The most ancient coins represent the tamara as sacred. The Japanese believe that Bromna, the eldest son of their chief god, was created on the tamara. The Egyptians represent Iris on the lotus. Krishna, the god of love amongst the Hindoos, is represented as floating down the Ganges on one of the *nymphæa*, occupied in the infantine amusement of sucking his toe!"

The reverence of the Ceylonese for Buddha is carried to a great excess; and nowhere are the disciples of that creed so bigoted as in Ceylon—not even in Birmah—and in no part are they so bigoted as in Kandy. That city is the Mecca of Buddhism. There are the chief temple, the great idol, and the most holy relics. Among the latter is the alleged tooth of Buddha himself, for which the priesthood of Siam offered an enormous sum without success. It is not, however, the real tooth of the great sectary, for Constantine de Berganza destroyed that, or what was then supposed to be such, in the year 1560. Six hundred of the followers of Francis Xavier having been put to death by the Buddhists, Berganza laid waste cities and temples, and took the most especial precautions to secure possession of *the tooth*. This, however, is denied by the Cingalese and Kandians, as the following account of the capture of "the Dalada relic" (as it is called) by the English, during the Kandian rebellion of 1818, will show. Dr. Davy thus writes:—"Through the kindness of the governor, I had an opportunity of seeing this celebrated relic, when it was recovered, towards the conclusion of the rebellion, and brought back to be replaced in the Dalada Malegawa, or temple, from whence it had been clandestinely taken. . . . . Here it may be remarked, that when the relic was taken, the effect of its capture was astonishing, and almost beyond the comprehension of the enlightened, for now, they said, the English are indeed masters of the country, for they who possess the relic have a right to govern four kingdoms; this, for two thousand years, is the first time the relic was ever taken from us. The Portuguese declare that in the sixteenth century they obtained possession of the relic, which the Cingalese deny, saying, that when Cotta was taken, the relic was secretly removed to Saffragam. They also affirm that when Kandy was conquered by us, in 1815, the relic was never surrendered by them to us, and they considered it to be in their possession until we took it from them by force of arms. The first adikar also observed, that whatever the English might think of having taken Pilimi Talawe, and other rebel leaders, in his opinion, and in the opinion of the people in

general, the taking of the relic was of infinitely more moment."

From 1818 until 1847 this true or false relic was preserved by the English government, *and exhibited to the priests and followers of Buddha for the purpose of being worshipped!* On the 28th of May, 1828, "the Dalada" was publicly exhibited by the government, who caused the ceremony to be attended with great splendour. On the 27th of March, 1846, some Siamese priests arrived to see the relic, and there was another public display. In 1847 the home government sent orders to restore the tooth to the custody of the priests—a most impolitic act, as all the acts of our government have been, which were time-serving, and quasi-conciliatory to either Buddhist or Brahmin priests. Had the tooth been carried away, and deposited in the British Museum as a curiosity, or had it been destroyed, the superstition of the people would have received a great check: in the one case they would have supposed that the power its possession conferred would have remained with the English; in the other, that Ceylon was no longer under the especial obligation of worshipping Buddha, which it now feels. In either case the invidious nationality by which the Cingalese, especially the Kandian section of them, is characterised would have been depressed, and motives of disloyalty, which were cherished, and led to conspiracy and insurrection, in 1848, would have been removed. In that year, on the 14th of August, the governor, Lord Torrington, sent the following despatch to the home government:—"As the possession of the Buddhist relic, or tooth, has always been regarded by the Kandians as a mark of sovereignty over their country, and it was stolen and carried about in 1818, being used as a signal for rebellion, which only terminated with the recovery of it, it was judged right, by the commandant, to demand the keys of the temple, as well as of the shrine of the relic, which had been delivered by me into the charge of two priests and a chief, about a year ago. He then assured himself that this object of veneration had not been removed from its accustomed position, and converted into a signal of rebellion. But not trusting any longer to the integrity of the priests or chiefs, by whom the insurrection has been organised, the keys have, for the present at all events, been retained in the possession of the commandant."

Great as is the folly of the Cingalese in respect to this holy tooth, the folly of the English government infinitely surpassed it. There was mistaken piety in the one case—an impious indifference to the claims of conscience and religious duty in the other. It is time that the English nation should understand that the class of men from whom colonial governors and great officers are selected care nothing what blasphemy or idolatry they support, if motives of policy or revenue are promoted. They will endow cathedrals, mosques, temples; publicly exhibit holy teeth or hairs for one idolatry to-day, and clothe in costly trappings the idol of some rival idolatry to-morrow: like the present commissioners of the Punjaub, commending mosques and heathen temples as works of public utility, deserving support from the government, in one public document, and wooing the influence of Christian missionaries in another. The question with the majority of governors has been, not what was right in the abstract, nor what was proper in respect to the rights and liberties of the people over whom they ruled, but how far the support of superstitions might facilitate the collection of revenue, or the temporary administration of government. The blame of such things has often been thrown exclusively on the East India Company, but it has rested in a greater measure upon the titled servants of the crown. Our cabinets have generally been composed of men to whom such proceedings have been acceptable. The plea has been frequently set up for them that religious toleration was their motive, the spirit of Englishmen being abhorrent to persecution; but so far from this excuse having foundation in fact, the men who thus shamelessly betrayed the Christian religion in favour of idolatry, were often noted persecutors of their fellow Christians at home and abroad, unless such had power through their representatives in the House of Commons to make their voice heard in the cabinet. All remonstrances and petitions in reference to such matters coming from Christian churches in England, however numerous, were treated with disdain, except action was taken in reference to the parliamentary elections. As soon as the question of the public patronage of idolatry, Suttee, or any other atrocity found convenient by our public officers abroad, was made a matter of comment on the hustings, hurried orders were sent out to feign compliance with those popular demands; and, in proportion as constituencies were seen to be in earnest, cabinets became active, and the consciences of the representatives of British power abroad became enlightened in a manner edifying to behold. The religious feelings and principles of the masses of English citizens are obviously not participated by large sections of the higher classes, who, while punctual church-goers, and ostensible friends of the clergy and our home religious institu-

tions (at least, such as are not unfashionable), are notoriously the zealous patrons of all exotic creeds that may happen to have numerous devotees, and the jealous enemies of Christian missionaries, of whatever evangelical church. Happily, there are many bearing high honours in the state who feel it incumbent upon them to recognise the religious liberty of the rudest idolaters, but who will have no participation in their superstitious observances, and would not, even to serve any object, commit the greatest of all known sins—partake of or patronise idolatry.

The Dalada Malegawa, or depository and temple of the sacred tooth, is a building erected in a style of architecture approaching to that of the Chinese. The building is of two stories, the *sanctum sanctorum* being on the second. It has folding doors, with panels of brass; there are no windows, and the sunlight can never enter it by any means. The walls and ceilings are hung with gold brocade and white shawls, with coloured borders. A table, covered with gold brocade, bears two images of Buddha, one of gold and the other of crystal. The richest fruits, and the most sweet-smelling flowers, are presented as offerings to these idols. Four baskets, each twelve inches high, are also placed on the table; these contain sacred relics. In the centre is the *karandua*, or casket, which contains the holy tooth. The casket is five feet high, bell-shaped, and formed of silver, richly gilt. The chasing is simple, but most elegant; a few gems surround it, and on the apex is set a cat's eye. Numerous costly offerings surround this bell-like covering of the relic. One of these is a bird, which is attached to a massive gold chain, elegantly chased. "The body is formed of gold, and the plumage is represented by a profusion of precious gems, which consist of diamonds, emeralds, rubies, sapphires, and cats' eyes. Description is inadequate to convey a correct idea of the extreme and extraordinary effulgence and exquisite beauty of these elaborate decorations, which the limner's art alone could faithfully delineate." The relic is wrapped in an extremely thin sheet of virgin gold, which is deposited in a gold box, just sufficiently capacious to receive the tooth, which Europeans declare to be as large as that of an alligator, and to have been manufactured from the tusk of an elephant. The golden box is studded with precious stones, which are exquisitely arranged. It is placed in a golden vase, decorated with diamonds, emeralds, and rubies, and wrapped in rich brocade. This is laid within a second vase, also of gold, which is enfolded by pure white muslin. This vase is placed in another similar to itself, and that in a fourth, more costly, for it is larger, and profusely, yet tastefully ornamented with chasing and gems. A gentleman long resident in Ceylon, and who, having official opportunities, was enabled to investigate this extraordinary *sanctum*, writes:—

"When we saw the relic it was placed in the centre of an exquisitely beautiful pink lotus, the flowers of the bo-tree being strewed around, and tastefully arranged on the shrine; but it was most pitiable to behold the benighted Buddhists, many of them learned men and good scholars, prostrating themselves before a piece of discoloured bone. There is also a smaller and most exquisitely beautiful casket, or *karandua*, studded with precious stones, in which the relic is placed when it is borne in the religious processions, or when the chief priests, in troublous times of commotion, or war, should think it necessary to insure the safety of the Dalada by removing it from the temple.

"Above the shrine, and attached to the wall, are plates of gold, on which are inscribed sacred emblems and characters: on either side of the principal shrine there are smaller shrines, which are covered with gold and silver cloths, on which are placed gilt lamps, and offerings of flowers and fruit; and the effluvia arising from the cocoa-nut oil, with which the lamps are supplied, combined with the perfume of the votive flowers, renders the atmosphere of this unventilated apartment most oppressive.

"A contiguous staircase leads to a similar apartment, which is decorated in the same manner as the one we have described, where is to be seen the recumbent figure of the god Gotama Buddha, the size of life; the features are well delineated, and the figure is gilt, with the exception of the face and hands. Near him are placed figures of other gods and the goddess Patiné, the shrine being decorated with golden ornaments, many of which are studded with precious stones.

"The god Buddha is represented by the Cingalese in three attitudes—namely, standing erect, with one hand raised, as if preparing to step forward; seated on a cushion, with the legs crossed; and reclining on his side, his hand placed under his head, which rests upon a pillow. We had two figures of Gotama Buddha presented to us: one, in the act of advancing, is of ivory, about five inches in height, the hair, eyes, lips, and palms of the hands being coloured, to represent life, whilst the drapery is relieved by stripes of vermillion; the other figure is of bronze, about three inches and a half in height, and represents the god seated cross-legged. The

ornament, or sacred emblem, which is placed on the crown of the head of each of these idols is used solely to designate Buddha, as the emblem of the other gods is of a totally different character.

"In the Malegawa a most valuable seated figure of Buddha was to be seen in 1847 (and we presume it is there now), which had been presented by the Siamese priests; it is nearly eleven inches in height, and was carved out of a cat's eye. Having had the good fortune to have been conducted over the Dalada Malegawa by a Kandian chief, we were shown all that was considered either curious or magnificent."

The sacred relics of Buddha, generally a hair, or some shred of apparel, are deposited in monumental buildings, which are always identical in construction—"a bell-shaped tomb surmounted by a spire." These are called *dagobahs*. Mr. Layard, father of the explorer of Nineveh, opened one of these at Colombo in 1820, of which he gives the following description:—"In the centre of the dagobah a small square compartment was discovered, lined with brick, and paved with coral, containing a cylindrical mass of grey granite, rudely shaped into a vase, or *karandua*, which had a closely-fitting cover or cap of the same. This vase contained an extremely small fragment of bone, pieces of thin gold—in which, in all probability, the bone had originally been wrapped—pieces of the blue sapphire, and ruby, three small pearls, a few gold rings, beads of cornelian and crystal, and pieces of glass, which resembled icicles in shape. In the compartment with the vase were also placed a brazen and an earthen lamp, a small truncated pyramid made of cement, and clay images of the cobra and other sacred objects of Buddhist superstition."

The following exemplification of the superstition of the Ceylonese is recorded by Mr. Sullivan:—"The Cingalese faith in metempsychosis is entire and unhesitating, and their confidence in its truth admits of no doubt whatever. A man, when oppressed by his superiors, or condemned by the judge, expresses his intention of returning in a future state, as a cobra, to bite his children; or as an elephant, to ravage his crops. They even go so far as to form an opinion, from the nature and habits of any particular animal or insect, as to its character in a former state. A Pariah dog, for instance, whose presence is an abomination, and whose portion is misery, is supposed to have been some luxurious Dives, who is now in want and ill-treatment, expiating his indifference of the *lazari* of his human acquaintance; and there is a little insect very common in the jungle, which, from its remarkable habit of surrounding itself with a covering of small sticks, in the centre of which it moves, and from which it is almost impossible to distinguish it, is believed by the natives to represent individuals who, during their earthly career, displayed rather a marked partiality for their neighbours' firewood, and who are thus working out an appropriate atonement."

The Buddhists of Ceylon affect to despise the superstitions of the Hindoos, and even of their own brethren of Siam, where caste is recognised in the priesthood, contrary to the doctrines of Buddha, and the genius of his philosophy; but the observances of caste, and other superstitious practices, are usual among the Cingalese themselves, and are just as puerile as those they contemn in others. These are particularly obvious at their religious festivals. At the feast of the Pirahara, which seems to be the grand Kandian sacred festival, extending over a period of seven days, the most grotesque and absurd ceremonies are practised. A procession of seven elephants, decked out in a manner excessively provocative of mirth, each animal carrying an empty "howdah," followed by crowds of men bearing empty palankeens, and a long retinue of chiefs and headmen, gaily attired; the most horrid din of tom-toms and pipes, filling the air with discord, is the chief feature of "the solemnity." On one of these occasions, an English gentleman saw a fakeer in the procession, with a wire run through both his cheeks, and a lighted candle at each end, about six inches from the face. This man was regarded as performing a work of great merit, and as having attained to a saintly degree. These processions are conducted at night, so that the "voluntary humility" of the fakeer was in that instance not without its convenience to others.

Evil spirits are especially worshipped, simply for the power which they are supposed to possess, and so willing to exercise, for mischievous purposes. When a demon is offended, dancing is supposed to be the most efficacious mode of appeasing his wrath. If a member of a family come by any misfortune, or fall sick, a priest of some particular devil is called in, offerings are presented, and the dance commences. If a village, or district, is visited by pestilence, or any national evil, pulpits are erected by the devil's priest, and decorated with flowers, wreaths, money, incense, &c.; while various matters propitiatory are offered by this sacerdotal official: after "a devil dance," the grand incantation is read, and the ill-disposed demon is entreated to depart.

The proceedings of the devil-dancers by no means resemble those who enjoy the pastime of

"The light fantastic toe;"

the whole ceremony is appalling to those who witness it, as it is degrading to those who practise it, and cannot be excelled in folly by any of the Brahminical superstitions of continental India. A spectator of the orgies thus describes them:—"The *kapua*, or devil-dancers, are usually well-grown, active men, and wear on their arms and ankles several hollow brass rings: they keep time to the tom-tom beaters by shaking their head, whilst the clanking of the bracelets and anklets makes a species of accompaniment. The evolutions of the dancer are rapid; his gestures lascivious and indecent; as he becomes excited with the music and the dance, his flesh will quiver, his eyeballs become fixed and staring, as if he could, or would, discern the form of the offended demon; whilst in this state, he will predict the cause of the aroused wrath of the demon, the fate or fortune of individuals. These dances are held at night, by torchlight; and no scene can be imagined more painfully impressive than to witness the frantic gestures of the devil-dancer, with his long, dishevelled hair streaming over his shoulders, the blue flame from the torches flickering and casting an unearthly light on all around, whilst the dusky spectators remain motionless, gazing, with staring eyes, on the dancer; the huge tropical trees waving over the heads of all, as if calmly deriding, although compelled to witness, the unhallowed rites and vicious orgies which invariably wind up a devil-dance."

The moral condition of the people, as in all nations, may be inferred from their religion. The Kandians and Cingalese are without principle: their highest rule of duty is convenience. Knox represented the women as, in his time, the most regardless of their infant female offspring of any in the world, and consequently the crime of infanticide was awfully common: the authority and vigilance of government have not been as yet sufficient to repress it. The object of this crime is to put females out of the way, lest they should grow up a burden. When learned Buddhists at Kandy have been reproached with this national cruelty, they have replied, "But it is not so bad as in England, where a wife or child is poisoned for the sake of a few rupees: our female infants are not murdered, they are deprived of life upon a principle which has received public, social, and religious sanction." The character of the women of Ceylon is horribly impure; according to Knox, a Kandian woman will not often submit herself to a man of a lower caste than her own, but in all other respects their behaviour is utterly and shockingly immoral, and apparently without the least sense of shame. Caste is not ostensibly recognised, but really reverenced. The practice of brother-husbands is extremely debasing. If in a family there are several brothers, and any one of the number marries, the bride becomes equally the wife of the other brothers, who may themselves be only half-brothers—the children of one mother by several fathers. The object of this extraordinary and demoralising community, is to preserve landed property in the same family, so that it should not be divided and subdivided until it of necessity passed away from the lineage of those to whom it originally belonged. Thus an entail is socially enforced without any legal recognition. Sometimes the wife of several brother-husbands will take another husband out of the family, provided he joins his property to theirs. This, if it be considerable, is generally an arrangement desired by the previous husband. It must not be supposed, from this domestic communism, that men are not jealous in Ceylon; they are certainly less so where there are several husbands than where one only exists; they are, however, very jealous, and perpetually receive just cause, if, indeed, in such a depraved social condition, the like would be recognised at all. When this feeling is aroused, they are exceedingly resentful; and as they generally carry a knife or dagger about the person, concealed in a sheath or pocket, on such occasions they will draw it, and inflict death upon the offender. This is done even upon suspicion, and as cause for that is perpetually given, wounds and death frequently occur in brawls about women. Meanness, cowardice, and contemptible treachery, characterise the men of both the upper and lower country, but more especially the latter; and they resort to every conceivable artifice to accomplish petty fraud.

In their feelings towards other religions than their own, they are strangely tolerant and persecuting at the same time. The slightest disrespect towards one of their relics will cause a paroxysm of rage and animosity; and it is astonishing how small a cause will move them to this bigoted resentment. A gentleman connected with the government, on one occasion was favoured with a sight of "the tooth," in the presence of a Kandian chief of note, and of the high priest of the temple. A small image of Buddha attracted his attention, and he took it up by the shoulder with one hand, contrary to the ritual of Buddhism, which ordains that an image of Buddha should be raised by the

feet, and with both the hands of the person who touches it. The gentleman's inadvertency threw his guides into a state of despair and furious horror, they regarding him as a monster of iniquity, upon whom the judgment of heaven might be speedily expected to descend. Only after many apologies and assurances of regret that his ignorance should have exposed him to an unintentional act of irreverence, could he succeed in appeasing these men. With all this intense sensitiveness of the respect demanded for their religion, they are not generally unwilling to tolerate the creed which may be preferred by strangers. They will enter a Roman Catholic chapel, and bow to any images or pictures which may be there, and offer the most reverential respect to the officiating priest; and will proceed forthwith to one of their own temples, and pay the same respect to the images of Buddha, the deities, and the devils. They will enter a Protestant assembly, listen to the instructions conveyed, and insist that the ultimate doctrines to which these refer are identical with Buddhism, assuring their interrogators that "it is all the same religion;" only of course regarding their own as the highest and most perfect development. The servants in an English family will readily join in evangelical worship, but if they hear the tom-tom, and the cries of the devil-dancers, will jump up from their knees, and hasten to participate in the ceremonial. They will freely give their assent to the most beautiful and truthful descriptions of a separate state, of the resurrection of the body and life everlasting; and afterwards, if asked to define their own hopes, show that they look forward to a transmigration the most degrading and absurd. A boy at the mission-school at Kandy, who was supposed to be peculiarly well instructed, when asked, out of the routine of his usual catechetical examinations, what he hoped for in the next world, promptly replied that he hoped he would become a snake, which seems to be the grand desideratum of Kandians, for whom a heaven of cobras is a prospect of bliss. Under these circumstances, the labours of missionaries are very discouraging; yet they are not entirely without success. The Roman Catholics have many converts, and missionaries of various evangelical denominations from the British Isles have laboured long and zealously, and with some requital for their pleasing and sacred toil.

As early as 1820, schools were instituted in the province of Kandy by missionaries, and still earlier on the coast. In 1845, Ceylon was constituted, by letters patent under the great seal of England, an episcopal see, under the title of Colombo; previous to that the island was included in the episcopate of Madras. In 1846, Dr. Chapman arrived as the first Bishop of Colombo, and zealously entered upon his charge, showing the utmost concern for the spiritual and moral welfare of Europeans and natives.

The various voluntary missionary societies maintain missionaries, and the Bible and Tract Societies of England have given to Ceylon a large share of attention; copies of the Holy Scriptures, and portions of them, and also religious tracts and books, are supplied to whatever extent there is hope of their proving useful.

However indifferent the Buddhists may be to the presence of other religions, they are hostile to proselytism, and regard the abandonment of their ancient customs as a crime. This is one reason why all Roman Catholic and Protestant converts so strenuously keep up their old Buddha practices, especially at weddings, and the naming of children. In this respect Romanists and Protestants among the natives are scarcely distinguishable from Buddhists, although the Moormen or Mohammedans are somewhat strict in preserving themselves from contact with what they deem to be idolatrous. After the marriage and baptismal ceremonies of Protestants and Roman Catholics, even amongst the highest castes of natives, and who serve the government officially, the persons interested adjourn to their assigned rendezvous, and enact all the ceremonial of a purely Buddhist celebration. The prospect of these rites becoming less popular, through the influence of the increased energy of Protestant missionaries, has inflamed the bigotry of the Buddhist priests, if the ministers of the temples of Buddha can be properly so designated. In the Kandian rebellion of 1848, these functionaries performed the most prominent part, and their animosity to the government had, in a great measure, its source in their jealousy of the influence of their old rites and observances, which they feared would pass away, and with it their own prestige, under the moral influence of a powerful Christian government.

The Cingalese language has the reputation of being euphonious: some oriental scholars aver that it is fundamentally allied to the Siamese; others declare that it is of Sanscrit origin. As in continental India, there is a sacred language, which is the medium of literature—this is called in Ceylon, *Elu*: it is only understood by educated persons.* Some suppose that it was the vernacular language of the island before it was conquered by the

* Clough's *Ceylonese Dictionary*.

continental followers of Wijeya. Independent of the language of literature, there is a high and low Cingalese—the former spoken in Kandy, the latter in the lower provinces: the Kandians, however, generally understand both, while the Cingalese of the lower parts of the island cannot speak the high dialect. There are two written characters: the most ancient, the prevailing form of which is square, has become obsolete; it is found in ancient inscriptions, but cannot be entirely deciphered, as the knowledge of it has died away: it is called Nagara. In consequence of this, a great store of the ancient history of Ceylon is lost, and probably interesting facts concerning other peoples are thus buried in the gloom of the past. Mr. Prinsep,* in 1837, published an account of certain inscriptions found on stones and rocks in continental India: some resemblance is recognised between these and the old Cingalese letters. The present Cingalese characters are round in their general form. The higher castes write elegantly with an iron style upon the palmyra leaf: a composition, prepared chiefly of charred gum, being rubbed over the composition, brings out the letters in dark colour.

The books of the natives are in MS., and written upon the leaves of the taliput-tree. These leaves do not perish, and the preparation rubbed over them preserves them from insects; so that the books or MSS., whichever they may be styled, of the Cingalese are preserved from a remote antiquity. It is alleged that the accredited historical records of the island, by such means, go back two thousand three hundred years.† There are many such works in the Pali and Sanscrit, and treatises on grammar, medicine, astrology, music, natural philosophy, jurisprudence, and theology. Their idea of fine writing is, however, puerile, and their poetical compositions fantastical. Graceful thought and pleasant conceits abound; but high conception is seldom or never to be met with. The poets of Cingalese antiquity seem to have been a vain and frivolous order, who studied to be artificial, and to display their learning. Their misfortunes at least equalled their vanity, and are much more remarkable than their genius; for some of the most tragical stories of Cingalese history are connected with either the love or loyalty of her poets.

It will be appropriate in this place to notice the music of the people, as it is so intimately connected with their literature, for they sing or drone their favourite compositions to the accompaniment of their "dulcets" and tom-toms, on which occasions the noise raised is dissonant beyond the endurance of Europeans. A law was enacted, prohibiting these recitations and singings, when accompanied by drums, &c., between the hours of eight in the evening and eight in the morning, as no European could enjoy *repose* in their vicinity. The horanawa, a shrill and discordant kind of pipe, affords the people inexpressible pleasure. An instrument much more unmusical to European ears is the chanque shell, which may be called the trumpet of the Cingalese. A sort of violin is made of a half a cocoa-nut shell, with a sounding-board of the skin of the guana, a bow of horsehair, and two strings, one of the same material, another of flax; two little bells are attached to it, and this toy is regarded as an instrument almost divine by high-caste natives. The singing or reciting of a native poem, with the din of accompaniments from a concert of these instruments, is as torturing a process to an English tympanum as can well be conceived.

Physicians are regarded as depositaries of human learning, but the chief accomplishment for which they are valued is *astrology*. If by astrological power the *medicus* determines that the disease is inflicted as a punishment by the gods, he leaves the patient to be dealt with by them, but if the disease has come in a natural way, he endeavours "to ripen" and then cure it.

There are various books or manuscripts extant on medical science, in which nearly six hundred diseases are treated of, showing that Ceylon can claim her full proportion of the ills to which flesh is heir. The general administration of medicine prescribed resembles that of the old physicians in England. An amazing number of ingredients are cast in together, in order to balance one another, and in the hope that *all* will not fail to produce some favourable effect. Mr. Sirr, from his own personal knowledge, bears the following testimony to the skill of the native oculists:—"Many of their practitioners are excellent oculists, and are thoroughly conversant with numerous medicinal drugs (unknown to Europeans) which produce a speedy effect in relieving ophthalmia. In Ceylon ophthalmia is alike prevalent amongst human beings and animals; but there is one form of this distressing complaint which is solely confined to quadrupeds. A minute worm is either engendered or received into the watery humours of the eye, which causes the eyeball to enlarge; as soon as the swelling subsides, the colouring matter of the pupil assumes a bluish tint, and total loss of vision speedily ensues. The vegetable remedies used by the

* *Asiatic Journal of Calcutta.* † Sirr.

natives appear to cause the animal acute pain, but, when they are judiciously applied by a skilful practitioner, invariably restore the vision, and effect a complete cure."

The same authority may be quoted as to the professional attainments of the native surgeons, who are, he avers, skilled in phlebotomy and cauterising. Amputation of a limb is performed by a redhot knife, and successfully, so far as the preservation of the patient's life is concerned. He quotes the words of an informant, who witnessed the treatment of a dislocation by a native surgeon, and which is recorded in the following terms:—"During our journey one of the coolies fell down, and dislocated his ankle joint. On reaching the next village the surgeon was sent for, who, after a careful examination of the injured limb, ordered the patient to be assisted to a plantation of cocoanut trees, and some coir or rope to be brought to him. He then placed the patient against a tree, to which he securely fastened him by the shoulders, whilst the foot of the injured limb was tightly attached by a noosed rope to another tree. Through the noose the surgeon passed a short, but strong stick, which he repeatedly twisted until the rope was completely tightened, and the limb stretched out to its fullest extent; he then suddenly withdrew the stick, and allowed the cord to untwist itself. The patient, who had bellowed and squealed like a mad wild dog during the operation, was then released, and upon examination the dislocation was reduced."

There is but one disease which the native doctors, and the native medical treatises, do not regard as curable, which seems to be a form of dropsy, and which never attacks Europeans; neither does it extend to the natives of continental India, although dropsy, and other diseases of a dropsical character, are not uncommon there. It has received the nosological designation from some Europeans of *hydrops asthmaticus*. "This terrible disease commences with general debility and oppressed breathing, the extremities become distended with watery effusion, paralysis ensues, whilst other symptoms of dropsy display themselves, often running their course with great rapidity. There is frequently anxiety, also, with palpitation of the heart, and occasionally vomiting and spasms are present." *

Having given a description at large of the island, its scenery, people, religion, and literature, there remains for this chapter some account of its cities.

The native capital, as before mentioned, is Kandy. The situation of this city among the bold elevations of the Kandian highlands has also been named. The site upon which it stands, and its immediate neighbourhood, are extremely picturesque, the former being at the broad end of a pear-shaped lake, which nearly fills a beautiful valley, formed by hills of varied and striking outline. The native name is *Maha Neura*, or Great City. The *Mehavelleganga*, or River of Sand, flows past three sides of the town. Its reaches are sometimes grand, and it is bright and rapid, but is, nevertheless, a source of insalubrity to Kandy. It is remarkable that tanks are generally healthy, while rivers conduce to disease throughout the island. Old English residents, who will not hesitate to place their residences beside large tanks or lakes, will avoid the river courses. The former are covered with peculiar plants, which purify the water; the latter bear down and distribute on their banks large quantities of vegetable matter, which, quickly decomposing beneath a hot sun, spread sickness and death. In the centre of the lake is a low massive building of considerable extent, used as the magazine. This was formerly the royal harem, and tales of terror, similar to those for which the Bosphorus is notorious, are told of the history of that place. The lake itself is artificial; considering the body of water flowing around so large a portion of the town, it might be supposed that any addition, even for the purpose of heightening the picturesque, was scarcely desirable. A road encircles the lake, and the whole valley is so well sheltered by the great elevation of the surrounding hills, that Europeans can enjoy exercise in the open air almost as freely as in a more temperate zone.

The town consists of two main streets, crossing each other at right angles, the whole line marked by open shops, where business is transacted in a most indolent manner. The dealers are seldom honest; and they often meet their equals in sharp practice among their customers. There is another street (a sort of suburb) stretching in a south-easterly direction from the temple and the palace. The court-house was formerly the hall of audience of the Kandian monarchs; and in that room public worship used to be conducted by the British chaplain, previous to the erection of the present appropriate church. The barracks of the Ceylon Rifles are spacious, and there is also a good artillery barracks. "The Queen's House," built for the occasional residence of the governor, is elegant and commodious, and, from being encrusted with a peculiar preparation resembling chunam, it has the appearance of being built with marble. It commands a view of the

* Dr. C. Rogers.

whole town, and of a large extent of the neighbouring country. The house occupies the centre of a large lawn, ornamented with the finest palms and magnolias, the whole being surrounded by a spacious and well-kept park, planted with every variety of tree, native and exotic, and blooming with the flowering shrubs of Ceylon and Madras. It would be scarcely possible for any official residence to be more beautifully situated, the park affording mountain views of great extent, variety, and elevation, and overlooking from its higher grounds neighbouring valleys of the softest beauty. The citadel, if such it may be called, is situated on "One Tree Hill," and between it and Atgallee, seven miles distant on the Trincomalee road, a system of signals has been established.

Around the town are many good houses, occupied by officials and European settlers. The situations of these residences are delightful, combining the advantages of productive gardens, fields, and orchards, with some of the loveliest scenery in the world. Pure water fit for drinking, is scarce. Although the town is fifteen hundred feet above the sea level, rarely, in any situation about Kandy, does the climate agree with Englishmen. This is the more remarkable, for in continental India an equal height is universally healthy; and at Kandy the jungle is cleared, cultivation maintained, and the advantanges of civilisation generally possessed.

The town is approached on every side by mountain passes, which add much to the picturesque character of the neighbourhood. A tunnel was formed by the British through one of the mountains which begirt the district. This tunnel was five hundred and thirty-seven feet in length, and, in a military point of view, was of great value. The following interesting particulars concerning it, from *Ceylon and the Cingalese*, show how civilisation impresses barbaric peoples with the idea of power:—"The tunnel was constructed by order of Sir Edward Barnes, to consolidate, so to speak, the British power after Kandy came into our possession; for a legend has been extant, from time immemorial, *that no foreign power could* retain the Kandian dominions *until a path was bored through the mountain!* And a chief told us, that when his countrymen beheld this task commenced, their hearts failed them; but when they saw it completed, and men walking through the bowels of the earth, they then knew it was their destiny to be ruled by a nation who could pierce rocks and undermine mountains. The tunnel was completed on the 8th of December, 1823, but we regret to say this has now collapsed, and the road is impassable. This tunnel, the principal carriage roads, and bridges, never could have been constructed, had not the system of compulsory labour been adopted by our government, as it had been carried on under the native dynasty. By order of the king in council, in 1832, all compulsory services, and forced labour of every description, was declared illegal, and abolished. Whilst making the excavations for the tunnel some rare and valuable gems were discovered, and the only ruby we have ever seen without flaw or defect in colour was found at that period."

One of the most interesting features of the neighbourhood to the British is the abundance of game, for they retain in Ceylon, as in every other colony or settlement, their inveterate love of hunting and shooting. So various is the country in its aspects, formation, and vegetation, that this propensity can be abundantly gratified. The elephant, the leopard, and the wild hog, may be pursued by the bolder sportsman; the deer and the fox by those less adventurous; and nearly all the species of birds known to the tropics may be bagged by the fowler.

On another page a description was given of the temple of the sacred tooth in this vicinity. The other buildings held in veneration by the people are the palace, and, more especially, the tombs. The palace is fast falling away. It must have been at one period a superb building; its frontage is eight hundred feet. The walls are decorated with stone carvings of much pretension. Elephants, suns, moons, stars, and other emblems of royalty, are the figures upon which the taste of the native workmen was expended. The stone framework of the doors is carved in a higher style of art.

Colombo is the modern, or English capital, the seat of supreme government, as Kandy is the local capital of the upper country, and the ancient metropolis. It is situated in latitude 6° 57′ north, and longitude 79° 50′ east. The harbour is a semicircle, but it has a bar, and a reef, called "the Drunken Sailor;" and these are not the only impediments to the safety of shipping. It is therefore a bad seaport, and has little commerce, considering that it is the capital, although there is a considerable importation of rice, and a large concourse of coolies passing to and from the continent. Goods are frequently sent to Point de Galle by the road; and as Colombo is the seat of government, there is a brisk intercourse between it and the interior. In the coffee export season it has an air of great bustle. The heat is said by some to be greater there than anywhere else in the island, and yet

those who so affirm represent it as the healthiest situation Ceylon possesses, except the sanitorium, and the places already noticed as occupying a nearly equal elevation.

According to native books, it was a town of some importance in the sixth century of our era. In 1518 the Portuguese occupied and began to fortify it. After the Dutch expelled them, the fortifications which they formed were strengthened. The English, in their turn, improved the defences. The fort occupies a small promontory, and is large enough to hold a garrison of eight thousand men. It mounts a hundred and thirty-one guns and mortars. Slave Island, outside the fort, contains barracks, where the Gun Lascars and Ceylon Rifles, frequently recruited at the Cape of Good Hope, are quartered.

The principal street in the fort is Queen Street, in which the government house is erected. The building is as little worthy of its purpose as St. James's Palace, Buckingham Palace, Kensington Palace, Dublin Castle, the Viceregal Lodge in that city, Holyrood House, or any other palace of her majesty's in the British Isles except Windsor. It is, as a native chief remarked to an English official, "plenty small." The gardens are, however, very cheering, and large in proportion to the dwelling to which they are attached; they are said, like the botanical gardens near Kandy, to contain a specimen of every tree, shrub, plant, and flower which is indigenous to the island. The lighthouse, which is to the rear of the queen's house, is nearly a hundred feet high, and is very efficient for its object. The military and civil offices are all situated near the government house. The post office is a building of some importance. There are a good normal school, a public library, and several banks, in the same neighbourhood. The Scotch church, and one of the English churches, have sites also in this street.

From the principal thoroughfare other streets branch off, which are again intersected by minor ones. The medical museum and library, a military hospital and an English church, occupy less eligible situations than the other buildings named; and there are large and good shops in some of the smaller and less imposing streets. As in Madras and Bombay, the business of the great commercial houses is carried on within the fort, but the merchants generally reside beyond the town, in the neighbourhood of a large artificial piece of water, rendered wholesome by the presence of aquatic plants, which are in this respect so useful both in continental and insular India.

The Pettah is a long range of street without the fort, entirely occupied by shops, where a great deal of business is done. The dealers are chiefly Moormen, a class supposed to be descended from those who, in the early ages, carried the cinnamon, spices, and precious stones of Ceylon to the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and even to the coasts of the Mediterranean. These men are Mohammedans; they seldom accept service with Europeans, deeming it an indignity: they are proud, brave, enterprising, and industrious, and hold the other natives, especially the Cingalese, in utter contempt. This race employ themselves as carriers, sailors, chapmen, pedlars, and agriculturists, and frequently with spirit; they thrive, and several have realised considerable fortunes. They sell goods of equal value to those Europeans vend in the fort, and do not demand near the price. Branching from the Pettah there are many small lane-like streets, chiefly occupied by the burghers, or half-caste men, whose genius for carving ebony and other woods is very remarkable. Their execution is exquisite. It is surprising that a market is not found in England for the delicate carvings of fruit and flowers, executed in the beautiful woods of Ceylon. Near the Pettah there are numerous churches: the Roman Catholic for the half-caste descendants of the Portuguese; Dutch churches for those who claim a half-caste connexion with the original colonists of that nation; and two churches of the English establishment. The modern missionary societies, particularly those of the Baptists and the Wesleyans, have also their places of worship. The Mohammedans have a mosque, and the Brahmins a temple, which is covered with carvings of elephants, lions, and tigers. The religionists least provided for in Colombo are the Buddhists, although more numerous in the town and neighbourhood than all the rest put together. The Church of England has extra provision made for its professors. The European garrison generally attend either the English Episcopal churches in the fort, the Scotch church there, or the Roman Catholic chapel in the Pettah. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the British and Foreign Bible Society, and the Church Missionary Society, have institutions near the Pettah, in the neighbourhood of the English churches. There are also local charitable establishments in that vicinity—such as the Leper Hospital, Poor-house and Hospital, Dispensary, and Colombo Friend-in-Need Society. The government schools are properly located among the native population. All the law courts, offices, and dwellings connected with them, are situated beyond the fort—such as the Supreme Court-house, Dis-

trict Court, Court of Requests, Police Office, Cutcherry, and Fiscal's Office.

There are two classes of persons very much to be pitied at Colombo. One of these, until very lately, has been ill-treated everywhere—the British Soldier. The author of these pages has no disposition to seek occasions for animadversion upon the constitution or command of the British army, but, in his *History of the War against Russia*, it was his duty to bring out many features of neglect and harshness in our military system towards the soldiery, and his doing so met with the approbation of so numerous a body of officers, many of the highest rank, as to prove that a desire for reform pervades those classes. In Colombo, so late as 1854, the English sentinels within the fort, under the intense heat of the climate, and in situations where that heat was made even more oppressive, were clothed precisely as they would be if on duty at the Tower or Kensington Palace—the heavy cap, the close-breasted coat, stock, &c., without any mitigation whatever! The ill-health and suffering of the soldier consequent upon this folly and inhumanity on the part of those in authority may readily be conceived, even by those who have never felt the burning heat and enervating climate of Colombo.

The other ill-used functionaries are the police. Their apparel is just the same as if they were stationed at Hyde Park Corner or St. Paul's Churchyard, except that, as the natives (who constitute the police) wear long hair, coiled up behind, and fastened with high combs, hats are impossibilities. Peaked caps are substituted; but having no place on which to put them, the headgear of a Cingalese defying the adjustment of a cap on his head, he hangs it on the roll of hair and the comb, in a manner quite as useful to him as if he carried it on a pole, like a cap of liberty! Notwithstanding the ludicrous aspect of the police, all this absurdity was persisted in, at all events up to a recent period. The men, encased in the tight clothes, were nearly useless. Having been always accustomed to the easy habiliments of the East, such a uniform is intolerable to them; and they also, like the European soldiery, suffer much pain and discomfort, and frequently incur ill-health.

The Galle Face is favourably situated to catch the cooling sea-breezes, and is therefore the fashionable resort for r ding and driving in the evening; it is the Hyde Park of Colombo, and is described by most writers as very beautiful. It is, however, surprising what diversity of statement difference of taste produces on this subject. One traveller thus writes:—"The view from, and of the Galle Face, is absolutely entrancing to the lover of nature, for cast the eyes where you will, the gaze is involuntarily arrested by the extreme beauty of the surrounding scenery. There lies the boundless ocean, with a ship in full sail gliding over its undulating surface, the canoes of the natives lightly floating on, and skimming over its waters, whilst the waves, curvetting and rolling, dash in a shower of white foam on to the shore. Bordering the beach is the carriage-drive, which encompasses greensward, whereon high-bred Arab horses are bounding and prancing, in the full enjoyment of exuberant health and existence. On the opposite side is the racecourse, over whose variegated turf the steeds are caricoling in high glee, whilst the carriage-drive that divides the racecourse from the greensward is thronged with carriages of every description, principally, if not entirely, occupied by Europeans, whilst the fantastically-clad Eastern attendants run at the horse's head or at the side of the vehicle. At the back of the racecourse flows the Lake of Colombo, the banks being studded with drooping palms, whose branches overshadow the clear waters, on which float the pink lotus and white lily, whilst a bungalow, the verandah of which is overgrown with graceful creepers, the grounds belonging to it being filled with gorgeous-coloured flowering shrubs, complete the vista of loveliness on that side. Looking from the bungalow, with nought to impede the view save the stand on the racecourse, you can distinctly see the grey time-mossed ramparts of the Fort of Colombo. In due time sunset arrives; then how gloriously the planet sinks into the bosom of the sea, in majestic tranquillity, as his parting beams illumine the green waters, on which they glitter in thousands of sparkling rays, whilst over the azure vault of heaven float violet, crimson, and golden-tinted clouds, which, as you gaze, fade away in ever varying hues."

Another traveller, as observant, if less careful in his statements, says,—"Colombo is about as hot and unpicturesque a place as it has ever been my luck to visit; to the stranger there is neither object of interest or amusement, and, but for the extreme kindness and easy hospitality of its merchants, it would puzzle the most contented mind to pass a week there without excessive *ennui*. There are, so to speak, three towns, one small and compact, situated within the Dutch fort, composed chiefly of government and merchants' offices, barracks, and shops, and two long straggling suburbs without the walls, stretching and stinking in opposite directions. A large fresh-water lagoon, of a most green, slimy, tropical, appearance, producing in abundance a lotus of almost Victoria Regia

magnificence, stretches away to the back of the fort, and around it are situated the bungalows of many of the Colombo merchants. The propinquity of this lake would in any other tropical country (in the West Indies certainly) be considered as ensuring a considerable amount of fever to the neighbourhood; in fact, I doubt whether any advantage would be sufficient to induce a West Indian to locate in such a position. However, Ceylon, in the matter of climate, stands *per se*, and offers a total antithesis as regards the healthiness of certain districts to most other tropical countries."

The testimony of this writer (who obviously states his honest impression), as to the *ennui* of Colombian society, is not without supporters; yet there are excellent witnesses to the contrary, according to whom the open-air enjoyments of the Europeans, while the sun is very low in the horizon, and after sunset, are enlivening and delightful. Carriage airing and equestrian exercise are highly enjoyed, and the cool breezes enable the horseman or pedestrian to exert himself almost at will. The natives are as anxious to shun these cool airs as the Europeans are to enjoy them, and shrink shivering from the breeze by which the English are invigorated for the heat of another day. "The night side" of the Ceylon metropolis has been depicted in the following language, which only an eye-witness could employ:—"As the shades of evening advance, gradually the Galle Face becomes deserted, and, long before nightfall, the neighing of the horses and the rumbling of wheels are no more heard, the only sounds greeting the ear being the soughing of the night-breeze, and the breaking of the waves on the shingly beach. When night has 'thrown her sable mantle o'er the earth,' the aspect of the scene changes, for over the lake hover myriads of fire-flies, clouds of them flitting about in the air, then alighting on the waving leaves of the palms, causing the foliage to appear illuminated. Some few will settle on the floating leaves of the lotus, two or three will creep into the flower, sparkling like brilliants; then more of these luminous insects will alight on other aquatic plants, and the waters will glisten with a million minute specks of light. Then, innumerable numbers will wing their flight upwards, until the air appears replete with a shower of the moon's beams. Many will then settle, possibly on a tall banana; the outline of the gigantic graceful leaves being distinctly defined by the dazzling specks of fire upon them. Nought can be imagined more exquisitely lovely than this varied natural panorama; and although in the mountainous parts of the island, the face of nature may assume a sublimer aspect, never does she wear a more pleasing, characteristic, and truly oriental one, than in the vicinity of the Galle Face of Colombo."

It is in the neighbourhood of this city that the principal cinnamon gardens of the island are. A plantation resembles a copse of laurel, from the way in which the bushes are formed. The shrub, if left to grow, will reach the elevation of a tree, frequently to thirty or forty feet, the trunk being a foot and a half to two feet in circumference. The cinnamon is the inner bark. From the fruit, by boiling, a substance is obtained like wax, of which candles are made, which, in burning, emit a grateful odour.

Trincomalee is a town and harbour on the east coast of the island, the road to which from Kandy has been already described. It is the provincial capital of that part of the island, and is situated in 8° 33′ north latitude, and 81° 13′ east longitude. The harbours are among the most splendid in the world; the inner one being land-locked, and of great depth, ships of all size can obtain shelter within it. In war time, this has been the principal resort of the Indian navy, as there are an excellent arsenal and dockyard. The fort is extensive, covering an area of several miles, and commands the entrance to the inner bay. Three miles to the west of Trincomalee is the citadel—called Fort Osnaburgh, which defends the harbour, and is impregnable until the lower fort is conquered.

The promontory on which the fort is erected is dedicated to Siva, and is held in great veneration by the Brahminical portion of the population of the neighbourhood. "The rock" is especially an object of devout regard, because there it is supposed the first temple erected in the island to that deity stood. Not any vestiges of it now remain. Before sunset a priest clambers up the steepest part of the rock, his brow bound with a string of large beads of many colours, and a yellow girdle about his loins. In a fissure, where it is supposed the deity resides, betel leaves and rice are placed; and as the sun touches the wave, the contents of a censer burst into flame, spreading around a rich perfume, until the disc of the luminary disappears. After various salaams and offerings the priest returns, followed by sacerdotal and lay attendants. This is the most picturesque ceremony of idol-worship performed by the Brahminical priests in Ceylon.

The quartz rocks at Trincomalee, viewed from the sea, produce a very agreeable impression; and the hill or low rocky range skirting the port, by its variety of surface and grotesque forms, constitutes an interesting object. From

hill or shore, harbour or open sea, the views of Trincomalee and its neighbourhood are extremely fine.

According to certain antiquaries the town itself dates from the second century of our era. At present, it extends in a north-east direction along the outer bay, and is immediately surrounded by hills, which stretch inland, covered with rich forests. A wide esplanade separates the town from the fort, as is the case at the chief seaboard cities of the continent. The European population is scanty, being confined almost exclusively to the civil and military officers. A detachment of the Ceylon Rifles generally garrisons the fort. There are few public buildings. The Wesleyans, Roman Catholics, and Mohammedans have the best religious edifices. The climate is considered as insalubrious as the scenery is attractive. The natives, consisting chiefly of Malabars and Moormen, are generally traders. Vast tracts of magnificent country lie beyond the town, wretchedly cultivated, or altogether neglected. Cholera, so fatal everywhere in Ceylon except in the higher regions, is more prevalent at Trincomalee than anywhere else, except at Jaffnapatam. The European soldiers on duty in the fort complain bitterly of being obliged to wear the choking stock and breasted coat: many of them die of cholera.

Point de Galle is at the south-western extremity of the island, in 6° north latitude, and 80° 17′ east longitude. The harbour is shaped like a horse-shoe, and is fringed by masses of yellow rock, worn into curious forms by the sea. The aspect of the land is probably richer in vegetation than that of any other spot upon the globe. Travellers describe its richness in this respect as inconceivable, even by those who have had the most extensive acquaintance with the tropics. The forest is prolific in all the productions of Southern India and Ceylon: the papaw-tree (*Carica papaya*) is very conspicuous among them. This tree has a slender tapering stem; at the top the leaves spread out in parachute-like form, enclosing the fruit, which is shaped like a melon, and of a bright yellow hue.

The scenery in the bay is picturesque, especially on the arrival of the mail, as Point de Galle is the place at which the island mails arrive and depart. The natives flock out in canoes to meet the Indian or European ships, and generally startle and disgust Europeans, especially ladies. Except a dirty rag about the loins, the Cingalese wear no clothing; the Moormen wear a Cambay or cotton robe folded around them, and a thickly padded cap, to keep off the sun's rays. The half-castes, or burghers, are better clothed, but, to strangers, all are repulsive in their appearance.

The landing-place or pier juts out from the shore about two hundred feet; the other end of it is occupied by the custom-house, a very mean building. From the moment the traveller enters that place, until he leaves Point de Galle, he must be on the defensive, to avert extortion and overcharge in every shape, and by every description of person.

The fort comprises nearly the whole town —all certainly that is important in it, except such places of worship as are erected beyond its limits. The defences were nearly all erected by the Dutch, and are now somewhat old-fashioned. The garrison consists of the Ceylon Rifles and some European infantry. The governor has a house here; it is only remarkable for its beautiful verandah, shaded by fine exotic trees, brought by the Dutch from Java. The other houses are very inferior. Beyond the fort there is a Portuguese Roman Catholic chapel, and an English Wesleyan Mission chapel. Within the fort the Dutch church not only accommodates the half-castes of that nation, but affords a place of worship for English Episcopalians, A Mohammedan mosque is the only other well-built place of worship that is situated beyond the fort. As at Colombo, there is a bazaar or market street called the Pettah, which is chiefly inhabited by Moormen, who traffic in all kinds of commodities; they are also usurious money-lenders. Provisions are cheaper than at Colombo or Kandy. The neighbourhood is very beautiful, and, but for the heat, which is extreme, would be a delightful residence.

The country, climate, scenery, people, religion, literature, and chief towns of Ceylon have been fully reviewed in the foregoing pages; it will be necessary to refer to it again in chapters under general heads—such as commerce, &c., as well as in the historical portion of the work, when treating of India at large.

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## CHAPTER IX.

### INDEPENDENT STATES.

IT would be difficult in the present condition of India to name any state as independent, so completely has the ascendancy of the East India Company been recognised over the whole peninsula. *Different degrees* of independence are recognised; and when the independence of states bordering upon the territory of one more powerful becomes a matter of degree, it is little more than courtesy to recognise it at all. Some of these states pay a tribute; others are "in charge of a resident;" the political agent of the company in one place "takes care of" an independent sovereignty in the neighbourhood. Politically, they are all subject to the british government, or in necessary or constrained alliance with it.

The Deccan is less under British influence than any other part of India. There exists there a network, so to speak, of independent territories, mixing one with another and with British territory in a most intricate and complicated manner—it being a matter of uncertainty whether many states are subject to the English, to native rajahs, or are actually independent. The reader, by consulting the very large maps of Wylde, will see the independent native states more distinctly marked out from one another, and from the English dominions, than in any other maps. They are there classified as subsidiary, protected, and independent. Under these classifications will be found Travancore, the Mysore, the Nizam's dominions, Gwalior, portions of Rajpootana and Gujerat, Cutch, &c. These countries are too closely assimilated to the British dominions around or near them to require separate descriptions within the space which can be afforded to this department of the work. In the historic portion of it most of these countries and their rulers will be noticed, as the storm of war passed over them, or they became *foci* of intrigue. The following list comprises those of any importance among native rajahs, states, or tribes, in all the degrees of independence or rather dependence above specified:—

BRITISH ALLIES AND INDEPENDENT STATES.

| | |
|---|---|
| The Mysore Rajah. | Travancore. |
| The Nizam. | Cochar. |
| The Nagpore Rajah (acquired 1856). | States under the Rajahs of Jedpore, Jeypore, Odeypore, Bicanur, Jessulmair, and other Rajpoot chiefs. |
| The Guicowar. | Holkar. |
| Bhopal. | Goands, Bheels, Coolies, and Catties. |
| Kotah. | |
| Boudee. | |
| The Sattara Rajah (acquired 1842). | |

The chief cities, which are the capitals of the independent or quasi-independent states, have in some cases historical interest, and are of some importance from their site or the products of the country around them. "Hyderabad, on the table-land of the Deccan, the capital of the nizam's dominions, is a large Moslem city of two hundred thousand inhabitants, reputed to be the Sodom of India, in allusion to its beautiful neighbourhood and the depravity of the people. The kingdom contains Aurungabad, named after the Mogul emperor Aurungzebe, and Assaye, a village, famed for the decisive victory of the British under Wellesley in 1803. Nagpore, capital of the kingdom so called, on a branch of the Godavery, in the north of the Deccan, contains a population of upwards of eighty thousand. Baroda, the residence of the principal native chief of Gujerat, the Guicowar of Baroda, near the head of the Gulf of Cambay, has a population of one hundred thousand, and Ahmedabad, in the same state, is equally populous, but with vast ruins. Jeypore, near the Toony River, in Rajpootana, formerly one of the principal seats of Hindoo learning, is remarkably magnificent and regularly built. Gwalior, capital of Scindiah, near the central point of India, is celebrated for its strong fortress, on an almost inaccessible rock. Katmandoo, the capital of Nepaul, has little importance. Tassisudon, at a great elevation on the Himalayas, is the summer capital of Bhotan, being deserted in winter on account of the cold." *

GURWAL, or, as it is otherwise called, SERINAGHUR, is of little importance as a native state, except for its position as one of the frontier countries to the north of British India. Of late years much of its land has been absorbed as British territory. It is situated chiefly between the thirtieth and thirty-first degrees of north latitude. On the south it has the great plain of the Ganges, and northward it is separated by the Himalayas from Thibet. Its proper limits are defined by a good river boundary to the east and west, the Dauli, Ahacananda, and Ramgunga flowing past it on the one side, and the Jumna on the other. The political boundaries of this country have been changed as often as the expediency of the British government dictated.

This is one of the most peculiarly formed countries on the Indian continent. It is a succession of hills and valleys, and so short

* Rev. Thomas Milner.

are the distances between the different ranges of highland, that it has been affirmed by a military officer of experience that there is not room for a brigade of infantry to manœuvre anywhere in the valleys.

The climate is very mild, and at certain seasons cold. The forest trees of Europe are indigenous — oak, fir, and horse-chestnut abound; the holly and other European evergreens are to be met with in every direction, and the fruits familiar to England, especially the strawberry, are those which most luxuriantly thrive. Pheasants, and other English game, are plentiful. Still there are characteristics of oriental scenery and animal life, which prove that the climate is not identical with that of western Europe: the elephant roams in the thickets, and the insects and reptiles are similar to those in the lower latitudes of India. The country is not populous; but if occupied by an enemy, would afford positions of strength against an army from India. The produce of the country is of considerable value, consisting of hemp, wool, gums, lead, copper, and sometimes gems are found. The capital, Serinaghur, is small, but well situated for commerce, between the north and north-east and the lower country of Hindoostan.

When, in 1814, General Gillespie conducted military occupations against the Goorkhas, he met with a determined resistance from that gallant little people, who then held possession of the country. His troops experienced some severe repulses, and he was himself numbered with the slain.

In the Gurwal and Kumaon country are the sources of the Ganges, and at Gangoutri, a celebrated place of Hindoo pilgrimage, the river bursts forth from beneath an immense snow-pile. Here there is a wooden temple, in which are the footsteps of the goddess (the Ganges) visibly imprinted on a black stone; here also pilgrims bathe in the pools of the Ganges. Few trees are seen in this neighbourhood except the birch, and the scenery is wildly picturesque. There is an image of the Ganges in red stone, also of Siva, Parvati, Bhagirathi, Annapurna, Devi, Vishnu, Brahma, and Ganeesa, and a small female figure of silver. The face of the country is composed of the third ridge of mountains from the plain; the fourth or highest range is that which separates Hindoostan from Thibet, or Southern Tartary. The exact spot in which spring the sources of the Ganges is concealed by immense snow-heaps. It is remarkable that, notwithstanding the intensity of the cold, sheep are pastured here; and when the highest range is scaled, or turned by the passes, the opposite side is of easy descent, being like table-land. Rock-crystal is found around the great snow mounds, especially near the sources of the river. Great numbers of Brahminical devotees from Hindoostan incur heavy toil, exposure to cold, which they are badly able to endure, and considerable expense, in ascending these heights, not only to enter the temple of Gunga, worship the images, and bathe in the sacred pools, but also in quest of Vyas, the great legislator of their annals, who, with a host of saints and sages, are buried alive in a cavern! The hope of entering such company, or of inducing them again to enlighten the world by their wisdom, is sufficient to inspire thousands of pilgrims to undertake long and laborious journeys; but if they fail in realising so pleasing a dream, nevertheless their labour is not in vain, for the mere fact of performing the pilgrimage expiates a multitude of sins, removes impending evils, and ensures a happy passage through all the stages of transmigration through which the devotee is destined to pass. The people believe that the specific gravity of the water of the Ganges, taken at its source, exceeds that of all other rivers, and that it is too pure to undergo corruption.

Among these hills is the temple of Kedarnath (Kedera Natha), in latitude 60° 53′ north, and longitude 79° 18′ east, and about sixty-one miles from the Gurwal capital. The height of the temple above the level of Calcutta is, according to the report of certain British officers, nearly twelve thousand feet.* The peculiar object of worship in this spot is a large misshapen mass of black rock, in the shape, according to Hindoo fancy, of the hind quarters of a buffalo. The priests here propagate the most absurd fables, and practise the most shameless delusions upon the people. On one occasion a party of British officers found three female devotees, whom the Brahmins instructed to advance from a certain point until they reached a precipice of vast depth, over which they were to leap, securing thereby the expiation of their sins. They could not find the rock from which the pious plunge was to be taken. One died from the cold, another lost one hand and both feet from being frost-bitten, and the third had her extremities mortifying, and every probability appeared of her speedy death.† The Aghora pantees, mendicant devotees of Aghora, one of the names of Siva, are represented as practising cannibalism as a religious rite.‡

The little town of Bhadrinath is built on the west bank of the Alacanada River, latitude 30° 43′ north, and longitude 79° 39′ east, about eighty miles north from Almora, in Kumaon. This place is remarkable alone for its pic-

* Captain Webb. † Ibid. ‡ Raper.

turesque position and its idolatrous associations. The temple is built in the form of a cave, surmounted by a cupola, with a square shelving roof of copper, over which is a gilt spire and ball: the height is about fifty feet. An earthquake nearly destroyed it at the beginning of the present century; but the liberality and piety of some Indian princes were laid under requisition for its repairs. There are various stories of the antiquity of this temple, some of them ascribing to it a foundation as remote as one thousand years before Christ. The chief idol is about three feet high, cut out of black marble, and dressed in a suit of gold and silver brocade. This is a very wealthy idol: at one time it possessed seven hundred villages.* The number of pilgrims who annually prostrate themselves before it are computed at fifty thousand. A large retinue of servants attends upon it to dress it, feed it, and pay it proper respect! The severity of the climate may be conceived from the fact that in June the snow has been computed to be seventy feet thick.† There is a cavern here which the Brahmins allege is the abode of multitudes of holy Hindoos, who departed this life some thousands of years ago. The people in the lower provinces, who read about it, suppose that these holy personages reside on the mountain, and are disappointed to learn when they arrive after a painful pilgrimage that it is *in* the mountain they have made their sanctuary, and that all access is barred by impenetrable snows.‡

The province of KUMAON, which is properly a part of the Gurwal territory, has been under the British government since the latter expelled the Goorkhas, who exercised a stern but generous sovereignty. This province is remarkable for its saul forests, and its forests of fir. The former are superior to any known in the low countries; the latter are magnificent. The firs grow in places almost inaccessible; the timber is very superior, and particularly well adapted for spars, masts, and other shipping purposes. They are greatly superior to the fir-trees of Europe, being nearly as hard and much stronger than teak. The Kumaon hills are not only productive in timber, but also in hemp, resin, turpentine, oil, copper, lead, and iron; small quantities of gold are deposited in the sands of the Pavar River in its descent. Much intercourse is carried on with the Chinese inland province of Hung.

The people are supposed to be in the main aboriginal; they tyrannise over woman, compelling her to work in the field, while the men undertake the superintendence of household affairs. Polygamy is practised on an extensive scale, even by the poorest, and with a view to the pecuniary advantage of an additional number of field labourers, acquired by an increase of wives. The Brahmins are extremely numerous, and have subjected the people to their interests: they possess the lands, and have degraded the people almost to the condition of slaves, by practising upon their ignorance and superstitious feelings.

Throughout these mountains the most exaggerated idea of the power of the Chinese empire used to prevail. When Mr. Gott was deputed by Sir Henry Wellesley to investigate the forests of Kumaon, he found the people in a state of alarm lest the Chinese emperor should hear of his arrival, as he had threatened to depose the Rajah of Nepaul if any European strangers were permitted to enter his territories.

In some tracts ceded to the British by the Nepaulese, the products of the mountains are very abundant. Magnificent cedar, horse-chestnut, yew, sycamore, walnut, and other trees, crown even lofty heights. Some of these far surpass the finest trees which on a former page were mentioned as offsprings of the prolific soil and stimulating climate of Ceylon. Cedars, one hundred and eighty feet high, and twenty-seven feet in circumference, measured at the height of a few feet from the ground, are common. The hemp is such as cannot be matched in the world.

The country of NEPAUL, on the north-east frontier of India proper, is worthy of being distinguished from all the independent states, or those partially dependent on the company. During the sepoy revolt of 1857-58, the ruler of Nepaul gave most efficient aid to the British, and, but for the unaccountable refusal of his offers of auxiliary forces on the part of the government of India, it is probable that both Delhi and Oude would have been subjugated much sooner, and with much less cost of human life and destruction of property.

Nepaul was once a powerful empire, its rajah ruling over the vast range of territory bordering Hindoostan on the north and north-east. It has, by its conflicts with the British, been greatly reduced in dimensions and restrained in power, yet it is still a noble state. It is separated from Thibet on the north by the Himalaya Mountains; and bounded on the south by the provinces of British India, known as Delhi, Oude, Bahar, and Bengal. The river Mitchee, on the east, flows between the British and Nepaulese territories; on the west the branch of the Goggra called Cali, separates the British portion of Gurwal—the Kumaon district—from Nepaul. In its greatest extent the country

* Buchanan. † Raper. ‡ Buchanan.

ranges between the twenty-seventh and thirty-first degrees of north latitude. In length it is under five hundred miles, and in breadth not much above one hundred. The country exhibits the form of a parallelogram, three sides of which are bounded by the British dominions, and Sikkim, under British protection, and the fourth is contiguous to the Himalayas and the Chinese empire. The mountains are covered with fine timber, pines of a quality similar to those of British Kumaon are to be met with in lofty forests; the *mimosæ*, from which the catechu is made, is also abundant. The birds of these wooded heights are extremely numerous, parrots and paroquets especially. These are purchased by bird-fanciers, who retail them in the lower provinces, from which they are dispersed to other lands. The country from its southern boundaries slopes up to a range of low hills; thence, after a very slight depression, the mountains rise in their lofty grandeur. The appearance of these vast elevated lands, covered in some cases with eternal snow, is sublime. Between the clustering, broken, and unequally abrupt acclivities, are cultivated valleys, but seldom to any great extent; these valleys are situated at elevations above the plains of Bengal varying from three thousand to six thousand feet. From this circumstance Nepaul produces almost all the fruits of the tropics, and also those of the temperate zone. Some of the valleys teem luxuriantly with the pine-apple and the sugar-cane; others bear the cereal crops of England. The rattan and the bamboo are to be seen on the declivities which skirt one warm valley, while the oak or pine encounter the sterner climate of another. Peaches are abundant, but are spoiled by the periodical rains; and the orange grows to great perfection. Ginger and cardamom are produced in large quantities.

Flocks of sheep pasture on all the hills: little attention is given to them; in obedience to their own instincts they seek the warmer valleys in winter, and in summer clamber the steep hills, and browse upon the young grass that covers them. Horses are brought from Thibet, also the shawl-goat, choury or bos-grunniens. From the lowlands buffaloes are brought, fattened in the mountains, and slaughtered for food; hogs also are brought from the low regions, although the country seems well suited for breeding both species of animals. The pig seems to thrive in all climates, but the Nepaulese, although they import it, and therefore must set a value upon it, seldom rear it.

Two splendid species of birds frequent these cold regions—the memal (*Meleagris satyra*), and the damphiya (*Phasianus impeyanus*). There is also a bird to be met with in the loftier ranges, called the fire-eater, or chakoor (*Perdix rufa*), which pecks at sparks of fire.

The mineral resources are considerable, consisting of lead, copper, zinc, and iron; gold to a small extent is found in the channels of the rivers. The copper and iron lie near the surface. Corundum and sulphur are also found in the mountains.

"The valley of Nepaul" is well adapted for cultivation, and is the largest alluvial space within the Nepaul dominions. The hills which begirt it are clothed with common spruce, Weymouth pine, hornbeam, oak, and chestnut; the lower vegetation is luxuriant, hardy shrubs, resembling those of Europe, cover a large area. The flora of these hills, and the valley they surround, comprises the flowers of Hindoostan and of Europe—the former springing up in the rich vale, the latter on the mountain slopes.

The scenery is rendered strikingly picturesque by the mountain courses of the rivers. These, generally rising in Thibet, wind their way through passes, which they thus render impracticable, and, as they dash from rock to rock, from one vast precipice to another, afford scenes of solemn grandeur.

The valleys are inhabited by many tribes of distinct appearance, language, and habits. Those which are supposed to be aboriginal have a strongly marked Tartar physiognomy, or a resemblance to the Chinese. There are Hindoos in these regions, and have been from a remote antiquity, but they are regarded by the other races as intruders. The Hindoos of the mountain are called Parbutties. The Rajpoots are tolerably numerous, and are decided Brahminical devotees.

The Goorkhas are the ascendant race; they are men of very low stature, seldom exceeding five feet. They are brave, no danger or difficulty deterring them; and with their short sword, or hatchet, which it more resembles, they will close upon the most gigantic enemies, and generally vanquish them with great slaughter. In their conflicts with the British they were less successful, but the 50th regiment suffered severely from the hatchet, or heavy knife, cutting through the musket; and the dexterity of the Goorkhas in close quarters, united to their dauntless bravery, enabled them to inflict a heavy penalty upon that gallant and well disciplined corps. Brigaded with the same regiment afterwards in the Sikh campaigns, these men of the mountain fought side by side with our soldiers, dealing defeat and death upon the common enemy. In the

rebellion of 1857–8 these same warriors again appeared upon the theatre of battle as our allies, and drove the tall mutineers of the Bengal army before them, as their mountain torrents sweep the loose soil from the rock.

Perhaps there is not a country in the world where religious dispute prevails more than in Nepaul. The Goorkhas generally administer the old Mohammedan argument of the sword, as the best way to cut short a controversy, although these warriors are not followers of the prophet, but generally of Brahma. There are the purest Brahmins in India to be found among the Nepaulese people, while others, in many cases, set Brahminical laws at defiance, and eat beef; Buddhists, who conform to the type of their religionists in Birmah, others to that prevalent in Thibet, and some who differ from both. There are followers and persecutors of the Thibet Lamas; Mohammedans who consider the eating of pork a crime, at least as great as idolatry; Hindoos who regard eating beef as impure as Christianity; and herds of mountaineers who will risk life to steal either swine or kine for the gratification of their appetite for animal food. Some offer constant sacrifices of animals, others consider it sacrilegious to kill one; and a large sept or sect (it is difficult to say which it is) has a taste for carrion and diseased cattle.

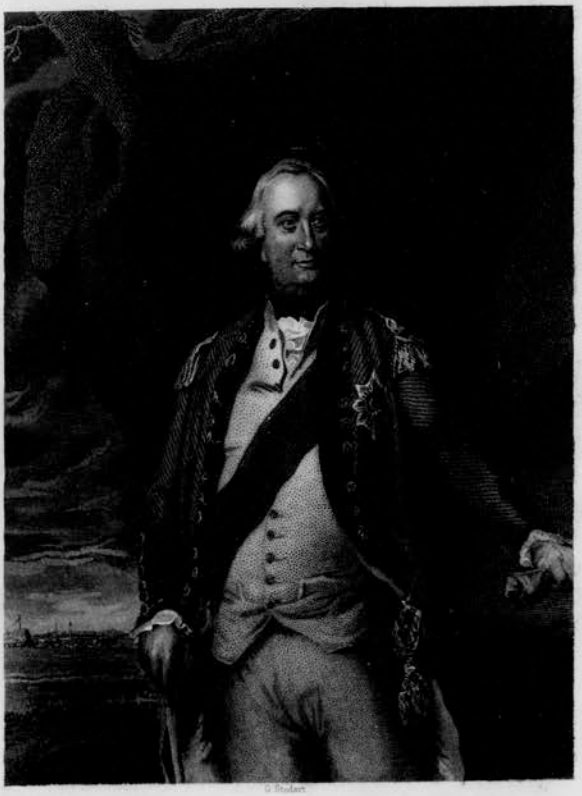
The morals of the people are very diverse—ceremonial purity being held by many as the *summum bonum*, philosophy being the chief consideration with others. A large section of the population live in desperate licentiousness, and are utterly enervated at an early age. Some of the humbler classes are polygamists, and polyandrism is not unknown. Generally male and female licentiousness prevail, and murders the most vindictive, the result of a revenge long kindled, are perpetrated even in the capital, by men of rank, on the ground of jealousy. The knife is carried for the chief purpose of avenging wounded honour in this matter. Among all these conflicting passions, degrading superstitions, deeply cherished prejudices, and absurd religions, Christianity has no field. Efforts indeed have been made to penetrate the chaos of crimes and creeds which make up the social and religious life of these benighted races, but as yet the efforts have not been commensurate with the object.

The portions of the country or countries over which the Goorkha sceptre now sways, which attract most interest, are the two celebrated valleys of Nepaul proper, commonly called Great and Little Nepaul. The larger valley, according to General Fitzpatrick, was once a lake, and in its centre were two islands, now hills in the centre of the vale. One of these, of elegant form, is sacred to the Buddhists; the other to the Brahmins, who believe that Siva and his wife resided there, to whom they have built temples. The river Gunduck, which flows nearly around it, is esteemed by them to be so sacred, that they, and all the followers of their doctrines, desire to be buried with their feet laved by its current, and afterwards their bodies burnt on its banks. By this means they hope in the metempsychosis to escape occupying a body inferior to that of man.

Nepaul proper sends down to the lower country elephants, ivory, rice, timber, hides, ginger, terra japonica, turmeric, wax, honey, pure resin of the pine, walnuts, oranges, long pepper, ghee, bark of the root of bastard cinnamon, also the dried leaves, large cardamoms, dammer, lamp oil, and cotton of the simul-tree. The productions of Bengal and the north-west provinces, and English manufactures, are taken in exchange—the balance, being very much in favour of Nepaul, is taken in silver: this is one channel of the drain for silver from Europe to the East.

The towns of Nepaul proper are inconsiderable, and destitute of commercial or architectural pretensions.

West of the territory especially designated Nepaul is the country of the Twenty-four Rajahs. The first in the enumeration is GOORKHA, which is the original country of the Goorkha race, and of the reigning family. The town is situated on the top of a high hill, and it is said contains two thousand houses, and the temple of Gorakhanath, the tutelary deity of the district, and of the reigning family of Nepaul. The Goorkhas themselves were Magars, but derived the name they bear from the territory which they made their home, and which derived its designation from the name of the local god. The reigning family is worthy of the courage and spirit of their race. The rajah is a man of integrity, intelligence, gentle manners, and resolute will. He visited England, studied the laws, institutions, and manners of our country, is fond of everything British, and does all he can to introduce civilization into his rude but picturesque dominions. His palace is furnished with English furniture and works of art; his dress is in the main European; and his manners and conversation those of a thorough gentleman. He is the faithful ally of the Honourable East India Company; and before his proffer of troops was accepted in 1857, he sheltered all the fugitives who could reach his territory, and treated them with the most delicate consideration. "Equally free from assumed dignity, and flattery, his behaviour, especially to the English ladies re-



G. Stuart

CHARLES MARQUIS CORNWALLIS, &c.

from a Painting by J. S. Copley, R.A.

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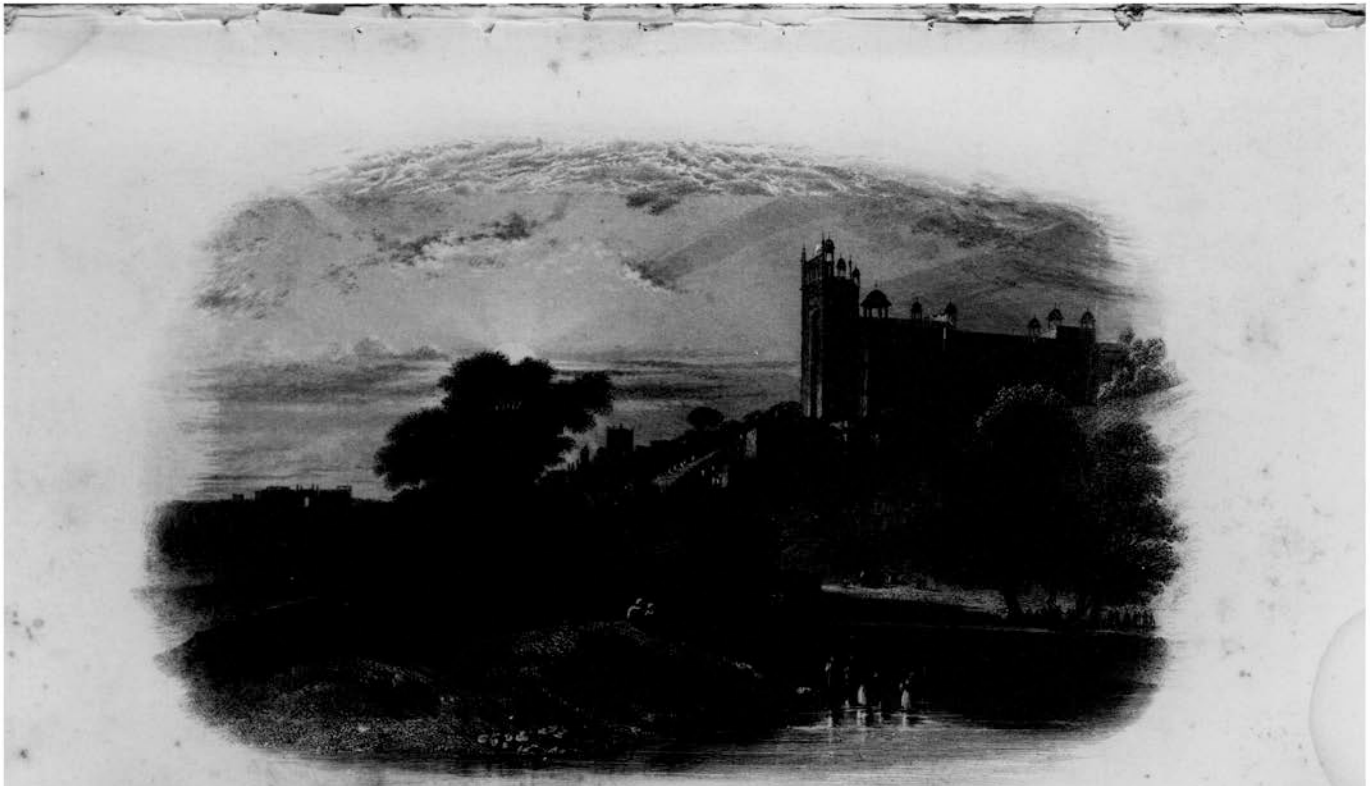
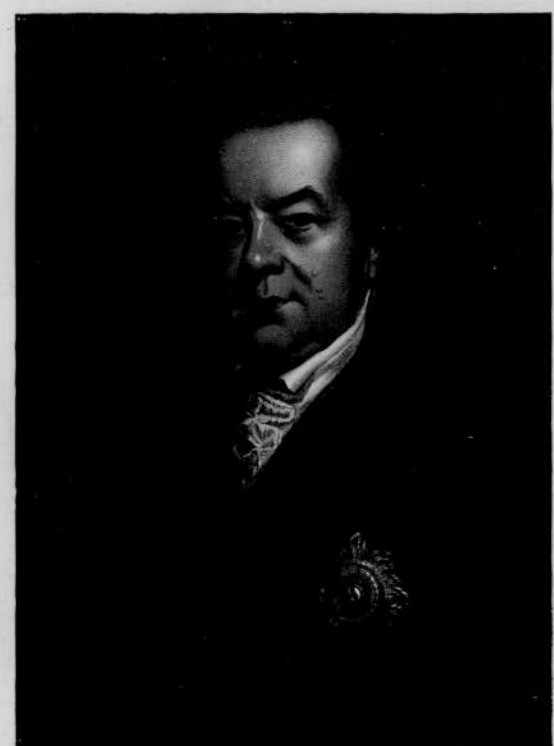


FUTTYPORE SIKRI, NEAR AGRA.



THE RT HONBLE LORD METCALFE.

*From a Painting in the India House*

LONDON. JAMES S. VIRTUE.

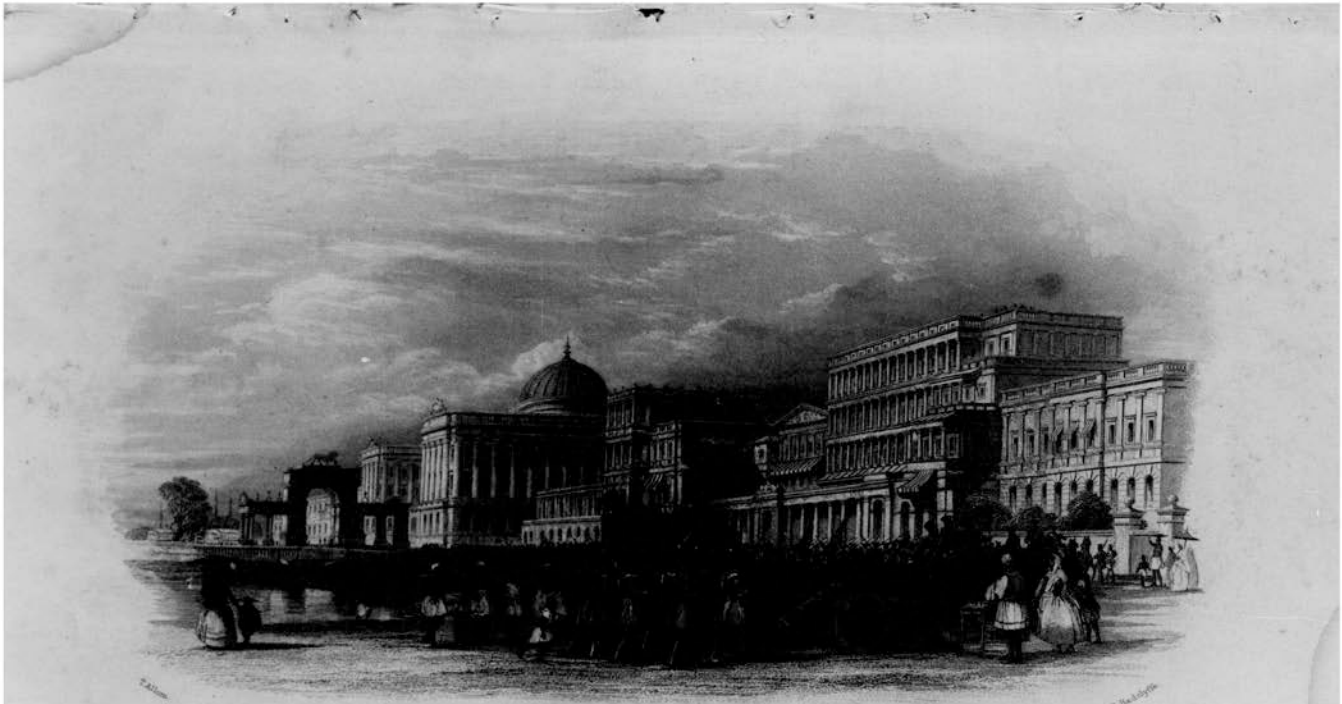
BENARES.

LONDON JAMES S VIRTUE

GENERAL NICHOLSON.

*From a Daguerreotype by Kilburn*

LONDON: JAMES S VIRTUE



CALCUTTA.

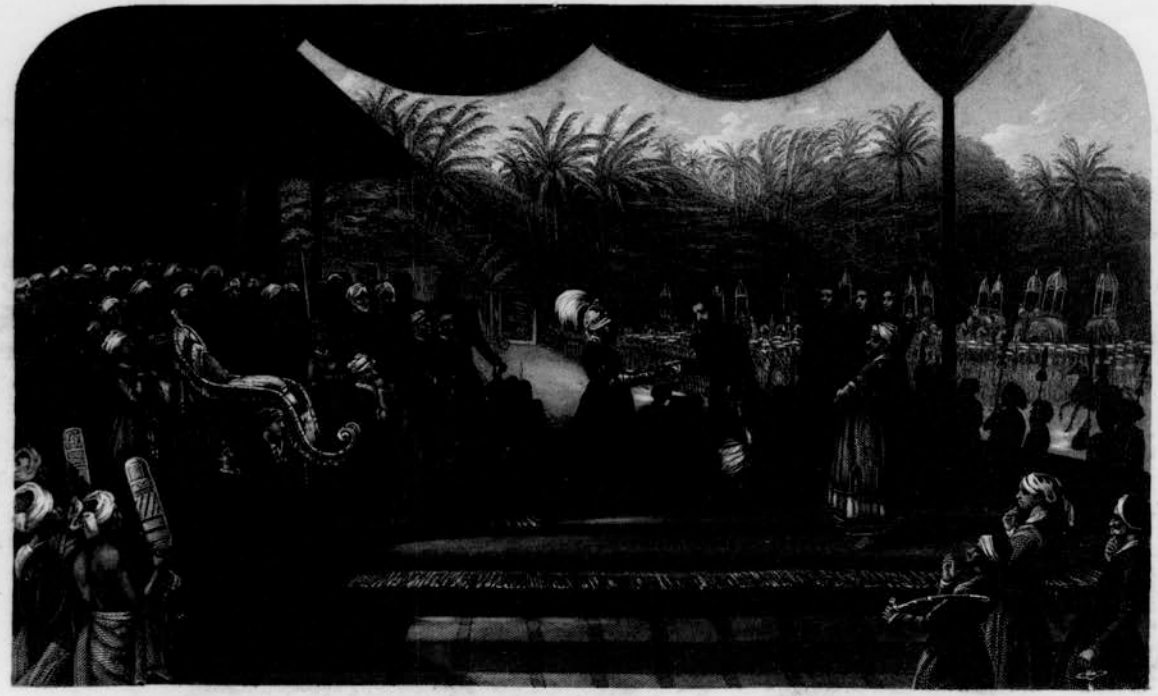
THE ESPLANADE.

LONDON, JAMES S. VIRTUE.

J. Brown.

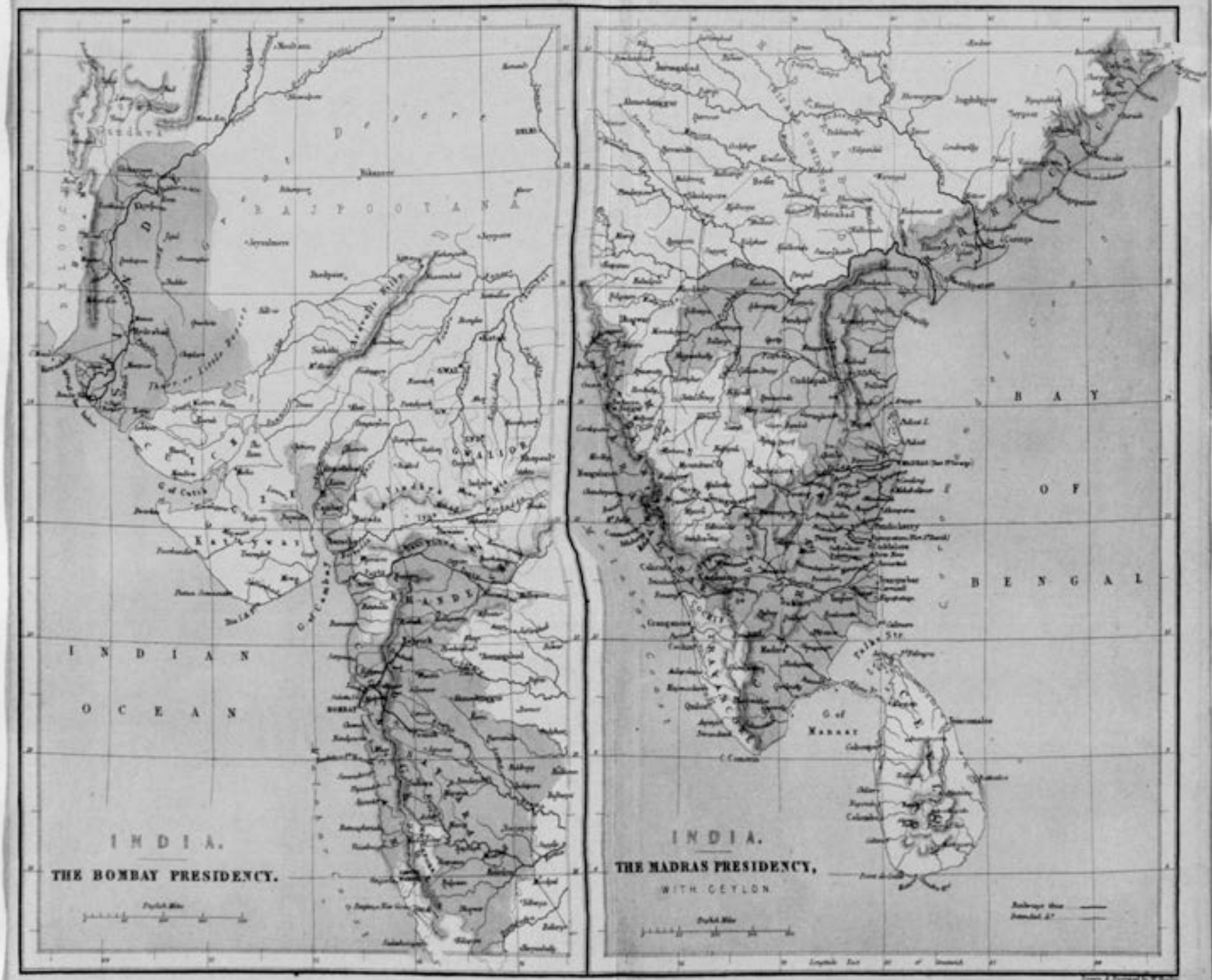
SIR H. POTTINGER.

LONDON. JAMES S. VIRTUE



DURBAR OF THE RAJAH OF TRAVANCORE.

RECEPTION OF GENERAL OUTRAM & STAFF


INDIA.
THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.
INDIAN OCEAN
RAJPOOTANA
INDIA.
THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY,
WITH CEYLON
BAY OF BENGAL

INDIA.
THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY,
WITH CEYLON.
English Miles
Longitude East
Mooltaun
Desert
DELHI
Bikaneer
RAJPOOTANA
Jeysulmere
Jeypore
Ajmer
Jhodpoor
Aravulli Hills
Kotah
Surhohi
GWALIOR
Ahmedabad
Cambay
Baroda
Vindhya Mts
Bhopaul
Indore
Barocha
Surat
KHANDESH
Nassuck
Aurungabad
BOMBAY
Poonah
Ahmednuggur
Sholapore
Beder
Hyderabad
Aurungabad
Ahmednuggur
Dharwar
Cuddapah
Nellore
Ellore
Bangalore
Seringapatam
Mangalore
Calicut
Coimbatore
Trichinopoly
Tanjore
Tranquebar
Pondichery
Cuddalore
Madras
Palk Str.
Cranganore
Cochin
Madura
Quilon
C. Comorin
G. of Manaar
Colombo
Point de Galle
Malabar Coast
Coromandel Coast
G. of Cambay
Malabar Coast
CY.

ceived at his court, was that of an accomplished man and perfect English gentleman."*

To the west of the river Rapty there is an extensive region called the Twenty-two Rajahs. There is nothing in their climate, conformation, productions, or people, requiring separate notice.

SIKKIM is a protected territory situated between Nepaul and Bhotan. It has been an independent state from time immemorial, but its limits have undergone many mutations. According to native authorities, its most ancient boundaries northward were a range of highlands, which separated it from the Chinese dominions in Thibet. These hills were called *Khawa Karpola*, or "the mountains white with snow." To the west, the Conki formed the limit until it reached the plain, where the country now "one of the Twenty-two Rajahs," the Morung (or Vijayapore Rajah) was included in ancient Sikkim. Its eastern boundary is Bhotan. Its present limits are compact and well defined, clearly distinguishing it from the dominions of Nepaul and Bhotan, and effectually separating those states from one another. This settlement was effected by the British government after the great Nepaulese war, and the policy was judicious, for the warlike Goorkhas having gained ascendancy, would soon have pushed their conquests through Bhotan and Assam, possibly through Birmah, or, forming a junction with that power, overawed the British frontier. By the settlement of Sikkim under the rajah, he being under British protection, the Goorkhas are shut up within bounds, so far as any progress eastward is concerned. The East India Company would have probably retained the territory, but the people live in a country of difficult access from the adjoining British province, and it would require a long time to tame them down to the observance of law and order, such as is necessary in a British province. The rajah, towards whom they turn with national loyalty, is more likely to preserve order under the stipulations of the protective treaty.

The country resembles that of Nepaul, to which it is contiguous; the climate is also similar, although perhaps hotter, and less healthy. It contains much fine scenery, and many most salubrious situations. About half the population profess the religion of the Thibetian Lamas, a species of Buddhism, the deity being incarnate in the successive Lamas. The Lamas hold the supreme spiritual power in Thibet, and over the Buddhists of neighbouring countries who submit to their rule: the temporal authority in the Thibetian territory is wielded by the Chinese emperor. The moiety of the Sikkimites who acknowledge the grand Lamas are enervated by their debasing superstitions; the others consist of numerous tribes—brave, hardy, rude, aboriginal races. These men eat kine or pork, or anything else which is detested either by Buddhists or Brahmins, and they will drink alcohol eagerly: it is alleged, too, that some of them drink with passionate gusto the blood of animals slain for their sacrifices. Sikkim was long a battle-field for ascendancy by its own people, and those of surrounding countries, the chief aggressors being the restless little Goorkhas, whose perseverance against all odds and obstacles was usually rewarded by victory. The rajah has been constant to his fealty, and the British government to its protection, and both have been benefited. The Chinese regard the increasing influence of the East India Company along the frontier of Thibet with great uneasiness, and they have used every furtive means to which they could resort to detach the Goorkha and Sikkim rajahs from their alliance, but in vain. Menaces also have been tried for this purpose, but without accomplishing it, although not without inspiring with the most abject terror his Sikkim majesty, and causing serious misgiving as to the result among the Goorkhas, notwithstanding all their bravery: such is the prestige of the "brother of the sun," and monarch of "the celestial empire," along the frontier states, which are also the boundary states of our Indian empire.

BHOTAN is an extensive region lying eastward of Sikkim, and separated from it by the eastern branch of the Teesta River. Its eastern limit is the apex of an angle, where the British province of Assam and the Chinese region of Thibet meet with it. The last-named country ranges along its northern line, upon the crests of the Himalayas, and to the south it has Berar and Assam. The Hindoos apply the term Bhote to both sides of the Himalayas, extending from Cashmere to China, a vast area of country, but the name Bhotan is applied by Europeans only to the country above defined. The Bhotans constitute a tribe which is very extended over the whole Himalaya range, and the territory now noticed may be considered as their chief locality. The lower portions, adjoining the Bengal frontier, are choked with vegetation, marshy land, and constantly-decomposing matter, rendering the whole plain pestiferous. The northern portions are mountainous, in some places wild and rocky, but in most the mountains are green to their peaks, and towers and hamlets exist on the slopes in the midst of blooming gardens and orchards. Forests of excellent

* Letter of a lady, a fugitive from the upper provinces of Bengal, during the mutiny.

timber shelter elephants and other fine animals, as well as birds of various plumage. Like Nepaul, the land has many climates—one might almost say every climate, from the sternest winter to the fervour of the tropics. Apples, pears, peaches, apricots, strawberries, raspberries, and blackberries, are indigenous. The vegetables of England are excellent: the turnip, it is said, being the finest in the world. Tea is as common in Bhotan as in China, but it is boiled with flour, salt, and other ingredients. The horses are particularly fine and spirited. Monkeys being sacred, as among the Hindoos, they are unmolested by the people, and scream and chatter in every direction; they are much finer, and in greater variety, than in any other part of India, continental or insular.

From the hills of Bhotan caravans descend to Rungpore, conveying tea and cows' tails from Thibet, Chinese silks, tea, paper, and limes, and their own products—such as beeswax, walnuts, oranges, ivory, musk, gold-dust, and silver (in ingots). The Deb Rajah, as the monarch is called, is himself the merchant, and imports to his dominions indigo from the plains, cloves, nutmegs, incense, sandal-wood, red sandal-wood, hides, cloth, coral, and English manufactures of various kinds. The total value of this commerce is not great.

The people are of two very different races, the majority being feeble and emasculated, their whole minds engrossed in superstition; the other a bold athletic race, with Chinese features, but better limbed than that race. They are all much subject to glandular swellings in the neck, and nearly destitute of hair about the face, having scarcely any eyelash or eyebrow, no beard, and seldom any whiskers. Like the Sikkim people, they were long accustomed to fight with the bow and poisoned arrow, nor are these weapons even yet abandoned, although in Nepaul good European arms are alone employed for military purposes. The women are obliged to work in the fields, and are treated harshly. In religion the Bhotans are Buddhists, and reject caste totally.

The policy of the court is encroaching and artful, and the British territory has been much intruded upon. It has always been difficult to induce the native sovereigns to remain faithful to treaties in this respect, even when their fidelity as allies in war has been unquestionable. They prefer an undefined or irregularly-marked boundary, the passion for disputes about land being prevalent all over India, and apparently inseparable from the existence of native landholders and sovereigns. The Deb Rajah is the temporal sovereign of the country, which he but partially rules; there is also a spiritual rajah, and often civil war alone decides their respective privileges, and relative authority. Of the Chinese emperor both the temporal and spiritual rajah stand in great awe.

The towns in this vast region are unimportant, and the capital is not much superior to the others.

There are numerous small states adjacent to Assam, which are more or less subject to, or under the protection of, the British, which only merit a passing notice. The possessions of the Begúm Rajah, situated on both sides of the Brahmapootra, are among these. The boundaries are ill defined, the people wild, and the land wretchedly cultivated. Some of these estates are beautiful, and the land naturally fertile, especially in the lower districts, which are subject to inundations. Excellent rice is produced in large quantities. It is also prolific in mustard-seed, sugar-cane, and tobacco. The British have assumed a nominal sovereignty over the greater part of this territory.

The Dophlas, the Garrows, and other independent or quasi-independent tribes, inhabit neighbouring districts; they seem to be aboriginal races, and are fierce and predatory in character.

In the border territories of India, from the northern limits of Beloochistan to the point where Assam touches the confines of Bhotan, Birmah, and Thibet, the climate is superior to the lower provinces; but the opposition to the administration of government and the collecting of revenue is very great, arising from the wild, bold character of the people of these border realms, the insatiable desire of territory which animates their chiefs, and the perpetual encroachments upon the territory of the company made by petty zemindars, individual intruders, or superior chiefs. The general impression in England is, that the company maintains a system of encroachment upon contiguous territory, whereas they perpetually stand on the defensive against the oriental spirit of aggrandisement, which is often adventured even where defeat and penalty are almost sure to follow.

The relations of the Indian government to the native states have, of late years, improved. Generally it was difficult to secure the execution of any treaties, so little were the rulers of these states bound by ideas of international law. Treaties were usually regarded simply as media of escaping preceding difficulties and perils, and no longer to be kept than convenience dictated. Of late the imperative obligation of treaties has been more generally, and at the same time more freely, recognised by the rulers of the various countries within

the peninsula, and on its borders, which possess an independent status. The agents of the Honourable East India Company at the courts of these sovereigns have been, for the most part, competent men, selected for their ability and trustworthiness, and they have used their moral influence and intellectual resources to improve the administration of these states. Most of these petty kingdoms, when forming alliance with the government of Calcutta, were in a condition of anarchy, or crushed by the tyranny of their princes, or courtiers administering government in their name. "Those among the Mahratta states which had any considerable military strength made annual expeditions, called *mooluck-gheery* circuits, for the purpose of conquering or devastating the possessions of their weaker neighbours; and hordes of undisciplined adventurers, known by the name of Pindarries, ranged with fire and sword from one end to the other of the part of India which was under native rule, occasionally invading and ravaging even the British possessions. All this is at an end. The native states are as safe from one another, and from invaders and plunderers from without, as the British dominions. The princes and chiefs are bound by treaties to refer to our arbitration all their differences; and experience has given them the fullest reliance on our impartiality and justice. Boundary disputes between villages of different states, and complaints from the subjects of one against another, are adjudicated either by a British officer, or by courts of *vakeels*, composed of representatives of the neighbouring chiefs, presided over by a British functionary." *

In Gujerat (or Guzerat), where a considerable number of petty chiefs hold the reins of power, too weak to control their people, and too ignorant and uncivilised to enter into suitable arrangements with one another, criminal courts have been instituted, consisting of a British diplomatic officer, and assessors selected from the representatives of the different chiefs. By these means turbulence has been repressed, and petty raids for robbery and revenge have been promptly punished. One peculiarity of these tribunals has been, that they have nearly suppressed all the crimes which arose out of a generally disturbed state of society; and in dealing with offences which originated in real or supposed grievances, they make due allowance for provocation, and redress the wrongs even of those whom they are bound to punish for seeking justice by unlawful means.

The barbarous practices which have been to a great degree, or altogether, suppressed in our own territories, such as infanticide, Thuggee, Suttee, Dacoitee, &c., have, through the influence of the British residents at the various courts, been either mitigated, restrained, or altogether abolished.

No European could conceive the barbarous state of financial management in all the native states. The princes grew rich by the impoverishment of the people; their persons, palaces, idols, temples, thrones, sceptres, arms, and other instruments of war or state, glittered with precious stones and the precious metals; while the people were ground down to the dust beneath extortion and oppression. The fiscal systems of these states have been modified or regenerated by the influence and talent of the British residents. At the same time, the personal extravagance of the princes has become, through the same influences, comparatively unfashionable. Formerly, the elephant of a Hindoo rajah was richly caparisoned, the trappings being decorated with gold and jewels: this is not now common, and is rather to be met with among the chiefs of the smaller and less potent states, where love of barbaric display has not been subdued by the chastening effects of civilization.

One of the most fertile sources of revolution and sanguinary anarchy in the native states, as well as of difference between them and the company, was the condition in which succession to the throne was frequently left by the decease of the monarch. It can hardly fail to have struck persons, even only superficially acquainted with Indian affairs, how frequently the rightful sovereign has been left in a minority, and how seldom that has been the case without intrigue having been set on foot to displace the minor by some bold and unprincipled chief or kinsman. This source of disorder has been lessened by the care and precaution of the company. The British residents have generally superintended the education of the minor, and trained him in habits of good government; while their influence has been exercised upon the states to appoint capable ministers, to reform abuses, and restore the country in an improved condition to the young chiefs, who, having been in the meantime for the most part educated in European knowledge, and initiated into public business under the eye of a British officer, are often grateful for the care taken of their interest, and continue, after the accession to power, the improved systems commenced during their minority. The present Scindiah and Holkar, and the Rao of Cutch, as well as many others, may be cited as instances. One native ruler, the late

* Memorandum of Indian Improvements, by the Court of Directors.

Nawab of Rampore, had actually been a deputy-collector in the service of the British government. Another, the Rao of Ulwur, on his accession, invited some of our native functionaries to conduct his administration, and reform it after the English model. The Rajpoot states, formerly almost in a condition of chronic anarchy, have been rendered peaceful and prosperous, by judicious mediation between the princes and their feudatories, and judicious guidance of both, through advice and influence.*

Writers who treat of the independent territories of India usually overlook the tribes which own no master, and live in savage wildness in the fastnesses of the ghauts or the Himalayas. Sometimes these are called British subjects, at other times they are regarded as the subjects of some of the rajahs within the alleged boundaries of whose territories the jungles, marshes, or rocky elevations where they make their retreat are nominally represented to be.

"There are numerous hill tribes in various parts of India, known under the names of Bheels, Coolies, Goands, Mhairs, Meenas, Mhangs, Ramoosees, and others, who are believed to have been the aboriginal population of the country, driven from the plains by the invasion of the Hindoos. These people had been treated like wild beasts by the native governments, and, by a natural consequence, had become the scourge of the country. Whenever the government was weak, they destroyed all security in the neighbouring plains by their depredations, and had universally acquired the character of irreclaimable robbers.

"The first person who is known to have tried the effect of justice and conciliation on any of these tribes was Mr. Cleveland, an officer high in the civil service of the company in the latter part of the last century. The scene of his benevolent exertions was the Bhaugulpore Hills, in the north-east of Bengal; and the feelings which he left behind among the rude people of the district were such, that they long continued to pay religious honours to his tomb. The example thus set has been largely followed in the present generation. One of the first signal instances of success was in the case of the Mhairs, who inhabit a hill district near Ajmeer. Colonel Hall, now on the company's retired list, originated the movement, and it was worthily carried on by Colonel Dixon, recently deceased. In Western India the honour of the initiative belongs to Mr. J. P. Willoughby, then a very young officer, who by similar means established peace and order among the Bheels of Rajpeepla, a wild district of Gujerat. The next instance was that of the Bheels of the Adjuntee range, in Southern Candeish, through the agency chiefly of Colonel Ovans, and of the present Sir James Outram; and the measures which proved successful with these Bheels were successively extended to many similar tribes in different parts of Central India. Another example is that of the Khoonds, in Orissa, among whom a policy of the same general character was carried into practice by Major Macpherson. This tribe has been induced to abolish human sacrifices.

"The mode in which these objects were accomplished was in all cases fundamentally the same. They were effected by the admirable power of individual character. Into fastnesses, through which bodies even of disciplined troops had vainly endeavoured to force their way, these officers penetrated, in some cases almost unattended. They trusted themselves to the people. By their courage and frankness they gained their confidence. They made them understand that they were not considered as wild animals to be hunted down; that nothing but their good was intended; and the object which had for years been vainly sought by force was accomplished by explanation and persuasion. The robber tribes were induced to settle as peaceful cultivators. Lands were assigned to them, tools supplied, and money advanced, for cultivation. In Mhairwarra the government also constructed important works of irrigation. The more daring spirits were formed into irregular corps, under British officers, and employed to preserve the peace of the districts of which they had once been the principal disturbers. In no single instance has this policy failed. The agricultural colonies composed of these people have all prospered, and the districts which they formerly devastated have become, and remained, among the most free from crime to be found in India. In the late disturbances not one of the corps composed of these people is known to have mutinied. The Mhairwarra battalion has not only remained faithful, but is, in the present crisis, a valuable part of our local military strength, and there has been no disturbance whatever in that district. Among the Bheels of Candeish there has been a rising, which, by showing that the predatory spirit is not yet thoroughly extinct, enhances the merit of the system of measures by which, for nearly a quarter of a century, it has been kept dormant. But the corps formed from among these very people by Sir James Outram has done useful service to government in the present emergency.

"The last great example of the success of this policy was given by Colonel John Jacob

* Statement of the East India Company.

in Scinde, and only differs from the others because the tribes with whom he had to do were not oppressed aborigines, but the proud and warlike mountaineers of the Affghan and Beloochee frontier. The success has been among the most striking yet experienced. For some time after the conquest of Scinde the frontier forays of these tribes kept the country in a perpetual state of disturbance. The attempts to retaliate on them in their hills had been failures, sometimes almost disasters, but had laid the foundation of that knowledge of our power which enabled subsequent conciliatory measures to have their full effect. Colonel Jacob applied to these people the principles of Mhairwarra and Candeish. He settled on land those who were willing to cultivate, and organised from among the remainder a local military police. The effect is, that in the frontier districts, what was lately a desert, is now in great part a thriving agricultural country, yielding a rapidly increasing revenue. For some years there has been scarcely a crime of magnitude on the entire Scinde frontier; and the corps which was raised partly from the former devastators of the country is the celebrated Jacob's Horse." *

Those who are desirous to give the government credit for the wise and bold conduct of its officers, may be surprised by learning that General Jacob professes to have hewed out a path for himself, without any instruction from the Indian authorities, when he adopted the eminently successful course commended in the company's memorial. Whatever may be thought of such pretensions, there can be no doubt that the general was enabled to effect his purposes chiefly by the impartial and daring spirit of justice with which he set at defiance all fanatical demonstrations and claims for sectarian license. There is an illustration of this in the following regimental orders issued by him, when Major Jacob, at Jacobabad, on the 5th of October, 1854:—

> The camp at Jacobabad has been for the last week the scene of wild disorder, such as is in the highest degree disgraceful to good soldiers. A shameful uproar has been going on day and night, under pretence of religious ceremonies. The commanding officer has nothing to do with religious ceremonies. All men may worship God as they please, and believe as they choose in matters of religion, but no men have a right to annoy their neighbours or to neglect their duty on pretence of serving God.
>
> The officers and men of the Scinde Irregular Horse have the name of, and are supposed to be, excellent soldiers, and not mad fakeers. They are placed at the most advanced and most honourable post in all the Bombay presidency; the commanding officer believes that they are in every way worthy of this honour, and he would be sorry if under his command they ever became unworthy of their high position.
>
> The commanding officer feels it to be the greatest honour to command such soldiers, but that it would be a disgrace to be at the head of a body of mad and disorderly fakeers and drummers. He therefore now informs the Scinde Irregular Horse that in future no noisy processions nor any disorderly displays whatever, under pretence of religion or of anything else, shall ever be allowed in, or in the neighbourhood of, and camps of the Scinde Irregular Horse.
>
> This order is to be read on the first of every month until further orders, and is to be hung up in the bazaar in the town of Jacobabad and at the Cutcherry.
>
> By order,
> W. L. BRIGGS,
> *Lieutenant, Adjutant, 2nd regiment S. I. H.*

The editor of an Indian journal, remarking upon this document, observes:—"When this order was issued there were, we are told, some ten thousand bigoted Mussulmen in the camp and town of Jacobabad, and the number, it is believed, has since increased. Nevertheless, the prohibition has been most strictly enforced, and, with our faith in the reason of men in the mass when reasonably appealed to, we are not surprised to learn that its enforcement has been submitted to without a murmur. Public opinion was with Major Jacob in this instance, as it will always be with those who lay down sound principles, and act upon them consistently and impartially." *

What Major Jacob effected by the force of his character, his practical common sense in worldly matters, and his military judgment and genius, he himself is eager to attribute to his correct views in reference to the applicability of Christianity to the reformation of wild tribes; and the general has written a very silly book to show this, entitled the *Progress of Being in the Universe*. The book and the title do not harmonise; the writer seems to think that he has new and original ideas of great value on ethics and the moral nature of man. Some of these views are simply nonsense, others exploded fallacies, as the merest tyro in moral philosophy and theology must know; and the only good notions which the general propounds as the result of his own great thinking power, or of that of other men who have been neglected, but the value of whose opinions he had the sagacity to discover, are principles which they or he somehow derived from revelation. "I arrive at the conclusion," says the sapient general, "that the Christianity of the modern churches is only slightly altered from paganism!" How paganism contained Christianity the general does not say; nor does he show in what particulars "the modern churches" altered so slightly the old Christianity of paganism; nor does he tell us how it is, or wherein the *modern* churches are

* Memorial of the Honourable East India Company.

* *Bombay Gazette.*

so especially liable to the imputation; the only thing plain is that Jacob of the Scinde Horse, whatever his courage, practical aptitudes, or military capacity, is very ignorant of Christianity, is not at all conversant with logic, or with ethical and theological questions on which he is so dogmatical, and that he possesses a ready capacity for writing nonsense, which he persuades himself is philosophy. When his productions are sufficiently clear to be understood, it is obvious that with a pen in his hand he is as absurd, incompetent, and impracticable, as with his sword he is efficient, and in his own natural character frank, just, and honest. It is difficult to say what particular duties in connection with religion and religious education the government of India may devolve upon General Jacob in addition to border pacification and the drilling of the Scinde irregular cavalry, but it is easy for the Christian and Protestant public of England to judge of his fitness for such a trust by the following outburst of infidelity, which the writer evidently believed to be very eloquent and very learned, as to the philosophy and failure of the Reformation:—

"The Protestants, however, knew and know nothing of *esoteric* religion; in fact, they knew not in reality what they assailed or protested against. They fought against outward forms and shadows only; they held by the *letter* of the book as then received; and, being therefore without that power of adjustment which the Church of Rome still retains, they are now unable to accommodate their doctrines to the advancing common sense and reason of mankind, and still less to improving *moral* powers. The growing intelligence of even the vulgar crowd must therefore, ere long, refuse to accept these doctrines as divine. Before a really divine revelation—before that glorious light of truth which the unfolding of natural law throughout the whole and every particle of the universe is gradually bringing on man's mind—the mysteries of the churches appear foolish as nursery tales; while the intelligent being who is conscious of his ascent towards the highest, who *feels* the calm but unspeakable joy of real *moral growth*, must spurn with contempt that moral code which pretends to influence him by *hopes* and *fears*. He *is* and is eternally—he cares not for having."*

According to the general, there is no really divine revelation, but "the unfolding of natural law throughout the whole and every particle of the universe;" and it is from that revelation, and what he ludicrously calls "moral growth," that he gathers his views of the errors of the Christian religions. On the whole, the general may, when too old for the army, make an excellent Buddhist priest; and the sooner when that time arrives the company pensions him off, and sends him to Kandy, or makes a present of him to "the white elephant," the better for Scinde, for the character of the company which now employs him as *a civil agent*, and for the young officers who, imperfectly read in religion, are brought under the pernicious influence of his pamphlets and his opinions. The company has, so far, formed a more correct estimate of the causes of General Jacob's success in quieting the Affghan and Beloochee frontiers, than the general himself has done. What he attributes to his philosophy, they attribute to his dutiful execution of their policy: "he settled on land those who were willing to cultivate, and organized from among the remainder a local military police." Instead of originating something wonderful, for which he was indebted to his philosophical materialism, he has only performed what he was bid, and, as the company declares, "applied to these people the principles of Mhairwarra and Candeish." Yet notwithstanding this public testimony, the general pretends that all the good effects referred to arose from his urging upon the mountain men the principle of "moral growth." Topsy, in the memorable novel of Mrs. Stowe, seems to have been of the same philosophical school as the general—she "growed." It is of importance thus to notice the political and ethical quackery of General Jacob, because in India so much depends upon the personal opinions and conduct of the administrators of the company's government, especially in those territories most imperfectly subjected to British law. The gross inconsistencies of the commissioners of the Punjaub, where religious questions arose, were shown upon a previous page; and it is right that the public who read this History, should have a key to any anomalies of this nature that may arise upon the Scinde frontier, in connection with the commonplace but affectedly original infidelity of an officer whose military and administrative talents have won for him the position which he there occupies.

Some of the native states are on the coast: these, as well as contiguous maritime countries, were receptacles of pirates; but this condition of things has been brought to an end, partly by the negotiations of the company's residents and agents, and partly by the active operations of the Bombay marine. "The piracies which formerly made the navigation of the Arabian seas unsafe for commerce, have been so effectually suppressed by the East India Company's cruisers, that there

* *Letters to a Lady.* By John Jacob.

is now hardly any part of the world in which trading vessels are more secure against depredation. The formerly piratical tribes have been bound by engagements to abstain not only from piracy, but from maritime war, which affords opportunities and pretexts for piracy; and, for the first time probably in history, a perpetual peace, guaranteed by treaties and enforced by superior naval strength, reigns in the Persian Gulf." The establishment of an English settlement at Aden, commanding the entrance to the Red Sea, has also much conduced to the impunity of merchant shipping in those gulfs and seas to the westward of India, as the establishments of the straits' settlements have assisted to protect the commerce of the Bay of Bengal, and the trade with China.

## CHAPTER X.

### MARITIME SETTLEMENTS:—THE EASTERN STRAITS—BORNEO—ADEN.

WHAT may be called the British maritime settlements in the East are important. On page 27 those in the Eastern Straits are named Penang, Province Wellesley, Singapore, and Malacca. The probable area and population were then also given.

The Island of PENANG, officially called the Prince of Wales's Island, off the west coast of Malaya, was acquired by the East India Company in 1785; and the small province of WELLESLEY, on the mainland, was obtained in 1800. The island derives its name from the magnificent betel-nut palm (*Penang*). Georgeton is the capital. Arrowsmith, in a brief paragraph, expresses all that is necessary to notice here of this maritime possession of the company:—"The strait between the peninsula of Malaya and the isle of Sumatra is known by the name of the Strait of Malacca. In it, about midway down the coast of the peninsula, and at a distance of two miles from it, is Pulo-Penang, or Prince of Wales's Island, as it is also called. This island belongs to the British, having been given by the King of Quedah, as a marriage portion with his daughter, to the captain of a British merchant ship, in 1785; it was accordingly taken possession of during the following year, in the name of his majesty, and for the use of the East India Company; who, finding it a convenient situation for the purposes of commerce, and a place of rising importance, have constituted it into a separate government, subordinate only to the governor-general of India. At the commencement of the present century, the King of Quedah ceded to the British a tract of country, on the opposite coast of the peninsula, eighteen miles in length and three in breadth, in consideration of an annual tribute, which still continues to be paid to him. Pulo-Penang is a flourishing little settlement, and continues to increase both in population and utility, though it has been latterly eclipsed by Singapore."

Of the settlement of MALACCA the same writer gives the following brief description, also sufficient for our purpose:—"Lower down the strait lies the town of Malacca itself, the capital of the whole peninsula, situated upon the coast, about one hundred miles from its southernmost point. It first fell into the hands of the Portuguese, from whom it was taken by the Dutch, and from the latter again by the British. It was formerly a place of some strength and consequence, but as the formation of our settlement at Pulo-Penang rendered it of little or no use as a place of trade, the garrison and stores were mostly withdrawn, the fortifications nearly razed, and the whole place dismantled. Since that time its importance has gradually been diminishing, though it is still a useful post as a guard against the piracies of the Malays, and the jealous intrusions of the Dutch."

The strip of country connected with this city is not more extensive than a large English county. To the Christian world the place is particularly interesting, as the seat of the celebrated Chinese college, founded under the auspices of the London Missionary Society in 1818, by Drs. Morrison and Milne. To the friends of Eastern enlightenment and civilization, and more especially those whose benevolent wishes in connection with such matters extend to China, the objects of the college must be regarded with pleasure, as it was founded for the cultivation of European and Chinese literature. It was at that place the work of translating the Scriptures into Chinese was undertaken by the two indefatigable men above named—a work which was afterwards brought to greater perfection by Dr. Medhurst, and others, under the united patronage of the London Missionary and Bible Societies.

The Island of SINGAPORE was first the locality of a British settlement in 1818, but the whole island was ceded to them by the sultan in 1824. The natives call it *Ugang Launa*, or the Land's End. The town of

Singapore, which gives its name to the island, derives its name from the Malay term *Singapoora*, the City of the Lion. The work on geography used at King's College, thus describes it:—

"Singapore is situated at the southern extremity of the Malay peninsula, on a small island of the same name, and has given name to the Straits of Singapore, which are formed by a cluster of innumerable little islands, vary much in their shapes, and indented on all sides by little bays and sandy coves. Here the China Sea, which connects the Indian and Pacific Oceans, commences, being bounded on the west and north by the mainland of Asia, and on the east and south by Formosa, the Philippine Islands, Palawan, Borneo, Banka, &c. The town of Singapore is said to have been founded by adventurers, who originally emigrated from the Island of Sumatra, but it possessed little consequence till it fell into the hands of the British, to whom the sultan ceded it, as well as the neighbouring islets and districts for four leagues round it. It derives all its importance from its central situation between India and China; and touching upon the southernmost point in the whole continent of Asia, it becomes, as it were, the last connecting link between the mainland and that extensive archipelago of large and productive islands which lies off this extremity of the old world. It has no native productions of its own to export, and must therefore be looked upon merely as a depot for the consignment and sale of merchandise. But the increase of its population, and its transit of goods, during the last five years, are without example in the annals of history, and are owing, no doubt, to the superior regulations of the British traders, and the advantages they hold out to the natives of the surrounding countries, when compared with the well-known habits and policy of the Dutch, as well as to the facility which it has afforded our own merchants for the exercise of their ingenuity in escaping from the fetters of prejudice and monopoly. Its population amounts to nearly sixty thousand souls, and is composed of British, Dutch, Portuguese, Americans, Malays, Hindoos, Arabs, Parsees, Birmese, Siamese, Chinese, Javanese, and colonists from many of the great islands in the neighbourhood."

A merchant who sailed thither from Batavia thus describes the latter portion of the voyage:—"We arrived at Minto (named, I suppose, after the British governor-general) at night, and early in the morning steamed for Rhio, and then we have no more stopping-places till we arrive at Singapore. Banka is noticeable only for its tin mines; about four thousand tons are annually shipped from Minto, and if modern machinery were introduced larger quantities could be procured. The ore is found near the surface, and is said to be the finest known. There are only twenty-five European residents. The mines are worked by Chinese coolies, who are brought down for sale—a damnable species of slave-trade peculiar to these nations! The Straits of Banka are about one hundred miles long, and in one place only seven wide, which gives us a fine view of the long coast of Sumatra. In some places the land is very low, and you cannot even find Horsburgh's tree; and then you have a volcanic range of mountain scenery, with foliage, from base to summit a beautiful green."

The harbour of Singapore is exceedingly picturesque; it is formed like a horse-shoe. The appearance of the city, the tropical foliage around it, and the highlands beyond, is pleasing. The "Kling" boatmen, after a contest for possession of the passenger, which is conducted with all the wild tones and gesticulations of savages, convey him safely ashore, and place him on a *gurry*, a vehicle drawn by a very rough horse; the driver, having a rope round the brute's head, flogs it with the other end, all the while running along beside it, until one of the hotels is reached, which are described by travellers as very large, very expensive, prettily situated, and very deficient in good cooks.

The island is about sixty miles in circumference, and is rapidly increasing in population. The scenery is, for so small a compass, diversified, and the soil is clothed with the luxuriance and beauty of the tropics.

Men of all nations that have any commerce touch at this port. The result of the mixed population, and the extensive foreign resort, is that a strange Babel of tongues is perpetually heard in the streets of the town and in the marts of commerce. It has been said that seventeen different languages and fifteen dialects may be heard in the city of Singapore every day! The town itself is healthily and pleasantly situated, and the country in its immediate vicinity is verdant with nutmeg and spice trees. It is undulated and well irrigated with natural streams and canals, formed to subserve the purposes of commerce. The fences of bamboo and rattan particularly strike strangers; they are nowhere in the East so fine or so well tended.

The European population does not exceed three hundred; these are nearly all British, a few Dutch being the exception. The half-castes are very numerous, many of whom come from Malacca; they are, as in Ceylon, Bombay, and elsewhere in the East, darker

than the natives, and physically inferior. In Singapore and Malacca they are, however, generally superior intellectually to the unmixed native races. Half the population is Chinese; they hate Europeans, and are ready, if a favourable opportunity offered, or what they thought one, to rise and massacre the whole European population. This is the more remarkable, as they are treated with great kindness, have justice fairly administered to them, are free to leave the island, and free to trade. Many of them have realised a competency, and the richest man at Singapore is one of their country, who came there a beggar, and, by dint of craft and industry, attained to notorious wealth. These circumstances do not, however, make them loyal to the people who give them hospitality; they maintain an intimate correspondence with China, regard themselves as Chinese subjects, owing no allegiance to England, but desirous to seize the country in the name of the emperor, their master. The mandarins have as much authority over them as if they were a portion of the mob of Canton, cultivated rice-fields near the Grand Canal, or picked tea on the Chinese uplands. They are at heart savage and cruel, and, at the same time, sly and treacherous. The Malays are fierce, cruel, and crafty, and are much addicted to piratical offences, but altogether they are less dangerous, although far more troublesome, than the Chinese. The Chinese portion of the town is utterly filthy, sending forth a stench intolerable to all but its inhabitants.

The appearance of the people of so many nations in so small a compass is at once picturesque and curious. The natives of all the various countries above-named, who find labour and subsistence at Singapore, retain their costume as well as their customs, and betray their nationality by their appearance as well as by their language.

The port is open to the commerce of all countries; there being no dues or taxes, except a small import for the lighthouse. The revenue of the island is small; the budget for the fiscal year 1853-4 showed—receipts £47,697, and expenditure £55,242. One of the resources of the exchequer is the opium tax, which has been generally farmed by a cunning Chinamen, who has realised wealth by it. There is a constant source of litigation and chicanery in this opium farming, discreditable to the government and demoralising to those who undertake the task of collection. A change in this matter is requisite.

From the foregoing description of the place and its inhabitants, no one would suppose that literature flourished there, yet in few places out of the United States of America are there so many newspapers in proportion to population.*

The accounts of the government are kept in rupees, annas, and pice; those of merchants in dollars and cents. A considerable agitation existed for some time on this subject; the East India Company being desirous to conform the mercantile usage to that of the government, whereas the mercantile community strenuously maintained the convenience of the system so long in use. This controversy occasioned the compilation of the following statistical tables, which afford a comparative statement relative to the transactions of the colony with those countries where the rupee is current, and where the dollar currency prevails:—

The dollar is current in the following, viz.:—Borneo, Celebes, China, Cochin-China, Java, Rhio, and islands to the southward, Kongpoot, Malay peninsula, Manilla, Siam, Sumatra.

The rupee is current in the following, viz.:—Nicobars, Pegu, Rangoon, Arracan, Calcutta, and coasts of Coromandel and Malabar.

The trade between Singapore and dollar countries during the last two years was as follows:—

| | 1852-3. Dollars. | 1853-4. Dollars. |
|---|---|---|
| Imports . . . . . | 7,458,875 | 9,649,060 |
| Exports . . . . . | 8,036,382 | 11,074,622 |
| Total . . . | 15,495,257 | 20,723,682 |

* The Singapore *Free Press*. Established 1833. Weekly. Subscription, sixteen dollars per annum.

Singapore *Straits Times*. Weekly. Subscription, sixteen dollars per annum. Established in 1845.

The *Straits Times Express*, for Australia, is got up at the *Times* press. Price, one shilling per copy.

The *Straits Guardian*. Editor, A. Simonides. Weekly. Subscription, twelve dollars per annum.

The *Free Press* and *Guardian* are printed with common hand-presses.

The *Straits Times* press establishment comprises letter-press, copper-plate, and lithographic work; bookbinding in all its branches.

The workmen consist of Hindoos, Portuguese, Chinese, Malays, Javanese, and Klings (natives of the Coromandel coast); and it is the more remarkable to see how well they do their work in a language which they do not understand.

The Singapore News-room, as it is called, is the newspaper file-room of the editor of the *Straits Times*. The room is a large one, sixty feet by forty, and contains one hundred and twenty files of papers from all parts of the globe, most of them exchanges. The room is well supplied with prices current, maps, &c., and is in the centre of the commercial part of the town. Officers of ships of war, commanders of merchant vessels, and strangers (passengers), who arrive by the many steamers and sailing-vessels constantly passing through the harbour, are admitted free of charge. Here will be found files of the Indian, China, and Australian journals; also the New York *Shipping List* and *Price Current*, *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine* (which, by the way, may be found in the commercial library of all nations), and several San Francisco papers.

With the rupee countries during the same period it has been thus:—

| | 1852-3. Dollars. | 1853-4. Dollars. |
|---|---|---|
| Imports | 3,540,992 | 4,927,382 |
| Exports | 1,951,016 | 2,297,215 |
| Total | 5,492,008 | 7,224,597 |

The treasure imports and exports during the same period has been as follows:—

From the dollar countries,—

| | 1852-3. Dollars. | 1853-4. Dollars. |
|---|---|---|
| Imports | 1,293,263 | 1,712,862 |
| Exports | 3,857,622 | 4,628,308 |
| Total | 5,150,885 | 6,341,170 |

From the rupee countries,—

| | 1852-3. Dollars. | 1853-4. Dollars. |
|---|---|---|
| Imports | 16,558 | 883,092 |
| Exports | 1,047,819 | 789,407 |
| Total | 1,064,377 | 1,672,499 |

The foregoing table was drawn up to show the amount of trade carried on between countries where the dollar and rupee were respectively current and the port of Singapore, in order that those interested in the question might see at a glance the preponderance of the dollar, as a coin, over the rupee, in the dealings with the natives frequenting that emporium, and to prove the injudicious policy of interfering with the currency at present established.

The excess of trade represented by the dollar countries as compared with the rupee provinces is as follows:—

| Years. | Dollars. |
|---|---|
| 1851-2 | 9,129,080 |
| 1852-3 | 10,003,249 |
| 1853-4 | 13,499,085 |

The transactions in treasure are also in favour of the dollar, and show a surplus, as follows:—

| Years. | Dollars. |
|---|---|
| 1851-2 | 1,745,539 |
| 1852-3 | 4,086,508 |
| 1853-4 | 4,668,671* |

## MEMORANDA FROM RETURNS MADE TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

*Table of Moneys.*—4 piece make 1 cent; 2½ cents 1 anna; 16 annas 1 rupee (R); 100,000 rupees 1 lac; 100 lacs 1 crore.

*Table of Weights.*—Measures of capacity are rarely used, and then only with certain articles, such as tobacco, &c. 16 taels make 1 catty, equal to 1 lb. 5 oz. 5½ grs., or 1⅓ lb. avoirdupois; 100 catties make 1 (Chinese) picul, equal to 133⅓ lbs. avoirdupois; 40 (Chinese) piculs 1 royan; 2 (Malay) piculs 1 char. The Malay catty weighs 24 Spanish dollars, and the Chinese catty weighs 22½ Spanish dollars. The native merchants buy all imported produce from the islands by the Malay picul, but sell it by the Chinese picul.

Rice is sold by the royan of 40 piculs.

Salt by the same, but weighs about 52 piculs.

Gold and silver thread by a particular catty of 36 dollars weight.

Gold-dust by the bunkal, which weighs 2 dollars, equal to 832 grs. troy.

Java tobacco is sold by the corge of 40 baskets.

Indian piece goods by the corge of 20 pieces.

Wheat and grain by the bag, containing 2 Bengal maunds; the maund is 61½ catties, equal to 82 lbs. avoirdupois.

*Freights.*—Ships of moderate size, say from 300 to 500 tons, are most in demand for charters. The rates at which foreign bottoms are freighted or chartered depend on the demand for and supply of tonnage, the sailing qualities of the vessel, and the kind of cargo to be transported. These vary so greatly, that it is impossible to give them even approximately.

*Commissions.*—The ships of all nations, except those of the United States, pay a uniform commission of 10 per cent., which covers all expenses for purchasing or selling. For the American trade (U. S.) the usages are different, and are as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Commissions on sales of goods or purchase of produce, free of risk, either in sales or on advances on produce* | 2½ per cent. |
| Negotiating bills of exchange | 1 ,, |
| Interest on moneys advanced, at per annum. | 12 ,, |
| Ships' disbursements | 2½ ,, |

Added to these expenses are boat and coolie hire, and warehousing, the charges for which, being governed by circumstances, differ widely.

*Sales and purchases.*—Sales of imports are effected in the usual manner, by private arrangement with the buyer. Few articles of import are cleared by public auction.

*Purchase of cargo outward.*—This is done by private contract (never at public sales) by the house to which the master of the vessel is consigned, the said house buying the goods from the natives, or, more generally, from the Chinese dealers, who are the "first hands."

*Terms of purchase.*—These are, first, cash, or, second, confirmed credits from well-known houses, either in London or Liverpool.

*Exchanges.*—The true par of exchange between the United States and this port cannot be determined. The most just approximation is to add to the Singapore rate of exchange on London the current premium of New York drafts on London, plus 2 a 4 per cent.

*Wages.*—With regard to the rate of wages in the various branches and occupations of labour, and of personal service in the business of commerce and trade, only a few instances can be specified, such as bookkeepers, mercantile assistants, and clerks, who receive from 500 dollars to 3000 dollars per annum.†

In connection with the straits settlements there is a desideratum of too much consequence to be overlooked—namely, some efficient arrangement for suppressing the Coolie trade. This traffic is not permitted from British ports, and wherever British consuls are it is opposed, but means are found, by Americans more particularly, for carrying it on in a manner fearfully destructive to human life. The

* Mr. Woods, Editor of the *Straits Times*.

* Both these are guaranteed for an extra 2½ per cent., or 5 per cent. in all.

† C. W. Bradley, American consul at Singapore.

Some of the foregoing statistics would appropriately come within a chapter on the general commerce of our Eastern empire, but the tables comprehend so much that is local, and relates to the internal arrangements as well as external relations of the island, that it seems better to give them in this place.

unfortunate objects of this commerce are imposed upon by promises of a five years' engagement of labour, with remuneration, which to them is a strong temptation to embark in the enterprise; they are borne away to Cuba or South America, and consigned to hopeless slavery. Some of our Indian subjects are in this manner deceived, and made slaves. American authors and travellers have admitted and condemned the procedure. The following extract from one of those who saw what he describes, and did his best to acquire accurate information concerning it, is as painful to peruse as it is faithfully narrated:—"The *Westward Ho*, Boston clipper, has just passed Anjer with eight hundred coolies from Swatow to Callao, and others have passed and are continually passing with their living freights. The days of the African slave-trade are with the past, save what the Brazilian and Cuban traders may be engaged in; but the traffic in human life is not wholly abolished when we see English coal-ships, Peruvian convict-hulks, and American clippers, all heading towards the west coast of South America, every square foot of space occupied by a poor Chinaman, who thinks, when he receives a dollar in hand, to be spent in clothing, and makes a contract to work five years at eight dollars per month (fifty dollars being deducted for a passage, and all the rice he may want guaranteed), that he is leaving purgatory for paradise. But when his owner puts him to work on the guano deposits, under the burning sun of the Chinchas, he will find out how sadly he has been deceived. That horrible affair of the *Waverley*, Boston ship, at Manilla, it makes me shudder to think of it, and chills my very blood when fancy pictures the blackened swollen forms of two hundred and fifty human beings, the one piled on another—worse even than the frozen soldiers of Napoleon on the Niemen and at Smolensko, or the startling horrors of the Black Hole at Calcutta. American clippers are daily leaving. The *Westward Ho*, *Hussey*, and *Bald Eagle*, with about seven hundred each, have left, the former to Callao, the latter to Havannah. The *Australia* and *Bonaventura*, with four hundred each, have gone to Havannah; and the *Amelia*, of Boston, has sailed with six hundred for Callao. The *War Hawk*, two thousand ton clipper, with nine hundred was loading for the same port; the *Winged Racer*, of Boston, Captain Gorham, was about to sail with seven hundred for Havannah." This was the state of things in reference to the coolie traffic just two years ago. From the eastern shores of Bengal, the Coromandel coast, the straits, Siam, and China, in a greater or less degree, this vile traffic goes on, in spite of the East India Company and the British government. All the South American states having, or professing to have, any commerce with the Indo-Chinese peninsula are implicated. The consuls of Peru, in some cases, openly abet it.

The British settlements of BORNEO are on the western coasts of that island, and hold an anomalous relation to the British government. They are the result of the private enterprise of a brave and adventurous man, Sir James Brooke, who has acquired sovereignty, and bears the title of rajah. He is not only willing but anxious to surrender that sovereignty to the crown of England, but, although considerable importunity has been used by persons interested in the commerce of the neighbouring seas, and although the press of Great Britain has in strong terms censured the government for its neglect, nothing has been done for securing these colonies to the crown. The Dutch have settled in other portions of the island, and claim the sovereignty of the whole, except those portions where Sir James Brooke has established his colonies—Sarawak and Labuan. The British rajah is not a young man, and should he die, there is every likelihood that the Dutch will take possession of those settlements, unless in the meantime the British government assert its supremacy. It will hardly be possible for the *vis inertiæ*, so characteristic of English governments in colonial matters, to resist much longer the strong pressure of public opinion in favour of an arrangement with Sir James, just and beneficial both to him and to the colony.

There are only two islands in the world larger than Borneo—viz., Australia and New Guinea. It is situated to the east of Sumatra and Malaya, and to the south-eastward of the empire of Annam, on the Indo-Chinese peninsula. The people are pagans, except a comparative few, who have embraced Mohammedanism. Their rites are sanguinary, their worship gloomy, and the attributes they ascribe to deity in reality describe a fiend. They are of various races: Dyaks, Javanese, Malays, Siamese, and Chinese, inhabit the island, as well as the aboriginal races. Formerly there were British settlements on the coasts, but tacitly the Dutch were allowed to claim sovereignty. This makes it somewhat difficult for the British government to assume authority in the colonies established by Sir James Brooke, and places them in a position which is as dangerous as it is exceptional.

From Labuan, on the north-east coast, to Sarawak, on the south-east, coal is abundant. This circumstance gives these settlements an especial value in their relation to the British

Eastern possessions. The expenditure of coal by the English navy in the Eastern seas is enormous. Eight thousand tons per month were consumed, in 1856, by the naval squadron in the waters of China alone. During 1857 probably two hundred thousand tons were required. All this is carried out from home. It is undeniable that the position of Borneo in relation to Australia, China, and India, makes it most important in connection with its coal resources.

In order to accomplish industrial undertakings, Sir James has had to employ many Chinese. The Dyaks will not work mines; they believe the bowels of the earth to be filled with demons, and no rewards can stimulate their courage or their labours, although brave and energetic in other enterprises. These Chinese settlers, influenced by emissaries from Canton and Singapore, revolted in 1857, and endeavoured to massacre Sir James and the British. The energy of the English rajah, and the gallant co-operation of the Dyaks, enabled him utterly to subdue the revolt. Sir James has established churches, schools, hospitals, and other concomitants and means of civilization; piracy, once the scourge of the Indian Archipelago, has been entirely suppressed; and nothing seems wanting to the prosperity of the eastern shores of Borneo but the acknowledged shield of British power, and the prestige of her majesty's imperial authority.

The last of the maritime settlements of England which it is necessary to notice as connected with her Eastern empire is ADEN. This place is situated near the entrance of the Red Sea, and was occupied by the East India Company for the purposes of suppressing piracy and of awing Persia. In the historical portion of the work that circumstance will more properly come under consideration. The Arabs regarded the possession of the ancient port of Aden by the infidels as a great indignity, and made desperate efforts to recover it. It was necessary for the company to negotiate with the Sultan of Labad, whose acquiescence they secured. The rock of Aden rises two thousand feet above the level of the sea. To the British it is an excellent coaling-station, apart from its political importance. The native population is about twenty thousand. Few Europeans reside there, except those in the service of the company. The garrison consists of a detachment of European soldiers and a regiment of sepoys. A recent traveller, whose observations are as correct as his pen is sprightly, thus conveys the impressions left on his mind by a visit:—"The rock, the plain, and the whole shore look barren enough; nor bird, nor beast, nor plant, nor creeping thing—you might almost say, without misrepresenting:—nothing at any rate of note can be seen from our anchorage or from the fort and village on the beach. You must have a donkey or an Arab horse the moment you get ashore, and take a ride along the beach, through the thatched village, past the mass of granite rock, over the long military road, down under the bridge, through the deep, dark passage-way cut out of the solid rock, to the cantonments, or barracks, in the valley beneath, where you will find the native town, the sepoy barracks, the European settlements, the chapel on the hill for the Episcopalians, and the cathedral below for the Roman Catholics, the drill-ground, and all that there is to note at Aden. On every side of you nothing but rock, rock, rock. It would be banishment to live here. The company have spent plenty of money in fortifying, but the money has not been well invested, say some of our military passengers. I am astonished to see how poorly fortified are many of the ports of England's colonies. It would appear to me that, had the Russian China fleet been willing to run the risk of British cruisers, they might have bombarded Singapore, Penang, Madras, and Aden; but the destruction of property would have been the only inducement, as they could not have held the places for any length of time, for the oriental steamers can transport troops post-haste to protect the flag of England. But there is one thing pretty certain—India can spare no troops for the Crimea; she wants them all within her empire, for the natives are always plotting." The last remark of this quotation is worthy of the serious attention of the British public. The alarm felt during the Russian war along the seaboard of India, and in the British maritime possessions in the East, was described and discussed by the author of this History in another work,* but it is here also necessary to point out the defenceless condition of those colonies, and of the seaboard of India. The Indian navy, however excellently officered or manned, and however efficient for the suppression of piracy or hostile operations in the Arabian Sea and its gulfs, is inadequate for the defence of India and the straits settlements during war with a naval power. The royal squadron in the Chinese waters, except during hostilities with that country, does not constitute a sufficient force for such a purpose in conjunction with the Indian navy. The land defences of India and of the various settlements already described ought to be on a scale of

* *Illustrated History of the War against Russia.* J. S. Virtue, City Road, and Ivy Lane, London.

greater efficiency, whatever confidence the naval superiority of the British empire may inspire.

Hong-Kong is one of our maritime settlements in the Eastern seas, but a description of it is omitted from this chapter, because it will necessarily be referred to in the next, as a part of China, under the head of independent countries with which we have been at war in the progress of our oriental dominion.

## CHAPTER XI.

### INDEPENDENT COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE BEEN THEATRES OF WAR DURING THE PROGRESS OF OUR EASTERN DOMINION.

#### CHINA.

WHILE we write, hostilities are being conducted against this country by the united arms of England and France. An infraction of treaty, the history and consequences of which will be recorded in the historical portion of this work, has led to the *dernier ressort* of aggrieved nations. This gives a peculiar interest at the present time to anything written concerning an empire so vast and a people so wilful—strangely uniting so many elements of weakness and power.

The Chinese empire is the most populous in the world, and the most populous also which the world has ever seen. It contains nearly four hundred millions of persons—one-third of the entire population of the globe. It is in all likelihood larger than Russia in Asia, and is only surpassed in area by Russia, including its European and American as well as Asiatic dominions, and by the British empire, which stretches over so many regions. The Chinese empire contains greater diversity of climate than any other, unless that under the dominion of England, which, in its European, African, Asiatic, Australian, and American territory, comprehends all climates, over areas which vie for extent even with the area of Russia.

It would be inappropriate to the nature of this work to give a minute account of China, while it is necessary to notice its position, extent, population, character, and resources, as one of those oriental powers with which we have been frequently at war, and within the dominions of which we have planted our flag.

The boundaries of the Chinese empire are Russian Asia on the north, India and the Indo-Chinese peninsula on the south, the Pacific Ocean on the east, and Turkistan on the west. Its area is computed to exceed five millions of square miles—equal to one-third of the Asiatic continent, considerably larger than Europe, and comprising one-tenth of the habitable globe. The natives designate it *Teen-hea* ("under heaven"), in order to express its vastness. The oceanic boundary consists of various seas and gulfs, formed by the continent and its archipelagoes, and by vast inlets. Among these are the Gulf of Tartary, the Sea of Japan, the Yellow Sea, so called from the colour of its waters, which contain a large quantity of earthy matter, brought into it by the rivers which give it its peculiar hue, and make it shallow; the Chinese Sea, which has obtained terrible notoriety by its typhoons. These hurricanes are the most violent of any in the world. They occur at remote intervals, in certain seasons, and may be guarded against, indications of their approach being made by sky and water, as well as by the signal fall of the barometer.

China proper is distinguished from the other portions of the empire, and comprises about one-fourth of its area. It lies on the south-east of the empire, and has a coast-line of two thousand five hundred miles, and a land frontier of four thousand miles. It is very mountainous, especially in the west; some of the mountains are perpetually covered with snow. Several ranges branch off to the east, approaching to the Pacific. The Nan-ling is one of these lateral ranges, and is known as intercepting the water communication between Canton and Pekin. The goods transported between these places are borne from one side of the range to the other through the passes by porters. The hills are covered with timber; where nature has not effected this, Chinese industry has accomplished it. The mountain slopes are planted with rice-fields and with gardens. There blossom the orange-tree, which is, in its season, prolific in fruit; there may be seen vast multitudes of beautiful camelias; also rice-fields carefully formed on terraces, and irrigated by Chinese industry and skill.

The principal portion of China proper is an alluvial plain, extending from Pekin along the Yellow Sea to Nankin, comprising nearly a quarter of a million square miles. This vast area is a rich granary, especially of rice, and the population is multitudinous. It is

watered by the rivers Yang-tse-Kiang and Hoang-ho, which, rising in Thibet, flow west to east to the Yellow Sea, after courses of more than a thousand miles each. The Yang-tse-Kiang is the largest river in China, and is about sixty miles wide at its mouth, appearing like a sea. Nankin is situated on this river, about two hundred and twenty-five miles from its place of disembogueement. The Si-Kiang is the great river of the south, and well known by European mariners, as it passes by Canton. The Pei-ho is the great northern river, which falls into the Gulf of Po-cheeles. These rivers, and others of minor note, irrigate the country.

Few Europeans have been permitted either to travel inland, or by boat to pass any considerable distance up the rivers. Undoubtedly the most successful in the latter description of enterprise has been "the *Times'* special correspondent." Most of our Chinese travellers have seen only a few of the cities opened to Europeans by the treaty effected by Sir Henry Pottinger; what they relate is from hearsay. The gentleman above referred to has, by his courage and good fortune, been enabled to make his passage good along various river-courses, and to visit the cities on their banks. The Yang-tse, "the great river," "the father of rivers," "the girdle of the empire," as the Chinese love to call it, is for a long course, up to Shanghai, known to Europeans. The *Times'* correspondent, passing up from the sea, thus describes it:—

"Next morning we were still out of sight of land, but the leadman's cry told that we were steaming in shallow waters. The morning's bath showed that the water was quite fresh and opaque with rich and alluvial soil. There were no other symptoms of land. We were in the mouth of the mighty river Yang-tse—'the child of the ocean'—the richest river in the world—richest in navigable water, in mighty cities, in industrious human beings, in affluent tributaries, and in wild margins of cultivated land of exhaustless fertility. This vast expanse of turbid fresh water is saturated with the loam of fields fifteen hundred miles away. A portion of this rippling element was gathered upon those great mountain ranges of Central Asia where the Ganges, the Brahmapootra, and the two great rivers that irrigate Siam and Cochin-China, and the fierce 'yellow river' which pervades the north of China, divide the drainage. The volume was increased by every mountain and every descending streamlet through six hundred thousand square miles of midland China. In its pride and in its strength the proud river fights for a little while with ocean himself for empire, drives back his salt waves, and establishes a fresh-water province in the midst of his dominions. The Chinese love and venerate the Yang-tse as Chinese sons love and venerate their fathers. Philosophers draw their parables from his greatness and beneficence; historians chronicle his droughts and floods as events more important than the change of dynasties; and poets find his praises the most popular theme for their highest flight of song.

"We had steamed for some hours in this shallow sea, when a line, having length, but neither breadth nor thickness, became just visible far away upon our left. As our course was tangential to this line, it gradually became more distinct. Then through our glasses we could see a level coast, well timbered with trees—no palms or Eastern forms of foliage, but such an outline as we might trace on the banks of Essex or Lincolnshire. Between the river shore and the woodlands there was a margin of meadow land, where droves of cattle and flocks of sheep were depasturing, and everything around, except only the fierce sunshine, gave promise that we had escaped into an European climate. Then land upon the right grew into view—not the opposite bank of the Yang-tse, that is far out of sight, but an island which he is throwing up. From day to day he piles there the spoils he brings down from the midland province. The pilots say they can observe increase every week. The Chinese are already planting bamboo there to give solidity to the rich alluvial soil. A thousand squatters are ready to seize upon it and convert it into gardens immediately the tide shall cease to cover it.

"Fishing, and carrying, and convoying, a thousand junks and lorchas are scudding to and fro in the estuary. But we proceed not far up the channel of 'the child of the ocean.' A checker-painted sea-mark (which wants only a telegraph upon it to make its usefulness complete) and a floating lighthouse mark the point where the last tributary to the Yang-tse-Kiang, the river Wangpoo, joins its waters. Upon a low spit of land stands the desolate and amphibious-looking village of Woosung. The place is not really desolate, and is not really amphibious, for large fortunes are constantly being made here (the golden sands of commerce accumulate as rapidly as the deposits of Yang-tse-Kiang), and the piles on which the buildings are erected lift them up out of danger of inundation. But the Chinese have a talent for giving an appearance of squalor to their towns and villages."

The river beyond Shanghai is similar in character: still of immense width, shallow, loaded with alluvial matter, its banks swarming with populous villages, the occupants of which are ever busy in all the forms of industry known to China. Rich soil, fields carefully cultivated and luxuriantly productive, meet the eye of the voyager up this great artery of Chinese commerce. Here and there pagodas and temples present their strange forms to the traveller's gaze, while the wanderers are themselves objects of intense and not always amicable curiosity to the natives.

The enterprising gentleman just quoted also sailed up the great tributary of the Yang-tse—the Wangpoo, and has been enabled to describe what no other European, except those of his party, has been favoured to see. His letter was written on the 10th of August, 1857, and, from its recent date, derives very peculiar interest.

"On the appointed day, Mr. Edkins, the missionary, Dr. Dickson, of Canton, and myself started in three *sauchau* boats, with a fair flood tide, up the Wangpoo River. Our object was to reach Ningpo through the network of internal canals, and without crossing the bay. This is a journey never yet made even by the missionaries, and Mr. Edkins regards it as a pioneering expedition preparatory to future labours. Our first stage is to Hangchow, and thus far our boatmen have covenanted to convey us. These sauchau boats are somewhat like the larger gondolas which go outside into the Adriatic. The cabins are fitted up with no little pretension. Mine had plate-glass windows; much carving and some gilding had been lavished upon it. There was a joss-house with a vacant niche for any idol I might fancy to put there, and two ecclesiastical candlesticks, upon the spikes whereof I might, if I had pleased, burn any sized joss-sticks or wax candles. The extent of this, my habitation for the next six days, was however not great—it was seven feet six inches square. Nor was there provision for effeminate luxury. There was a locker within which I might put my most important baggage, on which I could spread my bamboo matting, and over which I hung my mosquito curtains; there was a small table and two camphor-wood stools. What more can a man want? There was a box, with 'Fortnum and Mason's' name upon it in one corner, a modicum of sherry and Bordeaux and a dozen of soda-water in another corner, and a revolver and double-barrelled gun handy to the grip. The use of the firearms is, I believe, solely this—the boatmen will not go on at night unless they know you have them. The adroitness of the Chinese thieves will justify their contempt for any barbarian swell mobsman. Mr. Edkins not long since found that some one had, during his slumbers, crept in at the cabin window, taken his keys out of his pocket, opened his trunk, and abstracted all his dollars, leaving the trunk open, and nothing else, not even the proprietor, disturbed. But I do not hear of any open piratical attacks up the country, and you do not want firearms to drive away a thief. The first thing he would steal would probably be the gun and the revolver.

"Off we go, then, up this tributary, of the Yang-tse-Kiang. About four miles an hour is our pace, propelled as we are by one gigantic oar, worked over the stern by three men, curved in the handle, and made to perform in the water the evolution we call skulling. We pass through the European shipping, by the floating bath, and into and along moored tiers of junks, which may almost vie in numbers with the shipping in our pool. Hundreds of these ply between Shanghai and Amoy, bringing sugar here and taking cotton back. A thousand others will start this season for Shantung, and will carry with them one hundred thousand pieces of our grey shirtings—a demand owing, the merchants say, to exceptional causes. In an hour we are clear of the environs of Shanghai, and we look to see the river contract to the proper decent dimensions of a third-rate stream. Nothing of the sort. Seven miles up the Wangpoo is still quite a mile in width, and for the greenness and flatness of its banks, and the European outline of foliage, we might be a little below Gravesend. Resenting, perhaps, my small respect for him as a third-class river, the Wangpoo treats us to a capfull of wind just as the tide is finished, and the boatmen incontinently run into a creek, which leads up to a village possessing a high pagoda and a Buddhist monastery.

"We passed the night upon the wide and troubled waters of the Wangpoo with less of meekness than befitted the peaceful character of my companion. I insisted upon starting as soon as the flood tide made. Every wave seemed to break under the flat bottom of my boat, and she rolled and quivered and creaked as though she would have quoted Mencius to rebuke my impatience. But the night was very beautiful. It was so hot that I lay outside, with my head against the broad junk-like prow, and even the rushing wind brought no coolness; the round moon looked down in all her splendour, but did not dim the light of the big stars. Ever as one of our sister boats went ahead, the oar oscillating to and

fro at her stern, produced a sheet of phosphoric radiance which neither moon nor stars could pale. Sometimes we neared the banks, and then the monotonous croak of the frog was heard, and in sheltered places flights of fireflies, like flakes of diamond, fluttered up and down among the cotton plants, and then also myriads of mosquitoes, of great stature, came off and sounded their declarations of war in my ears.

"We were not alone on the Wangpoo. On the contrary, there were never less than a hundred sail. Up the flood tide of the Wangpoo Dr. Dickson's boat separated from us last night, and is not come up. The boatmen talk of perils from pirates or foundering in the storm. We wait and send back runners, and learning no tidings, conclude he has returned to Shanghai. Two large navigable tributaries fall in, but the river above is not much decreased in width. After some hours' further voyage, the Wangpoo loses its name and form. It divides into two equal channels, one of which descends from the right, and comes down from a string of lakes that extend to Soo-choo; the other is our way. Tributaries and canals now come quickly in, showing how wonderfully ramified is the internal water communication of this land. Of course the volume of the stream contracts as we ascend. At night the action of the tide is but faintly felt, and we anchor in a channel about fifty yards wide. In the moonlight Dr. Dickson's boat comes up with a tale of adventure. The next day was a day of canals and great cities."

The aids to the river navigation and irrigation of China by canals are numerous—the Grand Canal being the largest work of the kind in the world, and history supplies no ground for believing that any work of equal magnitude has ever existed. The scenery, rural and social, on the banks of the Grand, or, as it is also called, the Imperial Canal, is to European eyes most peculiar. The fullest account extant written by an English eye-witness, is that of the *Times'* correspondent, who visited it late in the autumn of 1857:—

"The only Chinese objects which to the eye of Western taste are really beautiful, are the bridges that cross their canals at frequent intervals. The willow-pattern plate, so faithful in other matters, does not do them justice. Sometimes they consist of three arches, but generally of only one. In the latter case, solid masonry of carefully-faced granite or limestone advances into the water from either side. In the centre springs a light and graceful arch—more than a semicircle, quite half an oval; it springs forty feet high, and the crown of the arch has not two feet of superstructure resting upon it. There is no keystone, but the thin coping-stones are cut in the proper curve. The bridge itself is a terrace, mounted by steps on either side at an angle of forty-five degrees. The effect is very graceful and airy, and as no wheeled carriages are used in China (except wheelbarrows), they answer all practical purposes. A sunset on the Imperial Canal, with the monuments on the banks, a vista of these bridges, and the mountains of Nganhwui in the far distance, is a sight I shall remember when I look again upon Claudes and Turners. We are thankful that at last there are mountains in view; for this perpetual level, fat and fertile as it is, grows depressing. It is our fifth day, and we are expecting to reach Hangchow, where all our difficulties of transit must be expected. While writing I have passed along five miles of rural district, with banks all built up, like a Parisian quay, of wrought granite, and the towing-path carried over stone bridges which cross the frequent branches of this immense artificial navigation. I despair of conveying the idea of cyclopean work, enormous traffic, patient industry, vast natural fertility, individual content, and peaceful prosperity with which this journey impresses me. The pagodas are in ruins, and where the quays have fallen there is no hand to repair them. The imperial grain-junks are rotting, and the few forts are in decay; but these evidences of decrepitude in the rulers have not yet operated to affect the personal happiness which springs from fertile lands and industrious husbandmen. At the end of one of the long straight lines of this highway we discern at last a far extending mass of houses, whose walls exult in bright whitewash, and whose roofs are all of old grey tiles. These houses seem to extend far back, and to overspread the plain that intervenes between the bank of the canal and the highlands that form the background of our present view. This, seen through a mob of junks, moving and still, is Hangchow as it appears from the Imperial Canal. All things indicate the capital of a great province. Our old friends the imperial grain-junks have been rotting in hundreds for the last ten miles, the canal has been of extending width, mandarin passage-boats, towed by strings of coolies, have gone by sounding their gongs and flaunting their banners, while the mandarin looked out from his seat of honour, and from behind his fan eagerly eyed the strangers. The commercial navy of China (*pur sang*—no schooners or lorchas) were taking in paper, tea, rice, oil, bamboo basketwork, and a thousand other articles of pro-

duce. They are loading the tea here in its natural state, in chests protected by matting. It is all for Shanghai and the export-market; that is to say, it is all of that high-dried kind which will pass the sea. I counted eighteen junks, of about two hundred tons each, lying together ready laden with this European necessity."

The productions of the country are numerous and abundant, and the extreme industry of the people adds to the fecundity of their fertile soil. Rice is the great staple, but many valuable fruits and vegetables are also produced. The sugar-cane is, in some districts, very fine, and is used in various ways by the inhabitants. The mulberry-tree abounds, especially along the tributaries of the Yang-tse, and in the country near the Imperial (or Grand) Canal. Beans are extensively cultivated in some districts. Very useful trees, shrubs, and plants, yielding food or materials for commerce, are abundant all over China: the Japan varnish, known to British commerce, is distilled from the lacker shrub; material for candles is obtained from the tallow-tree; rice paper, as it is termed, is procured from a leguminous plant common in the marshes; the lotus is made useful for food and other purposes; cuniferous trees are abundant. The humblest cottager contrives to cultivate some garden vegetables, with persistent industry, in places the most disadvantageous.

The tea-plant is known to be indigenous to China, the rest of the world deriving its chief supplies from thence. This plant (*Thea Chinensis*) is an evergreen, and a very hardy shrub in China, although in India, both in Assam and the Himalayas, it has been necessary to treat it as a delicate plant. It attains the height of five or six feet. The tea exporting districts are not so extensive as is generally supposed in Europe, being confined to limited portions of the provinces of Fo-kien, Quang-tung, Kiang-see, Kiang-su, and Tche-kiang. In almost all the other provinces the amount produced is consumed where grown, and is of a coarse quality, unsuitable for commerce. Fo-kien exports the greatest quantity of black, and Kiang-su the greatest quantity of green. It is not generally known that both kinds are obtained from plants of the same species: the difference in the exported commodities arises from the leaves having been collected at different stages of their growth; and from the employment of colouring matter with the green, such as Prussian blue and gypsum. The young leaves before they expand, and the mere shoots, yield a black tea called Pekoe, and a green tea called Young Hyson, which is prepared as to colour by tinctures. When the young leaves have fully opened out, the tea is called Pouchong, Souchong, and Camper as black tea, and Imperial Gunpowder and Hyson as green teas. The older and stronger leaves receive the name of Congou as a black tea, and Twankay and Hyson skins as green teas. The oldest and coarsest of the leaves produce Bohea, the lowest in quality.

The skill with which the cultivators of the plant superintend its growth has much to do with the quality of the tea produced. This was made evident by the experiments of the East India Company. It was not until Chinese cultivators were employed, and some of the company's agents proceeded to China and studied the treatment of the shrub, that their plantations in the Himalayas prospered; and even in Assam such arrangements were necessary.

The Dutch, in 1610, were the first to import tea into Europe: it was more than half a century later before it was brought to England. Two-thirds of all the tea exported from China is consumed by the English. The Americans, Dutch, and Russians are the only other peoples who extensively import it.

The botany and flora of China are very varied and beautiful. Even in prolific India and Ceylon, the botanical gardens are indebted to China for a rich portion of their exotic treasures. It is probable that even the fairy floral scenes of the Indian slopes of the Himalayas are exceeded in beauty by those of the southern mountains of China. These are literally clad with azalea; and amidst the beauty thus produced, there is a profusion of gorgeous shrubs and flowers—clematis, roses, honeysuckle, and numerous wild flowers and shrubs, known only to the botanists and florists of Europe, are spread out in endless variety, forming a natural carpet of the most glowing hues. "The flowery land" is no boast, however vain the Chinese may be of applying the appellation to their country. Cashmere may surpass, and Ceylon may rival, the floral beauties of China—and there are a few spots on the great table-land of the Deccan where flowering shrubs, within a more limited range, are produced equally fine; but it is to be doubted whether elsewhere in the world there is another such land of flowers as the regions of the southern hills.

China is not rich in domestic animals: horses, oxen, and sheep are not plentiful, nor are their species good. It does not pay to rear domestic animals. The population, especially of some provinces, is so numerous, that every inch of land is required for tillage to supply man with food; while, at the same

time, human labour is too cheap for that of horses and oxen to be profitably used. In the south-west the tiger and rhinoceros are found, but not in great numbers. The tiger is a fine and fierce creature, resembling that of Bengal, but rather inferior in size and strength.

The ornithology of China is very various. The gold and silver pheasants are beautiful creatures, by many supposed to be finer than the pheasant of the Himalayas. Domestic fowl grow to a very large size, and the eggs are of a magnitude which surprise Europeans. The forms of the ornithological productions of China are often very peculiar, and not unfrequently very beautiful.

The ichthyology of China is also varied, and exceedingly beautiful. Gold and silver fish, so much admired as domestic pets in England, are common in China. Sturgeon, and other large fish, are abundant and excellent in quality. Shell-fish are exceedingly various: the natives eat every species, and the poor classes seem to do so without discrimination. The number of persons employed in the sea fisheries is very great, although in consequence of the prevalence of piracy they incur great danger, their cargoes being frequently seized, and the boats' crews massacred from sheer love of cruelty. It is necessary, in consequence of this state of things, for a fleet of fishing boats to go out with a convoy. The fishing boats which ply off the mouth of the river Yang-tse pay convoy duties, which amount to fifty thousand dollars a year. The wood junks which ply between Ningpo and Foo-chow pay three times as much as the fishing junks. The vessels which lately acted the part of protectors were Portuguese lorchas, but they changed their character into pirates more formidable than those they were hired to repel. They made descents upon the villages, destroyed the fishing tackle and store-houses, slew the men, and carried off the women. The Portuguese consuls winked at these atrocities, and at last appeared to be their patrons; for men captured in the acts of murder or spoliation were handed over to the Portuguese consul, and were allowed to escape with impunity. The Chinese government actually hired the old pirates to put down the new ones, and a conflict ensued, in which the Portuguese behaved with a cowardice seldom equalled, their junks were destroyed, their fugitives pursued on land and slain, and the Portuguese consul, their abettor, driven from Ningpo. This occurred in 1854, since which the fisheries have been protected, and the supply greatly increased.

The mineral productions of China are very rich, the principal being copper, zinc, quicksilver, and *kaolin*, or porcelain earth, of various sorts, some of the finest quality. The precious metals are found in small quantities. The most important mineral resource of the empire is coal, which exists in vast quantities, and over a widespread area. In the neighbourhood of Pekin, the coal deposits are worked on an extensive scale, as wood is scarce, which the Chinese always prefer for fuel. Frequent outcrops show that there are immense seams of coal in the vicinity even of Pekin, never yet worked. The Chinese are bad miners, although they work assiduously when directed by skilful engineers. They do not use vertical shafts, and are ignorant of the means by which water is exhausted from mines. In consequence of the necessity of emptying the water with small casks, and of carrying up the coal in small baskets, the expense of working these collieries is considerable, notwithstanding the cheapness of labour. Consequently, even in the vicinity of the coal seams, the poor use for fuel slack, coal gravel, and yellow clay, mixed with water into a thick paste, and moulded and baked like bricks.

The porcelain clay is obtained chiefly in the neighbourhood of King-te-takin, a town and district in the province of Kiang-see, east of the Payang Lake. In the town and district there are said to be two millions of persons engaged in the porcelain manufacture. There are not less than five hundred furnaces in the town alone. Chinamen say that the aspect by day and night in this neighbourhood is remarkable — clouds of smoke darkening the sun, or pillars of fire illuminating the sky. Their descriptions correspond with what the traveller sees in England when travelling through the great manufacturing districts of Warwickshire and Staffordshire. Foreigners being carefully excluded, to prevent discovery of the processes of the manufacture, there is no reliable testimony as to the true condition of the district, or the extent of its manufacture: all classes in China, from the throne to the coolie, delight in lying, and there is no form of falsehood which they so much practise as exaggerated statements of the population, resources, beauty, and power of their country.

The porcelain earth is a clay resulting from the decomposition of felspar; the colour is white, yellow, or reddish white. It is not generally superior in China for manufacturing purposes to that which is found in Cornwall, in England, in the Island of Bornholm, in the Baltic, or in Germany.

Among the productions of China silk is prominent. The mulberry-tree has been

long a staple production, and the wide area over which it grows, together with its excellence, enables the Chinese to rear vast numbers of the worm. China may be said to be the country *par excellence* of silk, of which there seems to be an inexhaustible source. It furnishes large quantities to the neighbouring nations and to Europe, and also clothing for the greater part of the inhabitants: there are very few, except of the lowest orders, but what are clad in silk garments.

To the Chinese we owe the knowledge of the manufacture of silk, and that which is imported excels that of every other country in brilliancy and colour. The imports of China silk have largely increased of late years. The imports, which in 1830 were 6000 bales, and in 1846 14,103 bales, had risen in 1856 to 56,561 bales. The average weight of the bales of China silk is—raw, 103 lbs. nett; thrown, 113 lbs. nett. Assuming the bales to be 1 cwt. each, the imports in 1856 amounted to 2828 tons.

"China silk consists of two leading kinds, produced severally in the provinces of Canton and Nankin. The latter, which is very superior to the Canton silk, is known in commerce under the names of Tsatlee and Taysaam. Tsatlee is the Canton patois for Tsih Sé, or seven cocoons, the mode in which this silk was, perhaps, originally reeled. It is now quite otherwise. Taysaam is the Tatsan of the Chinese, literally the *gros cocon* of the French, and is significantly descriptive of this kind. Unlike the production of silk in Italy, France, and Bengal, in China there are no large filatures or extensive establishments for reeling silk of a known size, quality, or kind, uniformly regular throughout. All China silk is the produce of cottage or domestic husbandry, and is mostly reeled by the peasant population which raises the worm. The wholesale prices on the 1st of January, 1857, were as follows, being nearly double the rates ruling a quarter of a century ago:—Tsatlee, first and second, 25*s.* to 26*s.*; ditto, third and fourth, 23*s.* to 24*s.* 6*d.*; Taysaam, 19*s.* to 23*s.* 6*d.*; Canton, 13*s.* to 19*s.* 6*d.*; China thrown, 18*s.* to 26*s.*"*

The silkworm gut, used for fishing in China, and exported for that purpose to other countries, is produced in large quantities. "In making silkworm gut, the silkworm caterpillar is immersed in vinegar when it has left off feeding, and is looking out for a convenient corner to spin his cocoon. The silk-bag is then perfected, and out of this the gut is prepared in pure strong vinegar. The time for maceration is about three weeks, or more if the weather should be cold and unfavourable. When near the time, one or two of the worms are taken out and tried. After due maceration, the worm is broken exactly across the silk-bag, and the two parts are drawn gently asunder, until the gut appears to be of the proper thickness, and then hung up to dry in the air."*

The raw silk is produced by the operation of winding "at the same time several of the cocoons on a common reel, thereby forming one smooth even thread. When the skein is dry, it is taken from the reel, and made up into hanks; but before it is fit for weaving, and in order to enable it to undergo the process of dyeing, without furring up or separating the fibres, it is converted into one of three forms—namely, *singles*, *tram*, or *organzine*. Singles (a collective noun) is formed of one of the reeled threads being twisted, in order to give it strength and firmness. Tram is formed of two or more threads twisted together. In this state it is commonly used in weaving as the shoot or weft. Thrown silk is formed of two or three or more singles, according to the substance required, being twisted together in a contrary direction to that in which the singles, of which it is composed, are twisted. This process is termed *organzining*, and the silk so twisted *organzine*."†

There is a material of silk export called "'waste cocoons'—that is, the cocoons after having had all the serviceable silk reeled from them. Within the last year or two these (which were before thrown away as worthless) have been shipped to Manchester in considerable quantities, where they have fetched 1*s.* 4*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* per pound. They are 'carded,' and made into silken thread used for the lower description of silk goods."‡

In the northern parts of China, especially in elevated situations, bird-skins are used for shoes and other articles of clothing, and the carcasses are, strange as it may appear, used for fuel. The feathers of the Argus pheasant (*Argus giganteus*), supposed to be found only in the Malayan peninsula and Sumatra, but which is also a native of China, are much in request for ornament, the wing and tail furnishing beautiful specimens. "Peacock feathers were at one time employed by Canton manufacturers in making variegated threads, which were used in forming beautiful capes for females. Permission to wear the peacock's feather in the cap in China is, like the

* Catalogue of the Collection of Animal Products in the South Kensington Museum.

* Her Majesty's Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851.

† Ibid.

‡ Catalogue of the Collection of Animal Products in the South Kensington Museum.

European orders, always specially granted to the individual wearer." Marabout feathers, which are chiefly obtained from the marabout crane in Cochin-China, are also an article of production and commerce in the Chinese empire. The feathers of the silver pheasant are carefully collected, and exported to Europe and America for fly-fishing and ornamental work generally. The feathers of the golden pheasant, which are perhaps more beautiful than those of any other bird except the peacock and bird of paradise, are also exported to Europe and America for fly-fishing. The feathers of the common Chinese fowl are also carefully collected for various purposes of home use and export.

"The Chinese manufacture beads of various kinds, fish-counters, &c., from the mother-of-pearl shells, in a far superior manner to that of artists in Europe. Three sorts of beads are made there—one perfectly round, the second not quite round, and the other cut; and they are tied up into bunches of one hundred strings, each string containing a hundred beads. The fish-counters are cut into various shapes—round, oval, and oblong, and are usually sold in sets of about a hundred and forty pieces. Various species of *placuna*, being thin and semi-transparent, are used in parts of China for glazing windows in junks and on shore, and for lanterns, as horn is used here. The Chinese also use the powder of this shell for silver in their water-colour drawings."*

The Chinese create artificial pearls, by introducing small pieces of wood, wire, and baked earth into the pearl mussel.† These, by irritating the animal, cause it to cover the substance with a pearly secretion. Little figures, made of wood, are frequently introduced in this manner, and when covered with the pearly deposit are used by the people as charms.‡ In this manner pearl-covered figures of Buddha are obtained, the nacreous deposit being so laid upon the image as to make it an object of beauty.§ These figures generally represent the great sectary in a sitting posture. These are treasured by the people, or exported to Birmah, Siam, Singapore, Tenesserim, Pegu, and even to Ceylon, where the great pearl fisheries are. The large snail pearl-shell of Singapore (*Turbo marmoratus*) is much sought after by the Chinese there, and sent to China, where it is highly valued, and is sent thence to other countries. The pearl-white oyster-shell (*Meleagrina Margaritifera*), in its natural state, as brought home from China, may be seen among the specimens of shells and marine products in the Museum of the Commissioners of Art.* This shell is used in a great variety of ways in the manufactures of China.

Beeswax is a commodity produced in China in increasing quantities.

The musk-deer is hunted in Thibet, for the sake of the musk, which is brought down to China proper, and thence exported, but only in small quantities, the animal not being common in Eastern Asia.

It is a general impression in England amongst all classes, exclusive of merchants and men of science, that, with the exception of tea and silk, China produces very little that is fit for commerce or conducive to luxury among her own people. A more intimate acquaintance with her productions, soil, climate, and the industry of her people, will dispel this impression. Her selfish policy, as regards intercourse with other nations, leaves many of her natural products which are adapted to commerce imperfectly developed, and the existence of many materials which contribute to taste or luxury among her own people are now only beginning to be known in Europe. The commerce carried on by the Chinese of Singapore is tending to display the resources of the Chinese empire; and were trade and intercourse perfectly free, China would export many valuable materials almost at present unknown to commerce, or only known in a limited degree.

The territorial divisions of China have varied very much. In reference to this a well-known authority has remarked:—"The scientific skill of the Jesuit missionaries accomplished a survey of the whole of this fine country on trigonometrical principles, so admirably correct as to admit of little improvement; and, with the exception of the British possessions in India, there is no part of Asia so well laid down as China. Since the time of the Jesuits' survey, however, an alteration has taken place in the divisions of the country. The provinces of China, which then consisted of *fifteen* in all, have been increased, by the subdivision of three of the largest, to *eighteen*. Keang-nân has been split into Keang-soo and Gân-hoey, Hoo-kuâng into Hoo-nân and Hoo-pe, and the western part of Shen-sy has been extended, and called Kân-so. These eighteen provinces constitute a compact area, extending (if we leave out the island of Haenân) from about 21° to 41° of north latitude, and measuring in extreme length from north to south about

* Specimens, South Kensington Museum.

† Edgar A. Bowring, Esq.; Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, Drawing by Professor Quekett.

‡ Sir John Bowring.

§ Dr. M'Gowan, of Ningpo.

* Class II., Animal Products, Division 4.

twelve thousand geographical miles, with an average breadth from east to west of nearly 20° of longitude, or something less than the extent north and south." *

The present arrangement of provinces is thus given :—

THE NORTHERN PROVINCE.—Chi-le; Shan-tung; Shan-see; Honan.

THE EASTERN PROVINCE.—Keangsoo; Gangwhuy; Keangsee; Chekeang; Fukeen.

THE WESTERN PROVINCE.—Shense; Kanseh; Szechaen.

THE MIDDLE PROVINCE.—Hoopee; Hoonan.

THE SOUTHERN PROVINCE.—Kwangtang; Kwangse; Yanan; Kweichow. †

Another arrangement of the provinces into maritime and inland presents the following :—

MARITIME PROVINCES.

| | Cities and Towns. |
|---|---|
| Pe-chee-lee | Peking. |
| Shan-tung | Tsi-nan-foo. |
| Kiang-su | Nanking, Shang-hae. |
| Tche-kiang | Hang-choo-foo, Ning-po. |
| Fo-kien | Foo-choo-foo, Amoy. |
| Quang-tung | Canton, Macao. |

INLAND PROVINCES.

| | |
|---|---|
| Shan-see | Tai-yuen-foo. |
| Shen-see | Si-ngan-foo. |
| Kan-su | Lan-tchou. |
| Ho-nan | Kai-fong-foo. |
| Gan-hway | Ngan-king-foo. |
| Hoo-pee | Woo-tchang-foo. |
| Hoo-nan | Tchang-cha-foo. |
| Kiang-see | Nan-tchang-foo. |
| Quang-see | Kwei-ling-foo. |
| Kwei-chew | Kwei-yang-foo. |
| Yun-nan | Yun-nan-foo. |
| See-tchuen | Tching-too-foo. ‡ |

The climate is on the whole more temperate than any equal area in Asia, and in some portions it is very equable and agreeable. It is remarkable, however, for the low temperature that prevails during winter, particularly along the coast, in latitudes in which in other parts of Asia or Europe such severity is unknown. Pekin is more southerly than Naples, yet frost prevails for three or four months every year. Nankin is nearly on the same line of latitude as the mouth of the Nile, but during the winter months in the latter region the most genial weather prevails, while at the former there is severe frost. Canton is under the tropic of Cancer, and the summer heat is very oppressive, but there is generally frost in January, and occasionally falls of snow have been known there at that season. The climate on the coasts very much resembles that on the seaboard of the United States. Situated on the eastern sides of great continents, both regions are liable to extremes of cold and heat at opposite seasons, particularly the former, as compared with the same latitudes in other parts of the same continents. The heat at Canton, which is on nearly the same line of latitude as Calcutta, is not much greater, if at all greater, than in that place, but the thermometer never falls below the freezing-point in the metropolis of India, whereas it nearly always does so during winter at Canton.

Before noticing the vast extent of country beyond China proper, it is suitable to consider those peculiarities of the empire which are more especially characteristic of China properly so-called.

The two great works of the Chinese are the Great Wall and the Grand Canal. The wall extends from a fort in the Gulf of Pe-chee-lee westward along the southern frontier, a space of fifteen hundred miles, over mountains, ravines, valleys, rivers, and plains. It is a great earth rampart, admitting of a carriage or several horsemen abreast to pass along the top. It was originally cased with stone and brick, but these have become dilapidated. This wall is of very unequal height. On the mountains it frequently does not exceed ten feet; in the valleys it rises to the height of thirty feet, and is there flanked with numerous redoubts, or projections resembling such. There are gates at intervals for convenience of ingress and

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* *The Chinese: a General Description of China and its Inhabitants.* By John Francis Davis, F.R.S., Governor of Hong-Kong.

This measurement differs somewhat from the more recent and accurate estimates which we give, but this authority is more generally relied upon.

† The Rev. Thomas Phillips.

‡ The Rev. Thomas Milner.

It will be observed by the reader that these authorities spell the names of places differently; it is impossible to find any two authors who agree entirely in the spelling of Chinese words. This circumstance also exists in reference to Hindoo terms, but to a still greater degree in Chinese. The author of this work will use quotations as he finds them, and adopt for himself the most usual and best known modes of writing names of places and things. It will assist the reader to inform him that, according to Milner, the following descriptive terms are of common occurrence in the geography of China :—

*Pe*, north; *nan*, south; *tung*, east; *see*, west. Hence, with *king*, court, we have Pe-king, the north-court; Nan-king, the south-court; Tung-king, the east-court;—as having been, at different periods, imperial residences.

*Shan*, mountain. Thian Chan, or Shan, the Celestial Mountains; Shan-tung, east of the mountains; Shan-see, west of the mountains.

*Hoo*, lake. Hoo-nan, south of the lake.

*Ho*, river, and *kiang*, river. Hoang-ho, yellow-river; Si-kiang, pearl-river; Yang-tse-kiang, river of the son of the ocean.

The provinces are distributed into three classes, denominated *foo*, *chew*, and *hien*, terms of rank. Their capitals are denoted in like manner—those which have *foo* appended to their names being cities of the first rank; *chew*, of the second; and *hien*, of the third.

egress, such as may be allowed, and also for the purpose of levying duties of transit. It was once a formidable barrier to the predatory Tartars, but is now badly guarded, and the smugglers have made breaches in many places, which no attempt has been made to repair.

The Grand Canal extends from Hang-choo-foo in the south, to near Lin-chin in the north, where it joins a river-system connected with the capital, its whole course being seven hundred miles, with an ordinary width of two hundred feet. Much praise has been bestowed in Europe upon the engineering skill exhibited in this construction, but there does not seem to be any warrant for regarding it in that light. It is formed in a level country, which was composed chiefly of loam, and other light soil; no engineering difficulties of any kind were presented. The amount of labour employed was of course great, and the utility of the work was beyond question, as it opened up an inland navigation where the country was without rivers, or possessing rivers not navigable. Davis, however, commends the engineering skill displayed in choosing a line of country so free from difficulties. It does not, however, appear that even this encomium is deserved, for it required nothing beyond commonplace observation to perceive the portions of the country requiring such a channel of inland commerce, and which afforded the greatest facilities for cutting a canal. The untiring industry of the people in producing this great work merits all commendation. Mr. Davis declares that no moral revolution could effect such a change in China as the introduction of the Roman Catholic calendar, for they have no saints' days, although many saints, and no holidays, on any pretext or reason, in China. The most recent accounts of the Chinese which have been received in this country are those contained in the letters of the special correspondent of the *Times*, and his representations of the untiring and energetic industry of the Chinese along the Imperial Canal will enable us to account for the perseverance with which that work was brought to a completion. The "special correspondent" thus describes the habits of the rural and village population:—"Again we were in the country, among the mulberry-trees and the rice-fields, the patches of tobacco, the sepulchral mounds, with their waving banners of high reeds, the gourds trellised on bamboo framework, and the agricultural population all at work—men and women, with equal energy, treading at their irrigation wheels. Here is the secret of the fertility of this great delta: every hundred yards a little family treadwheel, with its line of tiny buckets, is erected over the canal, and the water is thrown up to refresh the mulberry-trees or mature the rice. When the Arabs learn to labour like this, the plain of the Metidja may become as productive as this delta of the two rivers. We must have passed ten thousand people to-day engaged in this irrigation process."

The ingenuity of the inland fishermen, the industry of the gardeners, the energy of the boatmen, and the depressing effect upon all these important qualities which is created by the oppressive government of the emperor, and the necessary political discontent of the people, are graphically shown in the following extract from the same writer:—"At Keashin, however, we leave that network of canals which, although over fifty yards broad, are now narrowed to a channel by light bamboo partitions on each side. The enclosed side-water is hired and cultivated as ling gardens, a water-loving root, which the English call 'buffalo head,' and which the Chinese much affect. Worse, however, than the ling gardens, the huge hulks of the imperial grain junks encumber these small canals. Since the rebels have been established at Nankin the inland communication has been stopped, and the food of Pekin goes round by sea. Many hundreds, therefore, of these junks have become useless. They are rotting in all directions, filling up the channels—some above water, some below, all of them in decay. They must not be broken up, or sold, or burnt,—they are imperial property. At Keashin we enter upon the Imperial Canal. Between the carefully-piled banks of this noble river—for it is as wide as the Thames at Kew—we journey for three days, passing, and sometimes tarrying at, villages, and towns, and cities. It is the country, however, which is most interesting.

"'God made the country, and man made the town,'

may be true in England, but here man has as much to do in making the country as in making the city. There is no lack of objects as we passed up, towed by these hardy boatmen. The irrigation wheels are constantly going, men and women working under their awning of mats. The junks and boats are never ceasing—who shall number the vehicles for water-carriage which China possesses? The fisherman, with his flock of fishing cormorants perched on his punt, or swimming after him, is passing up under the bank, and I notice that if a cormorant gets a large fish which he cannot swallow he takes it to the punt, and receives something to devour instead."

The city, population, and its habits of industry along the line of the canal, may be judged by a single specimen from the same writer:—"Although but a third-class city, we were at least an hour passing through Kiahing. There are extensive stores of that thick pottery ware used at Shanghai for baths and coarser utensils, much of it well ornamented. There are large carpenters' shops, containing the simple silk-winding machine of the Chinese, in every stage of completion. We are now far advanced into the silk district. There is a large establishment for crushing seeds and making oil. We land to inspect it, and the proprietor is polite and explanatory. There are tea-shops overhanging the water, and the customers, naked to the waist, are lounging and smoking, and sipping from their little cups a weak infusion, without milk or sugar. Then there is a break in the continuity of habitations—a rick of rice-straw and a grove of mulberry-trees—not large round-topped trees, such as we see in France and Italy, but trees free to grow as nature pleases, and bearing their leaves down to the bottom of their stems. Of the millions of mulberry-trees I have seen in this part every one has a good healthy foliage, and not one has been stripped in the manner I have somewhere seen described. Passing this great agricultural interval, we again immerge into the city. We seem now to be in a district of merely domestic dwellings. The enormous signboards, covered with gigantic Chinese characters, are less frequent. There is a fat Chinawoman and her pretty little round plump daughter hanging out clothes in a very small number of square inches of drying-ground under the eaves of their cottage. In another building there is a solitary damsel employed upon her embroidery; and in another a palm-leaf fan is being used to drive the mosquitoes out of the curtains. The little domesticities of life are going on while the men are at business. Throughout the whole extent of Kiahing, and of every other city in this neighbourhood, there are well-finished quays of faced granite, having at every twenty yards broad stone stairs down into the water; upon these the long-tailed race, both men and children, stand and fish. Some of the stores are very extensive, run a long way back, and are divided from their neighbours by thick and high party-walls; but the houses are all built to the same pattern—a garret above a shop, a slanting roof of tiles, and projecting eaves over both the shop and the garret. This is the unvarying form. Signboards with immense characters, the presence or absence of flowerpots and casements, and the various characters of the commodities for sale, constitute the only difference. We entered Kiahing through an archway in the wall, and quitted it through a similar aperture. There is no difference between the city and the suburb, except that inside the walls the canals are narrower."

Perhaps no living European has accomplished the navigation of the Imperial Canal to its remote inland termination, except the gentleman from whom these quotations have been made. In the following extract he records his arrival at that particular spot—the city of Hangchow (or Hangwhau), as it is generally called. It appears from his narrative, that but for some peculiar policy of the government, the navigation of that great artery of inland trade could be further extended, as at Hangchow there is a large navigable river, to which it is necessary for passengers to transfer their cargoes and themselves. The extract also refers to some important commercial facts which, although more strictly belonging to a future chapter on our oriental commerce, illustrate here the locality, the jealousy of the government, and the facilities already opening to personal visitation, where commercial operations are still fettered. The feat accomplished by the enterprising correspondent of the *Times* and his associates—if his European friends penetrated so far who accompanied him in the earlier part of the expedition—is one full of interest to the European world, and more especially those who are not moved by curiosity merely, but are anxious for the opening up of China to commerce, civilization, and religious instruction. The information contained in the letter was afforded from Hangchow so late as the 22nd of August, 1857:—

"The irrigation wheel has now entirely given way to the wharf. The banks on either side are as the banks of the Thames when the river reaches the city's eastern suburb. High above roofs and masts rise two lofty poles, whose cross-bars show them to be ensigns of official authority. They stand before a large public edifice. In China all public edifices are of the same pattern; josshouses and palaces and public offices might, and very frequently do, interchange their purposes without much alteration. The building before us has the usual double tier of shelving roofs with upturned corners, as though the original designer of this style had taken the prows of four Greek galleys and put them together, with their rostra facing to the four cardinal points. It also has a very extensive gallery, which comes out on piles into the canal, and is roofed and ornamented in proper official style, and crowded

with Chinese officials. This building is the celebrated 'Psin Kwan,' or 'Ta Kwan'—the 'new' or the 'great' custom-house. This is the foe of Manchester and Leeds, and Nottingham and Sheffield. This is the first lock in the ascending water-way. Here British calicoes get their first lift, to be still further lifted at very short stages. There is no escape. Here the Imperial Canal ends. There are small feeders which come down from places in the neighbourhood, but here the navigation ceases. There is a magnificent navigable river, which rolls on the other side of the city, but with this the Imperial Canal has no connection. Such is the imperial policy: here at Hangchow everything must be trans-shipped.

"We pulled up at the custom-house, and I prepared for the rigorous search which must take place. I was determined to solve this mystery of the differential duties. I had a a piece of printed calico and a packet of clasp knives, and also some of my Chinese clothing, not yet worn, on the table before me. I was fully resolved to have a considerable discussion over the payment of these things. After a few moments, a man, something between the coolie and comprador class, and without even the small pyramidal official straw hat, put his head into the boat and said, as plain as unintelligible words and significant gesture could speak, 'That will do; go on.'—'But tell him,' roared I to A'yu, 'that I have duties to pay.'—'He talkee all right.'—'Tell him these boxes are all full of salt, and the boat is full of contraband goods.'—'He talkee no mindee.'—'Tell him we haven't paid the boat toll.'—'He talkee bamboo boatee man.' At this hint we were at once propelled from the shore, and I was left with my British produce to mourn over the fallibility of the best laid schemes. It was quite evident now that the officials were determined to ignore our presence. I knew there was a toll that would amount to nearly a dollar each on our boats; they refused, however, to take it from us. They allow us now to pass the custom-house unquestioned. They are clearly treating the three Englishmen as Dogberry thought it best to treat rogues. Now I began to make frantic inquiries from Chinamen about the matter I had intended to settle myself. I am told that at this 'Ta Kwan' they take fifteen cash, or about three-halfpence, for a piece of China cloth, and four hundred cash, or three shillings, for English. A Chinaman will always give you an answer, and it will generally be the first phrase that comes into his head. I paid little attention to this assertion, and should not have repeated it, but that it seems to accord with my subsequent experience. Shanghai is full of English goods; at Keahing and Keashun I saw some English 'domestics;' but after we had passed the 'Ta Kwan' I never saw anything English exhibited for sale, except English sewing-cotton, which had penetrated even to the primitive city of Peh Kwan. It may be that the duties on English goods are as heavy as my Chinese informant says, but I must admit that I do not think the testimony worth much."

The architectural works of China are not of great magnitude: the European factories at Canton were probably the best buildings in the empire. Chinese architecture is not remarkable for taste—it is quaint, peculiar, and original, characterised by strange antithetical features. It is supposed that the people derived the idea of the shape of their roofs from the use of the tent in their primitive pastoral condition. Whatever the purpose for which a Chinese building is designed, the roof obtains something of the catenary curve which a rope assumes when suspended between two poles, and which therefore forms the contour of a tent.* The want of solidity, characteristic of Chinese buildings, may be traced to the same origin. The bridges are the best specimens of Chinese architecture, many of them being constructed with great ingenuity. The arch was known to the Chinese before the Greeks and Romans understood its principle.

Military buildings are not numerous; they are rudely strong. The best specimens were the forts which protected the entrance to the Canton River, but which have been battered by the British ships-of-war during the various contests with the Cantonese. Garden pavilions are frequently picturesque. Gateways, either honorary or monumental, are common in China; and these sometimes have considerable architectural pretensions. The tall towers, or pagodas, look pretty in perspective.

The Chinese science of medicine resembles very much that of the island of Ceylon—a mixture of astrology, botany, chemistry, and Buddhist superstition. The drug-shops contain large assortments of simples; gums and minerals also enter into the pharmacopœia. Ginsen and tea are prescribed in various ways; virtues are attributed to tea especially, which are unknown or not appreciated in Europe.† The medical practitioners have no knowledge of anatomy. Phrenology is a favourite study with them, and with the more intelligent Chinese generally. They have a saying, that a man may be known by his forehead, and a woman by the back part of her head.

* Barrow † Dr. Abel.

The diseases which most commonly afflict the people are fever, ague, dysentery, cholera, bilious complaints of all kinds, pulmonary disorders along the eastern coasts, small-pox, which carries off large numbers of the population, except where vaccination has been introduced by the surgeons of the East India Company. Cutaneous diseases of many kinds are common; one of which, produced by animalcula, is very irritating and peculiar, but is removed by a native preparation of mercury applied as an ointment.

In geometry and numbers the Chinese are deficient, and are indebted for the little knowledge they have to Europeans. Their fractions are decimals, except in the common pound weight of the market, which, like our own, is divided into half-pounds, quarters, and ounces.

Their geographical knowledge is entirely derived from Europeans. By the native geographers China is represented as the great central land, and other nations as small spots clustered around it. The proofs afforded to them, during the present century, of the superior power of European nations, and the extension of the British empire in the East, has somewhat stimulated their curiosity, and caused their educated men to consult geographical works and maps.

The science of astronomy is not cultivated or understood, although the Chinese are very attentive observers of the heavens. There is an *Imperial Almanac* published at Pekin, and the penalty of death is visited upon any persons who either alter or imitate it.

In simple but ingenious machinery they surpass all other oriental people.

Their music is very primitive; their instruments, chiefly lutes and guitars of various sorts, are very numerous. They have a squeaking fiddle of three strings, to which they are partial, and a bagpipe similar to that of Scotland, which is an instrument much in favour. A concert of these instruments is a discordant affair to European ears, but to the Chinese is a source of intense gratification.

Their ornamental gardening is very peculiar, and perhaps there is no other art in which they excel to so great a degree. A gentleman who resided at Pekin, in a magnificent pleasure-ground belonging to the emperor, and who had ample opportunities for studying the habits and tastes of the people in this respect, thus depicts their talent for this pleasing art:—

"The grand and agreeable parts of nature," he observes, "were separated, connected, or arranged, in so judicious a manner as to compose one whole, in which there was no inconsistency or unmeanning jumble of objects; but such an order and proportion as generally prevail in scenes entirely natural. No round or oval, square or oblong lawns, with the grass shorn off close to the roots, were to be found anywhere in those grounds. The Chinese are particularly expert in magnifying the real dimensions of a piece of land, by a proper distribution of the objects intended to embellish its surface; for this purpose tall and luxurious trees of the deepest green were planted in the foreground, from whence the view was to be taken; whilst those in the distance gradually diminished in size and depth of colouring; and in general the ground was terminated by broken and irregular clumps of trees, whose foliage varied, as well by the different species of trees in the group as by the different times of the year in which they were in vigour; and oftentimes the vegetation was apparently old and stunted, making with difficulty its way through the clefts of rocks, either originally found, or designedly collected upon the spot. The effect of intricacy and concealment seemed also to be well understood by the Chinese. At Yuen-min-yuen a slight wall was made to convey the idea of a magnificent building, when seen at a certain distance through the branches of a thicket. Sheets of made water, instead of being surrounded by sloping banks, like the glacis of a fortification, were occasionally hemmed in by artificial rocks, seemingly indigenous to the soil. The only circumstance which militated against the picturesque in the landscape of the Chinese was the formal shape and glaring colouring of their buildings. Their undulating roofs are, however, an exception to the first part of the charge, and their projection throws a softening shadow upon the supporting colonnade. Some of those high towers which Europeans call pagodas are well adapted objects for vistas, and are accordingly, for the most part, placed on elevated situations." *

In painting the Chinese are not so deficient as they have been generally supposed to be by Europeans. They are bad landscape painters, being unacquainted with the rules of perspective, although in their landscape gardening so skilful in obtaining its effect. Where perspective, general combination, and imagination are not required, they can draw well: their colours are exquisitely brilliant, and they can delineate figure. Birds, beasts, insects, and fishes are well painted by them; yet they do not succeed in drawing the human figure and face either with the crayon or the pencil. They are capable of taking grotesque sketches, and caricatures in which much ideality is not requisite, but where

* Barrow.

the merit consists in a truthful yet humorous delineation of an odd circumstance, or association, or a person of eccentric habits and appearance. They will sometimes "take off" an obnoxious European in a manner more truthful than flattering.

They are not sculptors, but with plastic material they model beautifully, where anatomical proportion is not an essential: their modellings of drapery are very excellent.

Their taste in carving woods and ivory, especially the latter, is well known in Europe. Beautiful snuff boxes of agate and rock-crystal are also carved. The ingenuity of the Chinese in working metals is surpassed by no eastern people, except in the precious metals, wherein the Bengalees surpass them. The art of printing existed in China many ages before its discovery in Europe.

Gunpowder (*fire-drug*, as the Chinese call it) was known in China long before Europeans were acquainted with it; but there is no proof that it was ever used for purposes of war. In pyrotechnic displays it seems alone to have been employed, until it was perceived that the western nations used it as a means of destruction.

The magnetic compass was undoubtedly a Chinese discovery, yet they have not profited by it in navigation. Their voyages have seldom extended farther than India, and at present the remotest voyage is Java or the Malay Isles. Instances have occurred of very long voyages in Chinese junks, and, as a case in point, one lately arrived in the Thames; these trips are, however, so purely exceptional, that the limits above named as the bounds of Chinese naval enterprise are exact. According to the celebrated missionary Gutzlaff, the prejudices of the Chinese against all improvements copied from barbarians must ever impede their progress in ship-building, or in attaining to an effective commercial or warlike marine. Mr. Davis (the late governor of Hong-Kong) is of a different opinion, and attributes to the jealous policy of the government the chief difficulty in the way of progress in navigation. The politician, in this instance, has probably formed a clearer view than the divine. The Chinese have copied Europeans in so many improvements, that there is no reason to suppose that they would be indifferent to the example set them in this respect. The Siamese have already followed European models in the structure of coasting vessels, and the Chinese have observed the fact with some feeling of envy. Various inventions attributed to the Chinese, and several attainments in science set down to the credit of their genius, are due to their intercourse with Europeans. The Jesuits, in this respect, conferred upon China many advantages, and the people have appreciated it more readily and completely than has been understood in Europe. It is to this ready and apt appreciation of what has been taught them by others, that we are to ascribe the knowledge which, in so many respects, it has become the fashion in Europe to attribute to their originality.

The religious and moral condition of the Chinese has of late years become a subject of benevolent inquiry and consideration amongst the Christian people of Great Britain. The vast mass of the Chinese people are Buddhists. In the chapter devoted to the religions of India, reference was made to this system as exemplified there. In the account given of the Island of Ceylon, further light was thrown upon it. Another page will afford a description of the moral and religious condition of Thibet, and give an opportunity of still further illustrating the character and effects of this system. Under the name of Buddhists, however, the great majority of the people of China are really atheists, "without God, and without hope in the world." Having been already so fully described, it is not necessary here to add anything to the notices of the Buddhist religion, or, as it may be more properly designated, philosophy.

Buddhism is not, however, the only religious system known in China, as is commonly in England supposed to be the case. Many of the Chinese are heathens, who pay little or no attention to Buddha, but worship whatever deity seems to become most familiarly a candidate for their homage. The vast numbers of Chinese who live on the sea, and are engaged in navigation, worship the Chinese sea-goddess, "the queen of heaven." The sailors of the celestial empire are perhaps the most profligate and ignorant portion of its population, and less capable of entering into the abstruse refinements of the Buddhist philosophy: accordingly, among other tangible deities, they especially worship the mariner's compass. Offerings of gilt paper, such as the devotees of Buddha burn on shore before the huge images of their temples, are at sea offered to the compass with a heartier devotion.*

The cultivated classes in China adopt the philosophy of Confucius as their creed; the middle and lower classes are Buddhists; the dregs of society are mere idolaters: but in every class, and under whatever sectarian designation, there is a large leaven of atheism.

It is not generally known in Europe that China has many followers of "the Prophet." During the Mongul dynasty, founded by

* Gutzlaff.

Kohlai Khan, the Mohammedans were numerous. They are distinguished by wearing a pointed cap. It is common for them to pursue the calling of mutton and beef butchers—a vocation utterly abhorrent to the consciences of the Buddhists. There is another small sect, that of Taou, or Laon-keun (the title of the founder). This sect seems to have originally corresponded with the Epicureans of the Greeks. The founder was a contemporary of Confucius, and at certain periods of Chinese history the sect obtained very great credit. They have now become few in number, and have sunk into mere soothsayers and quacks; there are, however, a few places in the interior where numbers flock to them—not so much as religious disciples as to have their fortunes told.

There are many Roman Catholics in China; some have computed them at eight hundred thousand, and others have alleged that a million is more near the truth. So conflicting are the statements, and with so much acrimony are they made, that it is impossible to arrive at any fair and unbiassed conclusion. The Jesuit missionaries have laboured long and zealously in China, and many of the natives embraced their opinions.

Protestant missionaries, sent out by various nations, especially by Great Britain and America, have long laboured in China, and with more or less success. The estimates made of the labours of these men have been very contradictory: one class of witnesses declaring that they had done no good, and never could reasonably hope to do any, while another has described them as having, by their most laborious perseverance in acquiring the language, translating the Scriptures, writing religious tracts and books, and by personal labours and preachings, accomplished much good, which, if not seen in numerous converts, has not been without evidences; while the discerning can perceive that a good foundation is laid for the extension of the gospel in China. The best authority we have, whose testimony is at all striking, while personally respectful to the missionaries, is very decided against their success:—"One word upon a subject to which I shall probably not have occasion to recur. I have sometimes spoken untenderly of topics much cherished by some of our Protestant missionaries. There is, however, no subscriber to the various bodies which send preachers forth who thinks more highly of the usefulness of these men than I do. I will not say that they are making sincere Chinese Christians,—those who say this must be either governed by a delusion or guilty of a fraud,—but they are doing the work which, if China is ever to become Christianised, must precede its conversion. They live among the Chinese people, they speak their language, they are known to them by deeds of charity and beneficence; their wives are the friends of the poor, friendless, Chinese women; their children prattle to the natives in their own tongue, and are the messengers of their parents in little offices of love. The merchants in China are almost universally large-hearted and benevolent men; they will give largely, but they have not either time or taste for such offices as these; nor would the wildest philanthropist expect it from them. Yet this must be done by somebody if China is to be opened. Even if I had no hope that the cold speculative systems of Laotze, Confucius, and Buddha could be overthrown—that those palaces of ice should some day melt before the fervid quickening fire of true religion, still I would say plant missionary establishments in China; but remember always that a fool, a bigot, or a firebrand can do more evil than ten good men can repair."

The spirit and general character of these remarks are commendable; but it is curious how frequently travellers and correspondents of the London and New York press record their convictions, or write letters, warning the public of Europe and America that the particular countries which they visit, and where missionaries labour, are not immediately converted, and that representations of missionary success are not to be credited. No such false representations exist; where the mission-field has been productive, that fact is thankfully recorded in the reports of the various successful societies, and in the minutes of their committees; where the soil has proved sterile, that fact is recorded with equal fidelity. It is not necessary for special correspondents and travellers who fly through regions where the agents of religious societies labour, to tell us that there is no success; for where that is the fact, the constituencies of the societies whose agents labour there, know it very well themselves: frequently there has been much good done, and very many converts have been silently gathered, where these cursory observers and imperfectly-informed critics have seen and learned nothing of those achievements. Instances have occurred of sanguine missionaries saying more for their own labours, or those of their fellows, than facts justified; but these cases have been exceptions. The efforts of Protestant missionaries in China have not been successful in proportion to the expenditure of means, and the number of men employed; but nevertheless much good has been done, and in the way the writer just quoted admits.

The Congregational or Independent churches of Great Britain and Ireland have the honour of having first embarked upon the stupendous enterprise of Chinese missions. A body possessing so great a number of eminently learned and gifted ministers was especially adapted to the task. The London Missionary Society, which the body sustains, sent out Robert Morrison half a century ago: six years later he was followed by William Milne. By the joint labours of these extraordinarily patient, painstaking, and devoted men, the entire Scriptures were translated into the Chinese language, as Doctors Morrison and Milne became distinguished Chinese scholars. Both have long since entered upon their rest, after a life of honour and usefulness, and of much intellectual renown. China continuing closed against *the preaching* of missionaries, the society planted their agents at Java, Penang, Singapore, and Malacca. At these outposts the heroic men waited the hour when Providence would open the gates of China to their ingress. In the year 1842, after the war, "the five ports were opened," and the London Missionary Society occupied the ground—no other religious body having then possessed the requisite number of men learned in the languages spoken upon the shores of the eastern seas. At each of the five ports there is a Congregational church, composed of native converts, notwithstanding the inability of the *Times'* correspondent to discover them. At Hong-Kong, the learned and talented Dr. Legge, and the medical missionary, Hershberg, have laboured; at Canton, Dr. Hobson; at Shanghai, Rev. Dr. Medhurst, W. Lockhart, M.D., Rev. W. C. Milne (now resident in England, and author of an interesting work on China); at Amoy the learned and laborious brothers Stronach took up their stations. The eminent men thus placed in the principal cities were supported by assistants, clerical and lay. The American Congregationalists came to the assistance of their English brethren. They sent Dr. Bridgeman, Dr. Ball, and the Rev. Daniel Vrooman to Canton, where a body of eight native Christians were organised as their assistants; at Amoy two ministers and three native assistants were placed. No less than six Congregational clergymen from the American board took up their residence at Fouchow. Dr. Medhurst and Dr. Legge, clergymen from the English Congregationalists, made great acquisition in Chinese learning, and contributed to the store of sacred literature, so important to other missionaries who shall succeed them. Dr. Medhurst, full of honours and usefulness, laid down his body and his charge together only a short time since.

The labours of Dr. Charles Gutzlaff, of the Dutch church, are also well known. Having pursued his mission in Siam and the Malayan peninsula, he finally directed his efforts to China, and formed what is called the "Chinese Christian Union," for the purpose of religious teaching, and the distribution of religious books and tracts, especially the Bible and portions of the Bible. The constitution of the Union, and its performances, will be best understood by the following extract:—"This institution was formed in the year 1844, in the first instance for the evangelisation of the Kwang-tung province, and subsequently extended its aim to the whole empire. In the same year there were 262 baptised members of the society, who, on their reception, pledged themselves to make it a personal endeavour to advance the cause of Christ among their countrymen. Of this number about nine were engaged as preachers. It gradually increased from year to year, till, in 1847, it numbered 1606 members, of whom 64 were preachers, and in the year 1849 about 3000 members, including 130 native preachers. The Union had, in its lists of publications, about twenty-four books and tracts, some of considerable length, and, added to this list, Dr. Gutzlaff's Old and New Testaments. It professed at this time to have its preachers in nearly all the provinces of China; and, doubtless, with every allowance for much deception, it must have extended, by the oral and written medium, a considerable amount of Christian knowledge, to say the least, over a large portion of southern China. The larger number were spread over Kwang-tung and Kwangsi, and their converts were principally gathered from thence."

The American Episcopal Church has a staff of missionaries in China. Dr. Boone went to Batavia in 1837, and removed to Amoy in 1842, when it was opened to foreigners by the British treaty. On his revisiting America, in 1844, he was consecrated a bishop of the American Episcopal Church, and, returning to China, assumed the superintendence of the American Episcopal Mission, residing at Shanghai. The American Baptist Board commenced its labours for China in 1834; they occupied the outpost of Singapore, but in 1845 directed their labours to Canton. The American General Assembly's board (Presbyterian) sent several missionaries to China soon after the ports were opened. The English Church Missionary Society quickly followed those already named, who took advantage of the opening of the ports, and has at a recent period established efficient missions at Shan-

ghai, Fouchow, and Ningpo. In 1850 the Chinese Evangelization Society, unconnected with any particular church, was formed. It has a few missionaries stationed at Soi-heong. In the same year the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society sent out three missionaries, chiefly through the liberality of an individual—its treasurer. The Rheinish Mission, and the Basle Mission, at Hong-Kong, and the Swedish Mission at Fouchow, are active and useful, particularly the latter. The English Presbyterian Mission at Amoy is conducted by these missionaries. Other societies have done a little, and individuals, especially ladies, are labouring unsustained by any society. There are probably two hundred Protestant missionaries now in China, of whom the majority are Americans. The Congregationalists of England and America constitute a considerable majority of those thus engaged. The power and influence of Confucius, and the mode in which the labours of Christian missionaries are conducted in China, are alike strikingly illustrated by the following passage from the report of the London Missionary Society's mission at Shanghai:—"But though the influence of idolatry on the general mind is superficial, that of Confucianism is far otherwise. . . . . Some weeks ago a learned Chinese scholar, and a rigid disciple of Confucius, called upon Mr. Muirhead, and expressed himself very displeased at a comparison having been made between the person, character, and work of Christ and those of his venerated sage. Such a thing, said he, should not have been done by any means. Christianity is a very small affair, and the cross, though in external form extending in all directions, thus assuming that it is designed to embrace the whole world, is absurd. As to the doctrine connected with it, it can never endure the test of ages, as in the case of the Confucian. He was told that Jesus was the Son of God, that He came down from heaven for the highest, holiest, and most glorious of all purposes, whilst Confucius was only a man and a sage, like many of a similar character in all parts of the world; but at this saying he became violent in the extreme, and replied, 'If you say anything of Confucius, I assure you I would rather go to hell with him than with Jesus to heaven.' The doctrine of the cross, indeed, which was a stumbling-block to the Jew, and folly to the Greek, is both to the Chinese. They see the outward transaction, but cannot penetrate into the depths of its meaning; they behold its shame, but are blind to its glory." During three hundred years the Jesuits have laboured in China, but they never attempted to circulate the Scriptures in the vernacular. The British and Foreign Bible Society, through the media of the congregational missionaries, accomplished that work. Drs. Morrison and Milne published their Bible under the society's auspices thirty-six years ago. Dr. Morrison had previously issued portions of the book. In 1835 Drs. Medhurst and Gutzlaff, aided by Mr. Morrison (son of the great missionary), issued a Chinese New Testament, more adapted for circulation than that previously published by Drs. Morrison and Milne. In 1850 another version of the New Testament, still improved, was adopted by the Bible Society. In 1852 the society's translation of the Old Testament was completed. In 1847 the London Missionary Society sent out a cylinder printing-press to Shanghai, and towards the object had in view in so doing the Bible Society bestowed £1000. The most recent effort on a large scale was that of sending a million copies of the New Testament to China. The origin of this movement, afterwards happily accomplished, was the publication of a letter in the papers by the Rev. J. Angell James, congregational minister of Birmingham, to whom it was suggested by Thomas Thompson, Esq., of Poundisford Park, Somerset. The London Religious Tract Society has also put forth its giant hand to the help of China. Various interesting tracts have been published by that society, and vast numbers placed at the disposal of the missionaries. In this work the excellent Bishop of Victoria, who superintends the missionaries in China connected with the English Established Church has taken an appropriate and active part.

The moral condition of the people upon whom these evangelical instrumentalities are brought to bear is as unhallowed as their religious theories are erroneous. The eminent missionary who led the van of Protestant effort for this people thus expresses himself concerning them:—"The *good* traits in the Chinese character are mildness and urbanity; a wish to show that their conduct is reasonable, and generally a willingness to yield to what appears to be so; docility, industry, subordination of juniors; and respect for the aged and parents, which Confucius principally enforces. These are virtues of public opinion, which are, in particular cases, rather a *show* than a *reality*. On the other hand, the Chinese are specious, but insincere; jealous, envious, and distrustful in a high degree. There is amongst them a considerable prevalence of Sadducean and rather atheistical spirit, such as one would naturally expect from a people who feel not that sense of divine authority, nor that reverence for the divine majesty and goodness, which in sacred

Scripture is denominated 'the fear of God.' Conscience has few checks but the law of the land and a little frigid ratiocination on the fitness of things, which is seldom found effectual to restrain, when the selfish and vicious propensities of our nature may be indulged with present impunity. The Chinese are generally selfish, cold-blooded, and inhumane."* The learned divine had not acquired so much experience as has since been gleaned of their habits, or he would not have borne any testimony to their gentleness. The missionaries of the London Missionary Society, which the doctor represented, were, during the Chinese contest which is waging while these pages are going through the press, the objects of a most cowardly attempt at assassination. The ladies and children of the mission, more especially, suffered severely from the poison which their Chinese attendants insinuated into their food. The conduct of the Chinese at Canton, Hong-Kong, Singapore, and Borneo, during the period referred to, was as cruel, treacherous, and remorseless as that of the Bengal mutineers in the mutiny of 1857. In their own internecine wars they are barbarously vindictive, as the great rebellion still raging in the empire has proved on a large scale. No people treat criminals with greater severity, or inflict torture with more eagerness.

Female infanticide is another form taken by Chinese cruelty. The government carts go about the streets of Pekin to collect the dead infants cast out into the streets at night by their callous-hearted parents.† No investigation is ever instituted, but the bodies are removed to a common burial-pit outside the city. Upon this procedure the Roman Catholic missionaries have been accustomed to attend, in the hope of saving some infant in which life is not extinct, and, if possible, to restore it to health, and bring it up in their religion. The Pekin government connives at infanticide. On these occasions horrible scenes are presented. Before the carts go their rounds, the dogs and pigs of the city are let loose, and they are disturbed by these vehicles while preying upon the outcast children, some with life still in them. It is calculated that nine thousand infants perish annually in the streets of Pekin, or are murdered, and flung out to be devoured by the swine and dogs, or removed by the police carts to a common burial.‡ At Amoy "it is a general practice to drown a large proportion of the female children."§ The *Times'* correspondent, in 1857, bears a painful testimony to the horrid practice of infanticide at Shanghai:—"O Vice-consul Harvey! *doctus utriusque linguæ!* to whom the manners and the language of China are even as the manners and the language of Paris or of London, tell me what means that more than usually pestilential stench! It seems to radiate from that decaying pepper-box-shaped tower, which, although not twenty feet high, we must, by the courtesy of China, call a pagoda. Undismayed, the energetic vice-consul, who sometimes acts as guide, philosopher, and friend, and expatiates with me over this maze, advances through a vapour so thick that I wonder the Chinese do not cut it into blocks, and use it for manure, and at a distance of five yards from the building puffed hard at his cheroot, and said, 'That is the baby-tower.'—'The ——?' said I, inquiringly.—'The baby-tower. Look through that rent in the stonework—not too close, or the stream of effluvia may kill you. You see a mound of wisps of bamboo-straw? It seems to move, but it is only the crawling of the worms. Sometimes a tiny leg or arm, or a little fleshless bone, protrudes from the straw. The tower is not so full now as I have seen it; they must have cleared it out recently.'—'Is this a cemetery or a slaughterhouse?'—'The Chinese say it is only a tomb. Coffins are too dear, and the peasantry are poor. When a child dies the parents wrap it round with bamboo, throw it in at that window, and all is done. When the tower is full the proper authorities burn the heap, and spread the ashes over the land.' There is no inquiry, no check: the parent has power to kill or to save. Nature speaks in the heart of a Chinese mother as in the breast of an English matron; but want and shame sometimes speak louder still."

At Shanghai there is a foundling hospital, which, it is to be presumed, is a device of the government to check infanticide. The writer last quoted, upon whose authority we learn the fact, does not, however, say whether the institution receives female children, or, if received, whether they are preserved. "There is a foundling hospital in the Chinese city, with a cradle outside the door, and a hollow bamboo above it. Strike a blow upon the bamboo, and the cradle is drawn inside. If it contain an infant, it is taken and cared for, and no questions asked."

The cruelty of the Chinese in religious persecution is at variance with the accounts generally given of their tolerance, and in some sort a contradiction to the indifference with which they affect to regard all religious controversies. The Jesuits have been frequently exposed to great dangers, and have suffered severe injuries. The writer just re-

* Dr. Morrison. † Barrow.
‡ Barrow. § Dr. Gutzlaff.

ferred to, describing Hangchow, remarks:—"Annals of martyrdom tell still of the massacre of eight hundred Christians at Hangchow. During the last war many of our kidnapped sailors were sent here as to a place of security, and butchered after a mock trial." During the earlier stages of the great rebellion the rebels not only demolished temples as the abodes of idols, but slew their frequenters as idolaters.

Slavery is practised, and that of the worst kind, within certain limits. It would appear that the slavery into which a parent may sell his female child is some check to infanticide, and leaves the supply for "the baby-tower" less horribly abundant. "There is also a system of domestic slavery in China. At an early age a child is worth dollars (a father or mother may for money delegate their own absolute power—delegate without losing it); for although a father may have sold his son to a stranger, or although a mother may have sold her daughter to prostitution (and concubines in China are only thus to be obtained), the duty from child to parent remains unimpaired, and is strictly performed. The incentives thus offered by Mammon, and the alternative proffered by native charity, may save lives that would otherwise be destroyed. But this baby-tower is a terrible institution; it stands there, close to the walls of a crowded city, an intrusive invitation to infanticide."

The whole people are gamblers. It is strange that a race so matter-of-fact and business-like should be so, but in every situation of life, and on an infinite variety of occasions, opportunity is sought for this propensity, so destructive to the mind and the body, so ruinous to the circumstances and the character. The opium dens are the chief resorts of the gamblers; there every appurtenance for the amusement, and every convenience for gratifying the passion, exist. The following is a description of one of these dens of infamy and ruin in a great city:—

"At Ningpo," writes the special correspondent of the *Times*, "I accepted an invitation from the Rev. Mr. Russell, the Church of England missionary priest, and the Rev. Mr. Edkins, of the London Mission at Shanghai, to visit the opium dens of Ningpo city. Commander Dew, of the *Nimrod*, and several of his officers, accompanied us. I had seen the opium-eaters of Smyrna and Constantinople, and the hasheesh-smokers of Constantine, and I was prepared for emaciated forms and trembling limbs. I recollected buying a tabooah in the bazaars of Smyrna from a young Moslem, whose palsied hand and dotard head could not count the coins I offered him. I remembered the hasheesh-smokers of Constantine, who were to be seen and heard every afternoon at the bottom of that abyss which yawns under the 'Adultress's Rock,'—lean, fleshless Arabs, smoking their little pipes of hemp-seed, chanting, and swaying their skeleton forms to and fro, shrieking to the wild echoes of the chasm, then sinking exhausted under the huge cactus,—sights and sounds of saturnalia in purgatory.

"The Chinese exhibition was sufficiently disgusting, but was otherwise quite a failure. These opium dens are ordinary Chinese cottages, with a room about twelve feet square, furnished with a bed, a table, and a sofa. In the first we entered three men sat upon the bed, and two upon the sofa. There was the opium pipe, the lamp, and the small porcelain cup of treacle-looking opium. One of the customers takes the pipe and the lamp, then dips a pin into the opium, turns it round and round till he has the proper quantity of the jellified drug, inserts the pin in the pipe, applies the pipe to the flame of the lamp, and at the same time draws up the vapour by two or three long inhalations—not whiffs, for he draws it into his lungs; then he passes on the pipe, the opium being consumed, and gradually lets the vapour slowly return through his mouth and his nose.

"The members of this convivial society were good-humoured and communicative. One was a chair coolie, a second was a petty tradesman, a third was a runner in a mandarin's yamun; they were all of that class of urban population which is just above the lowest. They were, however, neither emaciated nor infirm. The chair coolie was a sturdy fellow, well capable of taking his share in the porterage of a sixteen-stone mandarin, the runner seemed well able to run, and the tradesman, who said he was thirty-eight years old (say thirty-seven, for the Chinese commence to count their age nine months earlier than we do), was remarked by all of us to be a singularly young-looking man for that age. He had smoked opium for seven years. As we passed from the opium dens we went into a Chinese tea-garden—a dirty paved court, with some small trees and flowers in flower-pots,—and a very emaciated and yawning proprietor presented himself. 'The man has destroyed himself by opium-smoking,' said Mr. Russell. The man, being questioned, declared that he had never smoked an opium pipe in his life—a bad shot, at which no one was more amused than the reverend gentleman who fired it. I only take the experiment for what it is worth. There must be very many most lamentable specimens of the effects of indulgence in this

vicious practice, although we did not happen to see any of them that morning. They are not, however, so universal, nor even so common, as travellers who write in support of some thesis, or who are not above truckling to popular prejudices in England, are pleased to say they are.

"But if our visit was a failure in one respects, it was fully instructive in another. In the first house we visited no man spent on an average less than eighty cash a day on his opium pipe. One man said he spent a hundred and twenty. The chair coolie spends eighty, and his average earnings are a hundred cash a day. English physicians, unconnected with the missionary societies, have assured me that the coolie opium-smoker dies, not from opium, but from starvation. If he starves himself for his pipe, we need not ask what happens to his family. No earthly power can stop opium-smoking in China; but if the people of England are earnest in wishing to stop the English trade in it, nothing is easier than to do so by far less of self-sacrifice than the opium-smoker would be obliged to exercise. Let the old ladies give up tea, and the young ladies give up silk, and the thing is done. If the Chinese had again to pay for opium in silver they would soon grow it all at home, and look sharp after the foreign smuggler. At present the trade is as open and as unrestrained in all the cities of China as the sale of hot-cross buns on Good Friday is in the streets of London.

"The culture of opium certainly is not confined to the province of Yunnan. Any one who penetrates into the amphitheatre of mountains which bounds the Ningpo plain will see valleys upon valleys of fine rich land covered with poppies. The official reports deplore this, but cannot stop it. The estimate is that sixty thousand chests of opium are annually grown in China. This opium is purer and stronger than the Indian opium, but, for want of skill in the preparation, and patience in keeping, it has an acrid flavour."

The means prescribed by this lively writer for extinguishing opium-smoking in China would have no such effect. He admits that instead of being imported, as it now chiefly is, at all events in its superior qualities, it would be grown in China. A market exists in the empire, and the Chinese are at last sagacious enough to see that it will be supplied somehow—either from India in return for tea and silk, or by home production. The probabilities are, that the practice would be extended by the successful prohibition of the trade. A cheaper opium would rule the market, which could be more easily procured, and larger quantities would be consumed, as the grand impediment to a largely-increased demand is the expense. From the instances given by the writer just quoted, it is obvious that the temptation to opium-smoking is yielded to, even when a poor man is obliged to expend four-fifths of his means in gratifying it. The tone of the *Times'* correspondent tends to leave the impression that the evils of opium-smoking, physical and moral, are less than they are in England supposed to be; and as this gentleman is the latest eye-witness, his testimony is likely to have great weight, more especially as he is an acute observer. He attributes the misunderstanding to those who write to please certain classes in England: this is an indirect allusion to the missionaries. It is not, however, to them that any exaggerated impressions in the public mind at home, if any such exist, are to be attributed; but to the official reports of the officers of the Chinese empire, upon which the missionaries have perhaps relied too implicitly. The medical missionaries sent out by the English and American Congregationalists will probably throw light upon the subject: their present belief is, that opium-smoking is one of the most demoralising and ruinous practices known to the eastern world. The following Chinese official report may convey an exaggerated view of the evil, but it at all events shows the impossibility of suppressing the practice, and therefore the demand for the commodity, by legal enactment in China, in India, or in England. The following is a memorial to the emperor from one of the censors: it corresponds to a report in English official usage:—

"I have learned that those who smoke opium, and eventually become its victims, have a periodical longing for it, which can only be assuaged by the application of the drug at the regular time. If they cannot obtain it when that daily period arrives, their limbs become debilitated, a discharge of rheum takes place from the eyes and nose, and they are altogether unequal to any exertion; but with a few whiffs their spirits and strength are immediately restored in a most surprising manner. This opium becomes, to opium-smokers, their very life; and when they are seized and brought before magistrates, they will sooner suffer a severe chastisement than inform against those who sell it. I had the curiosity to visit the opium-smoker in his heaven: and certainly it is a most fearful sight, although, perhaps, not so degrading to the eye as the drunkard from spirits, lowered to the level of the brute, and wallowing in his filth. The idiotic smile, and death-like

stupor, however, of the opium-debauchee, has something far more awful to the gaze than the bestiality of the other. . . . The rooms where they sit and smoke are surrounded by wooden couches, with places for the head to rest upon, and generally a side room is devoted to gambling. The pipe is a reed of about an inch in diameter, and the aperture in the bowl for the admission of the opium is not larger than a pin's head. The drug is prepared by boiling and evaporation to the consistence of treacle, and a very small portion is sufficient to charge it, one or two whiffs being the utmost that can be inhaled from a single pipe, and the smoke is taken into the lungs as from the hookah in India. On a beginner, one or two pipes will have an effect; but an old stager will continue smoking for hours. At the head of each couch is placed a small lamp, as fire must be held to the drug during the process of inhaling; and from the difficulty of filling and properly lighting the pipe, there is generally a person who waits upon the smoker to perform the office. A few days of this fearful luxury, when taken to excess, will give a pallid and haggard look to the face; and a few months, or even weeks, will change the strong and healthy man into little better than an idiot skeleton. The pain they suffer when deprived of the drug, after long habit, no language can explain; and it is only when, to a certain degree, under its influence, that their faculties are alive. In all the houses devoted to their ruin, these infatuated people may be seen at nine in the evening; some entering half distracted to feed the craving appetite they have been obliged to subdue during the day; others laughing and talking wildly under the effects of the first pipe; whilst the couches around are filled by different occupants, who lie in a state of languor, with an idiotic smile on their countenances, too much under the influence of the drug to care for passing events, and fast merging to the wished-for consummation. The last scene in this tragic play is generally a room in the rear of the building, a species of dead-house, where lie stretched those who have passed into the state of insensibility the opium-smoker madly seeks—an emblem of the long sleep to which he is blindly hurrying."

The personal appearance of the Chinese men of the lower classes is well known in the larger seaports of England, especially in London. Among the genteeler grades of life very great obesity in a man is a trait of beauty; whereas a woman must be very thin indeed to be accepted as agreeable, and her feet must be very small. Cruel methods are adopted to cramp the feet of female infants, so that women in the better walks of life literally walk upon their heels, and have a hobbling and mincing gait, which the gentlemen exceedingly admire, comparing it, in the language of "the flowery land," to "a willow shaken by the breeze." In the northern parts of the empire, the people are frequently very fair, and are seldom of that dark yellow complexion which the mariners bear who come to London in English ships from Canton and the other open ports of China, or from Singapore and Malacca. The better classes of females have, in the more elevated portions of the country, and in the higher latitudes, delicate, and sometimes beautiful, complexions. Europeans have been frequently captivated with the beauty of the Chinese ladies. The Chinese women are industrious; but although industry is also a characteristic of Chinese men, they often, inconsistently, devolve upon their women the chief labour.

Their manners and customs are extremely antithetical to ours. The law restricts marriage within so many limitations, as neither to favour the happiness nor morality of the people. Widows have much power and influence: the government does not favour their marriage a second time, but the law in this matter is often evaded. Their marriage ceremonies bear a strong resemblance to those of Western Asia, but have some peculiarities. The funeral rites of China are very imposing and impressive. White is the colour of mourning, and is worn by relatives and friends on these occasions. The women lament over the corpse with a cry which some writers have compared to that of the Irish on like occasions; but there is no resemblance: the cry of the Chinese is a dissonant yell raised by the female relatives; that of the Irish is musical but wild, and is "keened" professionally by women who are accustomed to conduct these laments for the dead. The funeral processions are attended by music: the bagpipe, which resembles the Scottish instrument of that name, predominates, and a sort of drum is struck at intervals, as in a military funeral in Europe. The places of burial are picturesque, retired, and carefully tended. The tombs are shaped like the Greek letter omega; some writers say to intimate "the last," but there is no evidence that the Chinese are aware of any such significance being attached to the form of their tombs.

The public festivals are numerous, but description of them would require a space too extended for a subsidiary portion of this work.

Visits of ceremony are much more formal among the Chinese than among any other people, and the ceremonies observed are graceful and elegant. Visiting papers in-

stead of cards are used; these are tastefully decorated, and when opened are of large dimensions. Tea is served on these occasions as a refreshment, a little of the fine leaf being placed in a handsome porcelain cup of small size, and boiling water poured on it; neither sugar nor milk is used, and the decoction thus produced is refreshing and palatable, the aroma being most grateful. Small trays, with cakes and sweetmeats, are at the same time presented. Visits are given and received with every token of courtesy, and a degree of refinement for which Europeans would be indisposed to give this quaint people credit. The apparel worn on these occasions is extremely rich, and often very tasteful.

The long loose oriental dress is generally of silk, of some light colour, gaily ornamented; a spencer is worn over this, consisting of rich silk of a dark blue or purple colour. Dragons and other singular devices, worked with gold thread, decorate these articles of raiment, which are most expensive. The general costume is similar in form, but of much cheaper material. In winter the dress is too loose and wide to be comfortable, and the attempts in severe weather to improve the costume in this respect are clumsy and inconvenient, impeding exercise: the legs are especially protected at that season with cloth boots, which are worn high, the soles of very thick white leather, which are preserved of that colour by the use of whitening.

The habits of food are very remarkable, so far as their customs in this respect have been ascertained: in most places, but especially at Canton, the tavern-keepers are forbid to entertain Europeans. This edict of the government is at the instigation of the Chinese merchants of that city, who have fostered a spirit of exclusiveness in every way possible. The Chinese of the better classes are fond of what is called "good living," and are ingenious and very extravagant in their culinary *régime*. The cooks are very clever. The *Times'* correspondent, in one of his letters written at the close of 1857, affirms that in the culinary art the Chinese hold a middle place between the French and English; but if his own account of their performances be correct, their achievements must surpass those of the first *artistes* in Paris. The poorer classes in the large towns are addicted to voracious feeding, and there is no description of food too coarse or unclean for their morbid appetites. The swine and dogs which have possibly devoured female infants in the streets of Pekin in the morning, may be slaughtered for food the same day. Rats, mice, and other vermin are in request; and there is no creature, however filthy or hideous, on land or in the waters, that may not contribute to a repast. The *Times'* correspondent communicated an amusing and graphic description of the character and quality of a respectable Chinese dinner, which was published in that journal in February, 1858. It is so striking a picture of the mode and sumptuousness of a Chinese feast, that it ought not to be confined to the pages of a periodical, however eminent. According to that gentleman, the use of the knife is regarded in China as a barbarism which once prevailed among the customs of that country, but which, owing to the advancement of civilisation, had been abandoned for "the chopsticks." The argument upon which this change is affirmed to be an improvement is, that persons ought not to sit down to table to cut up carcasses, but to eat: the carving processes are therefore confined to the kitchen, and food is sent up to table fit for immediate use. An Englishman's mode of eating is supposed to resemble that of the savages of Formosa, and the food is presented to him in a condition fit only for men "who are in a state of nature," to whom civilisation and its conveniences and refinements are unknown. When native merchants at the five ports invite Europeans to a banquet, it is regarded as a matter of politeness to serve it up, as far as possible, according to the national customs of the guest; hence Chinese diet is never seen by Europeans, except as they look at coolies and servants eating their rice, perhaps mingled with vegetables, and seasoned; or as they see the beggars in the streets drinking their dog broth. The gentleman whom we are about to quote invited a European party to the "Hotel of the Imperial Academician," at Ningpo, to a dinner prepared in Chinese fashion. The following is his own account of the feast:—

"The *salon* was more like a slice of a verandah than a room: its front was open to the narrow street. The table was laid with the preliminary trifles provocatives to the coming repast. There was a small square tower built up of slices from the breast of a goose, a tumulus of thin square pieces of tripe, hard-boiled eggs of a dark speckled colour, which had been preserved in lime, and whose delicacy is supposed to be proportioned to their antiquity; berries and other vegetable substances preserved in vinegar, a curious pile of some shell-fish, to me unknown, which had been taken from its shell and cut in thin slices, prawns in their natural, or rather in their artificial red state, ground nuts, ginger, and candied fruits. Everything was excellent of its kind, and the unknown shell-fish par-

ticularly good in flavour. The first dish was, in accordance with all proper precedent, the birds'-nest soup. I believe some of us were rather surprised not to see the birds' nests bobbing about in the bowl, and to detect no flavour of sticks or feathers or moss. What these birds' nests are in their natural state I do not know, for I have no book on ornithology, and have never been birds'-nesting in the Straits. Their existence at table is apparent in a thick mucilage at the surface of the soup. Below this you come to a white liquid and chickens' flesh. It was objected that this was a *fade* and tasteless delicacy. But remark that these two basins are only the suns of little systems. The same hands that brought them in scattered also an *entourage* of still smaller basins. These are sauces of every flavour and strength, from crushed fresh chilies to simple soy. Watch the Chinaman: how cunningly he compounds. 'But, sir, you do not mean to say that you ate this mucilage with your chopsticks?'—'No, madam, we scooped it with our saucers, and ate it with our porcelain spoons.'

"The next course was expected with a very nervous excitement: it was a stew of sea-slugs. As I have seen them at Macao they are white, but as served at Ningpo they are green. I credit the 'Imperial Academician's' as the orthodox dish. They are slippery, and very difficult to be handled by inexperienced chopsticks; but they are most succulent and pleasant food, not at all unlike in flavour to the green fat of the turtle. During the discussion of this dish our Chinese master of the ceremonies solemnly interposed. We were neglecting the rudiments of politeness. No one had yet offered to intrude one of these sleek and savoury delicacies, deeply rolled in sauce, into the mouth of his neighbour. Efforts were made to retrieve the barbarian honour, but with no great success; for the slugs were evasive, and the proffered mouthful was not always welcome. The next dish was sturgeon skull-cap—rare and gelatinous, but I think not so peculiar in its flavour as to excuse the death of several royal fish. This dish being taken from its brazen, lamp-heated stand, was succeeded by a stew of shark fins and pork. The shark fins were boiled to so soft a consistency that they might have been turbot fins. Next in order came a soup composed of balls of crab. I have tasted this better prepared at Macao. It assumes there the form of a very capital salad, made of crab and cooked vegetables. Meanwhile the ministering boys flew and fluttered round the table, for ever filling the little wine glasses with hot wine from the metal pots. There were three kinds: the strong samshu for very occasional 'spike;' the medicated wine for those who, having once experienced its many flavours, chose to attempt it a second time; and the ordinary wine, which is so like sherry negus, that any one who can drink that preparation may be very well satisfied with its Chinese substitute. The Chinaman had drunk with each of the *convives* almost in English fashion, but in strict obedience to the Chinese rites, and ungallantly challenging the male part of the company first.

"The porcelain bowls in their courses, like the stars in their courses, continued in unpausing succession. The next named was 'The Rice of the Genii,' meaning, I suppose, the food of the genii, for there was no rice in the composition. It was a stew of plums and preserved fruits, whose sweets and acids were an agreeable counterpoise to the fish and meat dishes already taken. Then we had a dish of a boiled hairy vegetable, very like that stringy endive which they call in France '*Barbe de Capuchin*:' then stewed mushrooms from Manchuria. Then we relapsed into another series of fish and meat *entrées*, wherein vegetables of the vegetable-marrow species, and a root somewhat between a horse-radish and a turnip, were largely used. There was a bowl of ducks' tongues, which are esteemed an exquisite Chinese dainty. We were picking these little *morceaux* out with our chopsticks (at which we had now become adepts, for the knack is easily acquired), when we were startled by a loud Chinese '*Eh Yaw*.' This imprudent exclamation drew our attention to the open front of our apartment. The opposite house, distant perhaps across the street about eight feet from us, presented the spectacle of a small crowded playhouse seen from the stage: it was densely crowded with half-naked Chinamen. They were packed in a mass upon the gallery, and they were squatted upon the roof. I believe they had paid for their places. They had sat orderly and silent all this time to see the barbarians dining. We might have dropped the grass blinds, but it would have been ill-natured; the Chinese did us no harm, and the blinds would have kept out the air, so we went on eating, like Greenwich pensioners or Bluecoat boys, in public. So we continued our attentions to the ducks' tongues, and passed on to deers' tendons—a royal dish. These deers' tendons come, or ought to come, from Tartary. The emperors make presents of them to their favoured subjects. Yeh's father at Canton recently received some from his sovereign, and gave a feast in honour of the present. These must have been boiled for a week to bring them down to the state of softness in which they came up to us. Exhausted, or

rather repleted nature, could no more. When a stew of what the Chinese call the ear shell-fish was placed upon the table, no one could carry his experiments further. An untouched dish is the signal for the close of the feast. The *maître-d'hôtel* protested that he had twenty more courses of excellent rarity, but our Chinese master of the ceremonies was imperative, and so were we. Plain boiled rice, the rice of Szechuen, was brought round in little bowls, and of this we all ate plentifully. Confectionery and candied fruits, and acanthus berries steeped in spirits, followed, and then tea. No uncooked fruit is allowed at a Chinese dinner. They have a proverb that fruit is feathers in the morning, silk at noon, and lead at night. I was assured by competent authority that nothing had been placed upon the table which was not in the highest degree wholesome, nutritious, and light of digestion. We certainly so found it; for, adjourning to the house of one of the *convives*, we made an excellent supper that night.

"The master of the ceremonies now looked round him with a swollen and satisfied air, and—*eruscit mons;* from his mouth came forth a loud sonorous noise, which a certain dramatist has not scrupled to bedeck with knighthood, and to christen Sir Toby. He, the Chinaman, seemed proud of his performance. We sat uncomfortable on our chairs, did not know which way to look, and some of us would have run away had there been anywhere to run to. Some one who could speak his language gave him a hint which made him declare emphatically that it would be an insult to the founder of the feast if this testimony was not loudly given to the sufficiency of the entertainment and the pletion of the guests. It was with some difficulty that he was prevailed upon to turn over this chapter of the book of rites. And thus ended our Chinese dinner. Before we entered our chairs we walked through the whole establishment, saw the reservoirs for preserving all the curious creatures we had been eating, and examined all the processes of preparation, and the casseroles and ovens in which other dinners were then being prepared. Everything was as clean and as regular as in a first-rate European establishment. Of course I do not affirm that this dinner was to our tastes, but it was one to which education and habit might very reasonably incline a people. It was eminently light and digestible, and, like the Chinese themselves, very reasonable and defensible upon philosophic grounds, but somewhat monotonous, tedious, and insipid. We must recollect, however, that the higher classes in China never take exercise, and are necessarily a sedentary and dyspeptic class of feeders. It was unanimously resolved that the bill of fare ought to be preserved, and the dinner described; for, although several travellers have given the forms and ceremonies of a Chinese state dinner, and have indulged in a general jocoseness at the strangeness of its materials, no one has ever yet taken the trouble to inform himself as to what the dishes before him really did contain."

The amusements of the Chinese are more varied and more frequently enjoyed than might be supposed of a people having a reputation for gravity. Juggling, games of chance, archery, and what appears to Europeans a puerile occupation, kite-flying, are the principle of these. The ingenuity displayed in this diversion is surprising, the kites being in the form of birds, fishes, reptiles, and monster insects, copied from nature as to form and colour with astonishing exactness. The higher the grade of life, the less given are the people to athletic exercises. Gentlemen in the very highest ranks are fond of archery.

The literature and language of China have engaged the attention of Europeans. The French, Germans, Russians, and other continental nations, although less interested by commerce and connexion than the English, have given it more consideration. The study may be said to have found encouragement in India only contemporaneously with the missionary enterprise. The labours of Dr. Morrison, and the impulse given to religious efforts for China on the part of Christian persons in England, laid the foundation for our present acquaintance with the language and literature of that country. It is the custom to describe the language as monosyllabic, but some recent writers maintain that it is less so than it has been represented to be. It is remarkable for the number of its characters, and the paucity of its vocal sounds. The characters of the language were originally pictures of ideas, but their original simplicity has been forgotten in a great measure, as they became in course of time abbreviated or enlarged for convenience sake. The want of an alphabet compels the use of cumbrous modes of expressing foreign words, very embarrassing to the European student of Chinese, and to the native scholars who hold foreign intercourse, or have to translate or interpret from any strange language into their own. The figurative style both of speech and writing is far more exaggerated and much less elegant than in the languages of western Asia. There is frequently a vulgar coarseness in the figures of speech used by Chinese scholars and gentle-

men repulsive to Europeans of any taste. Dr. Morrison, the missionary, thus expressed his sense of the difficulty of the language both to natives and foreigners:—"A child in China learns to speak its mother tongue as early as a child in England, but a Chinese boy does not learn to write it with the same ease. It is far more difficult for an Englishman to learn to speak, read, and write Chinese than to make these attainments in any other language. An English boy, who knows the grammar of his own language, and has a smattering of Latin, if he goes to French, Italian, Spanish, or Portuguese, finds the letters the same, nearly with the same power, the method of writing them similar, the sound of words directing to the combination of the letters, and in every half a dozen words he find one which he knew before, with some slight modification; but if he goes to Chinese he find no letters, nothing to communicate sounds, no similarity, the method radically different, and not one word like what he has known before, and when he knows the pronunciation of words and sentences the sound does not at all direct to the character which is the sign of the same idea."

The literature of the Chinese language is varied and extensive. Every department of literature known to Europeans has its corresponding branch in the language of China. Their mythology is ancient and peculiar. Their sacred writings are of the age of Confucius (five hundred years previous to the Christian era), that sage himself being the chief of this class of authors. Confucius is the great prophet and teacher of the nation, and his maxims are laws. He is as much followed by the higher classes as Buddha by the middle ranks. Many of the maxims of Confucius are beautiful, but they are evidently derived from the Jewish Scriptures, and are easily distinguishable from those of a Chinese origin. The great mass of the precepts of the followers and expositors of Confucius, as well as of the philosopher himself, are such as a shrewd worldly wisdom would suggest, and have no higher motive than convenience, personal advantage, or the love of fame.

Education is encouraged by the state, and approved of by the people. The character of the education given is such as to increase the national egotism, to teach the people at large to despise women and foreigners, and to train those up in the philosophy of Confucius who aspire to serve the empire in political situations.

The government is a pure despotism. There is no aristocracy but that of learning. Wealth has its influence; but as all that a man is and has belong to the emperor, it is not always judicious to allow his wealth to be known. The eldest son has a double portion of the family property. The mandarins are the chief officers of state, and none can attain to this degree until after various and severe examinations in the learning of their nation. The emperor assumes numerous titles full of the most absurd pretension, and in a certain degree demands from his people religious worship. Foreigners are despised and hated, intercourse with them being reluctantly conceded.

The origin of the Chinese is lost in the remotest antiquity. Some of the books of the Hindoos represent them as of Indian origin; their own records, with more probability, assign to a region in the northwest of the empire their primitive home. Possibly the Hindoo race may have sprung from a tribe or family in the same mountainous region, whose abode and physical peculiarities produced all their divergent characteristics. The Chinese mixed with other races—Malays, and probably races which have long since ceased to have a distinctive existence, so that in the long course of ages they have assumed their present type of humanity. Some writers represent them as descendants of a pre-Adamite race. Those who take this view of course dispute the interpretation of the Scripture narrative, if not the narrative itself,—that Adam and Eve were the primeval pair. Notwithstanding the learned and ingenious torture to which the passage has been subjected by critics and ethnologists, such a view is opposed to the plain import of the Scripture declaration—"God hath made of one blood all the nations of men."

Having described the general character and condition of China proper, the features of the country, its productions, people, their customs, character, religion, language, literature, and government, it only remains to complete the description of China proper by some notice of its capital and chief cities.

Pekin is the great metropolis of the empire, the seat of government, and "the centre of the imperial throne." It is situated in a vast alluvial plain, rich in soil, and teeming with cultivated productions, and from it as a centre radiates a great system of river and canal communication, which connects it with the most fertile parts of China proper, and the great nuclei of population. The country around Pekin has an agriculture superior to that of any other part of China, although the city stands on a sandy and arid soil. It is divided into two parts—the northern and southern; the former, which is the Tartar city.

is in the form of a parallelogram, the sides of which face the four cardinal points. Its area is about twelve square miles.* The walls are thirty feet high, twenty-five feet in breadth at the base, and twelve feet in breadth at the top, the inclination being on the inner side. Near the gates, of which there are seven, the walls are faced with marble and granite, in other places with large bricks cased in a mortar of lime and clay, which is as hard as the hardest stone.† The imposing appearance of the exterior is not sustained by a corresponding grandeur within. The city is mean in the appearance of its private houses, streets, and public buildings. The principal streets are well laid out as to shape and width, but they are unpaved and filthy, and are generally filled with stench, emitted by great earthen pans of ordure, collected for manure.

The business streets receive a certain picturesque appearance from the diversity of signboards, ornamented with inscriptions, painted representations, ribbons, long strips of many-coloured paper, and frequently broad flags. The great concourse of persons passing along the thoroughfares or dealing in the shops also attract the stranger's attention, and present a lively scene. Sometimes the crowds cover the whole area of the street, and are often suddenly dispersed to the right and left by long processions of mandarins, attended by men carrying umbrellas, painted lanterns, and various insignia of office; also by funeral processions, the women advancing in front, uttering loud and piercing cries. Marriage trains are among the compact lines of persons which seek a passage, always civilly yielded; these are accompanied by drums and other loud instruments of music. Dromedaries, with coal from Tartary, sedan chairs, provision carts, jugglers, itinerant musicians, pedlars, and quacks, passing to and fro, form a motley scene. The streets are occupied beyond the lines of shops by ranges of stalls, and a Babel of strange sounds reigns along those rows, as the chapmen endeavour to commend their goods, and the purchasers question their worth or quality.

The street performances of tumblers, jugglers, and mountebanks, are well rewarded; and the stolid Chinese, as we are accustomed to deem them, may be seen enjoying mirth and laughter in their most boisterous forms. One might suppose that the worship of Momus was the chief occupation among all the din of sounds and changing scenes passing around.

The northern division of Pekin contains three enclosures, one within another, and each surrounded by a wall. The first contains the imperial palace and household; the second was originally intended for the public officers, and the residence of the great officers of state, but, in addition, merchants have taken up their abodes, and transact their business there; the third enclosure is for the citizens generally. The first, or inmost enclosure, is the most architectural and imposing; it is called the "Forbidden City."

The opinions of the Chinese, in the remoter provinces, concerning their capital is absurd, investing it with an exaggerated grandeur, ludicrous to those who have seen it. They believe that its palaces are marble, the columns of silver, the throne, and all the insignia of royalty, of gold, and sparkling with the costliest gems.

The southern portion of Pekin is less strictly guarded than the northern, but is very populous. The whole is surrounded by a wall, the circumference within which is twenty-five miles. The suburbs are very extensive, and also very populous, containing streets, in which are large shops with fronts expensively carved and gilt. Mr. Barrow gives some account of the architectural pretensions of Pekin, which differ too little from those of the country generally to deserve further notice. Its population is estimated at two millions, but the jealous policy of the government has precluded the possibility of obtaining accurate information concerning it.

China, so long closed against the residence of Europeans, except the mission of the Jesuits, was partially opened in 1842, being the result of the successful military operations of Sir Hugh (now Lord) Gough, and by the diplomatic negotiations of Sir Henry Pottinger. According to the treaty then effected, five ports were to be opened to universal commerce, and every facility was to be afforded to the residence in those places of strangers who came for the purposes of trade. The ports to be opened were Canton, Amoy, Foo-choo-foo, Ningpo, and Shanghai. Before giving a description of these cities, it is desireable to place the terms of the treaty before the reader, so far as is necessary to enable him to understand the present position of Englishmen in China, their rights, and the causes of the complaints which have once more rendered an appeal to arms necessary.

*August* 12, 1842.—Meetings were held by officers of the two powers, in which preliminaries were arranged. A genuine statement of facts was sent to the emperor, the demands of the British made known to him, and permission granted to the commissioners to conclude a treaty in accordance with them.

*August* 20.—The first interview took place between the plenipotentiaries on board the *Cornwallis*—a visit of ceremony only.

* The Rev. Thomas Phillips. † Barrow.

*August* 24.—The visit was returned on shore by Sir Henry Pottinger, Sir Hugh Gough, and Sir William Parker.

*August* 26.—The high plenipotentiaries held a meeting on shore for the purpose of consulting the terms of the treaty.

*August* 29.—A treaty of peace was signed before Nankin, on board the *Cornwallis*, by Sir Henry Pottinger on the part of Great Britain, and by Ke-ying, Elepoo, and Nen-Kien, on the part of the Emperor of China. The most important provisions of the treaty, as stated by Sir Henry Pottinger, are as follows:—

1. Lasting peace and friendship between the two empires.

2. China to pay twenty-one million dollars in the course of the present and three succeeding years.

3. The ports of Canton, Amoy, Foo-choo-foo, Ningpo, and Shanghai to be thrown open to British merchants; consular officers to be appointed to reside at them; and regular and just tariffs of import and export, as well as inland transit duties, to be established and published.

4. The island of Hong-Kong to be ceded in perpetuity to her Britannic majesty, her heirs and successors.

5. All subjects of her Britannic majesty, whether natives of Europe or India, who may be confined in any part of the Chinese empire, to be unconditionally released.

6. An act of full and entire amnesty to be published by the emperor, under his imperial sign-manual and seal, to all Chinese subjects, on account of their having held service under the British government or its officers.

7. Correspondence to be conducted on terms of perfect equality between the officers of both governments.

8. On the emperor's assent being received to this treaty, and the payment of the first six million dollars, her Britannic majesty's forces to retire from Nankin and the Grand Canal, and the military posts at Chinhai to be also withdrawn; but the islands of Chusan and Ku-lang-su are to be held until the money payments and the arrangements for opening the ports be completed.

*September* 8.—The emperor signifies his assent to the conditions of the treaty.

*December* 31.—The Great Seal of England is affixed to the treaty.

*July* 22, 1843.—A proclamation issued by Sir Henry Pottinger, signifying that the ratifications of the treaty of Nankin have been exchanged under the signs-manual and seals of her majesty the Queen of Great Britain and his majesty the Emperor of China; and that a commercial treaty has been concluded: the trade according to the new system to commence at Canton on the 27th of July; the four remaining ports to be opened as soon as the imperial edict to that effect has been received.

This edict was afterwards issued, the ports were opened, and consuls appointed. At Canton, however, it was pretended by the representative of his imperial majesty that the treaty could not be carried into effect, in consequence of the turbulent character of the people of that city, and the old restrictions were enforced with little mitigation. The British authorities, meekly adopting what they considered a conciliatory policy, allowed this infraction of the treaty, forgetting that orientals never appreciate concessions made from such motives, but look upon them as proofs of the intellectual imbecility of those who make them, or as signs of their political weakness, or evidences that they are ashamed of their own cause and principles, and doubt its justice. The Cantonese thus reasoned: they supposed that, after having made the experiment of war upon the empire, the English believed it to be invincible; that the liberty of commerce granted by the emperor arose from his great clemency, and somewhat from his contempt of the barbarians, whose power he had tested, and proved to be "as the willow before the monsoon;" that the English dare not enforce the treaty at Canton, the citizens of which would prove their loyalty to the too clement emperor, and teach an important lesson to the barbarians, by refusing them ingress to their city. The English authorities had the extraordinary infatuation to submit to this, and with the approval of the country generally. The Peel party, the peace party, the free-trade party, and many enlightened and humane English citizens, upheld the government in overlooking the breach of treaty, and, for the sake of peace and humanity, endeavouring to conduct their commerce at Canton under the restrictions which the violaters of the treaty imposed. The result was outrages and wrongs upon English and other foreign citizens, and at last an appeal to arms in 1857. A peremptory demand for the faithful execution of the treaty the moment any hesitation was evinced to comply with it would have spared the shedding of much blood and the loss of much property, as well as have secured years ago a fair, if not friendly feeling, with the Cantonese, who continued to cherish hatred and contempt to strangers, under the inflated ideas of their importance and power, which the submission of the English conduced to foster. The native merchants of Canton, and the viceroys of the emperor, exasperated the native prejudices for their own venal purposes. There was a supplementary treaty to that of Nankin, which has been felt very injuriously by the British traders at all the ports.

*Extracts from the Supplementary Treaty, Oct.* 8, 1842.

ART. IV.—After the five ports of Canton, Foo-choo-foo, Amoy, Ningpo, and Shanghai, shall be thrown open, English merchants shall be allowed to trade only at those five ports. Neither shall they repair to any other ports or places, nor will the Chinese people at any other ports or places be permitted to trade with them. If English merchant-vessels shall, in contravention of this agreement, and of a proclamation to the same purport to be issued by the British plenipotentiary, repair to any other ports or places, the Chinese government officers shall be at liberty to seize and confiscate both vessels and cargoes; and should Chinese people be discovered clandestinely dealing with English merchants at any other ports or places, they shall be punished by the Chinese government in such manner as the law may direct.

ART. VI.—It is agreed that English merchants and others residing at or resorting to the five ports to be

opened, shall not go into the surrounding country beyond short distances to be named by the local authorities in concert with the British consul, and on no pretence for purposes of traffic. Seamen and persons belonging to the ships shall only be allowed to land under authority and rules, which will be fixed by the consul in communication with the local officers; and should any persons whatever infringe the stipulations of this article, and wander away into the country, they shall be seized and handed over to the British consul for suitable punishment.

The interpretation of the clause limiting the distance to which British subjects may go into the country, has been a source of perpetual dispute, and the lives of Englishmen have been repeatedly sacrificed, when they were, as they supposed, enjoying such liberty in the country as the treaty allowed. At all the ports except Canton the severity of the imperial restrictions have been relaxed, and some adventurous Englishmen have penetrated far into the interior.

Canton is situated in a plain, which is well cultivated; there are undulated landscapes at no great distance, and a bold line of hills towards the north-east. The city is divided into two portions—north and south; the former is called the old city, the latter the new. The northern is the Tartar town, and is three times as large, and nearly three times as populous, as the Chinese town. "The new city" is enclosed by walls, which are carried down to the river. The suburbs greatly exceed the city in extent, and are very populous. The population of the town and its environs is generally computed at one million.

There are few places more repulsive to a European. The streets are narrow lanes, reeking with abominable odours, and filled with a filthy, riotous, and arrogant population. New China Street, Curiosity Street, and some others near the foreign residences, afford innumerable vistas of long narrow lanes, such as no European imagination could conceive. The confusion and crowding of so vast a population in such thoroughfares must occasion great inconvenience, especially as any large object, such as a load protruding far from the head or shoulders of a coolie, or a mandarin carried in his chair upon the shoulders of four men, necessarily fills a large portion of the space. The people bear these inconveniences with good humour, and accidents seldom occur. Fires are, however, very frequent, and terrible destruction is created by them. The style of the houses is inferior, but there are good taverns and hotels, to which the merchants resort whose families are at a distance; and when these buildings are lighted up gaily at night, they present a cheerful and sometimes almost brilliant spectacle. Canton has one hundred and twenty-seven temples, pagodas, and joss-houses.

The situation of the town on the Canton River gives it great commercial advantages, which are increased by the character and resources of the country beyond it. The sinuosities and intricacies of the river's approach are most troublesome to mariners, and, were the Chinese more skilled in the art of war, would furnish great advantage against a maritime enemy attempting Canton. In the vicinity of the city itself the river washes into the land in innumerable creeks. A large number of the inhabitants reside in boats upon the water: this river population has been computed variously from one to two hundred thousand—the latter is probably the more correct computation. The boats are somewhat ark-shaped, and might, at a little distance, be mistaken for wooden houses built along the low banks of the stream. Their occupants live in much harmony, taking good humouredly and patiently the accidents which must sometimes, but do not often, occur to their floating tenements. When, on the 19th of December, 1857, the British and French squadrons anchored off the city, the terror of these river-residents was great; and the sight afforded by so vast a population moving away upon the water was extraordinary and impressive. The allies, in their clemency, allowed this movement; and those who on shore resided in wooden and portable dwellings, took them down with great rapidity, and removed them out of the range of the guns. The river here divides Canton from Honan, situated on the opposite side. The channel is not three hundred yards wide, and it appears much narrower when covered by the mass of boats already described. The mandarin passage-boats, with high poops elaborately carved, and the flower-boats painted gaily, and hung within with lustres and lanterns, give an air of the picturesque to what otherwise would be sombre and monotonous. The cargo-boats which ply in their trade, and which, unlike the hut-boats which are dwellings, are constantly moving about, and give a maritime aspect to the river, which relieves the sameness created by the long, dull lines of the motionless habitations of those whose home is on the water. The gentleman who corresponded with the *Times* during the hostile operations at the close of 1857, describing the appearance of the river and city at the moment when the latter was cleared of the fugitive boats, has afforded a more distinct idea of the place and its aspect viewed from on board ship, than any other writer who has imparted his impressions of Canton:—"And now the channel is clear. We have an uninterrupted view along it. It is not nearly so wide as

the Thames at Wapping, and moreover there are no bridges to interrupt the line of sight; but the buildings on each side are much of the same character as those at Wapping and Rotherhithe—the warehouses of Honan on the right, the low buildings of Canton on the left. About half-a-mile up there is a wide interval, covered only with heaps of building rubbish, but having no structure standing but a newly-built Chinese gateway—a sort of triumphal arch, whereon is writ, in Chinese characters, 'The site of Hog Lane.' Beyond this interval, as large or larger than the Temple Gardens—an interval which will be readily recognised as the location of the destroyed factories—there are ruins. High, square, brick-built pillars start up from the *débris* of their fallen roofs: these are the remains of the hongs and warehouses, battered or buried during the retaliatory attack of the British fleet. A little further on, where the stream slightly widens, there is an islet in mid-channel: it is covered with the wreck of masonry; stones and brickwork are lying about in shapeless masses; but nine trees, which have survived the deed of violence these ruins tell of, rise in the interstices, and shake their leaves and offer shade. This islet shuts in the view and closes the vista; it is the site of the Dutch Folly Fort."

Probably no large city, at all events out of China, ever possessed so little architectural attractions. The northern portion, where the residence of the viceroy and the public offices are situated, is much pleasanter than the southern, for it contains large gardens belonging to state functionaries; but with the exception of certain elevated spots, occupied by forts, the whole aspect of the city, from whatever point it is viewed, is dreary and monotonous.

The country on the banks of the Canton River has seldom been admired, but the writer last quoted expresses an animated admiration of it. When he visited it last November, the second rice crop was being gathered, the patches of sugar-cane looked green and reedy, and the bananas still clustered upon the trees; the climate at that season is not severe, and the landscape wears a pleasing aspect. The country is a rich alluvial vale, dotted and intersected with granite hills.

Shanghai is the capital of a department called Sung-keang-foo. It is surrounded by a wall three miles in circumference, which is entered by six gates. A canal, twenty feet in width,' surrounds this wall, from which others branch through the city. The town is also surrounded and intersected either by rivers or canals; and the whole country, for many miles, is cut through by dykes, ditches, and drains, which irrigate the soil and drain it, as may be required. A considerable section of the town near to the western gate is occupied by gardens. There is a good line of river frontage, extending half a mile, suitable for commercial convenience. On the north-east suburbs land has been set apart for foreign residents. The site of the city is excellent for trade: it is generally regarded as salubrious. The climate, for a considerable portion of the year, is agreeable to Europeans; but in the height of summer the glass rises to 100°, while in the depth of winter it falls to 24°. The population is about one-fifth that of Canton, and one-tenth that of Pekin. Shanghai is geographically situated 33° 24′ north latitude, 121° 32′ east longitude, on the banks of the Woosung River, at the point of its confluence with the Wangpoo, and is distant about twelve miles from the confluence of the Yang-tse. The following picturesque description of the approach to the city is given by the gentleman who has been before quoted as the most recent traveller in China whose accounts have been given to the public:—

"At a distance of three miles, in the grey twilight, Shanghai looks like a distant view of Woolwich. The tall spars of the *Pique* frigate, the English and American steamers of war, and a fleet of merchant vessels, give an air of life and bustle to the waters of this noble tributary to the Yang-tse-Kiang. Higher up, where a turn in the river gives an inland appearance, we see a multitudinous mass of junk masts, just as from Greenwich and Woolwich we see the spars of the ships that crowd our docks. All tells of a large commerce requiring a strong protection. In this indistinct light the 'hongs' of the European settlement loom like the ship slips at Deptford or Woolwich. It is only upon a near approach that they resolve themselves into fine finished buildings, some columned like Grecian temples, some square and massive like Italian palaces, but all declaratory that the *res angusta domi* is a woe unknown to Englishmen in China.

"The English settlement at Shanghai is situate upon a bend of this river Wangpoo: its boundaries are its fortifications. On one side the Soo-choo River, which comes down from the great city Soo-choo (the Birmingham of China), and falls into the Wangpoo, forms its limits. On the other side, the Yang-kang-pang canal shuts it from the settlement allotted to the French. This French allotment extends up to the walls of the Chinese city of Shanghai. The frontage upon the Wangpoo, between the Soo-choo River and the canal, is nearly a mile in length, and the set-

tlement extends backwards about half a mile. This space is divided into squares by six roads at right angles with the river, and three parallel to it, and in these squares are the residences and godowns of the commercial houses, each in its surrounding plot of ornamented ground. In the rear of all is the Shanghai racecourse."

The commercial importance of Shanghai is very great. In 1856, the number of British ships which unloaded at the quays was 309, their united burthen being 92,943 tons. The imports of Shanghai which, during the same year, passed through the custom-house from all parts, were of the value of £3,010,511: this was irrespective of the grand import from British India of opium to the value of £4,634,305. The tea exported to Europe, America, and Australia, the silk exported chiefly to Europe, and a few other commodities also sent abroad, reached the enormous value of £11,932,806. Of course the difference was received by China in the precious metals, chiefly silver; this was one of the causes of that great drain of silver from Europe and America, which has affected the monetary and commercial world, and which, for a time, appeared to be a puzzle to financiers and capitalists. During the year 1857 there was a great increase in the imports, but a still greater in the exports, requiring a larger payment in the precious metals to adjust the balance. The returns have not yet reached Europe by which these statements can be proved, but persons intimately acquainted with the commerce of the port affirm that the proportion of exports to imports during 1857 will require nearly double the amount of silver to be paid at Shanghai. This prosperity is the result of the industry of the people and the enterprise of foreigners, chiefly English and Americans, while the signs of bad government prevail all through that part of the interior, of which Shanghai is the natural outlet. Official peculation, and the grinding oppressions which have created a great rebellion, have worried and distressed the country, and left it without roads; while its wonderful water-lines have been permitted to fall into decay over a considerable area of country where these are essential to the public weal.

There is a mail between Shanghai and Hong-Kong, carried by five steamers of two hundred and ninety horse-power. It is alleged that cargoes of opium produce the chief profit realised: there are generally six British receiving ships in the river, to which the Chinese repair for the article. The centre of the great commerce of Shanghai is the foreign settlement already referred to, and which merits a more particular description. The buildings are very large, well built, two stories in height, with upper verandahs, and lower ones of a different form. The garden-ground is laid out with firs, shrubs, and flowers. The tea and silk warehouses are generally about one hundred and thirty feet in length, by forty in width: most of them are built of brick, but some of Ningpo granite. The merchants of Shanghai have the reputation of living in great luxury.

The most interesting objects in the Chinese city are the English Missionary Church, and an American lecture-room. The joss-house is an object of curiosity to strangers: in the centre of an extensive hall is a large cup, with the names of those who contributed to place it there inscribed upon it. The exterior and entrance are covered with figures of Buddha and saints curiously carved; also of dragons, and strange creatures of Chinese imagination. The interior is highly decorated, and large gilt statues of Buddha abound. Various emblematical figures, to which the vulgar render worship, are also placed there.

A visit to a Shanghai court of justice in 1856 by an American * is thus narrated:—"Again we started for the court of justice, and this was a memorable half hour in my tour. It was a clean, dignified room, with a mandarin, whose whole mien bore unmistakeable marks of authority, sitting on the seat of the judge, with policemen, assistants, officials, and clerks, on every side; the prisoners, with chains about their legs, and arms hid behind them, were waiting their trial and the decision of the judge. One man was up in the criminal box; but the system of examination was too cruel for me to continue long in the room. First the guard struck him fiercely over the mouth with a bamboo official staff, the poor wretch shrieking with pain; the other prisoners all the while remaining stolid and indifferent spectators, not knowing who was to come next. Afterwards another kind of torture was resorted to, the guard making the criminal kneel down with his hands above his head in a position which extorted yells of agony, the judge and the officials all showing the utmost indifference. A little further on there were two criminals with huge bolts about their ankles, and the *kanga* (a large square piece of plank) hung round their neck. The whole trial seemed a farce—a mixture of brutal cruelty with refined barbarism. From the court we went to the bastinado, or jail, and saw scores of prisoners above and below: all the cells were crowded, and the clanking of chains and hoarse growls

* George Francis Train, Esq., Boston, Massachusetts.

of the prisoners spoke another phase of Chinese life." Mr. Train also visited the hospital, which he declares to be equal to those of the United States in care, cleanliness, and comfort.

On a former page reference was made to the existence of foundling hospitals in China. That at Shanghai was visited by the gentleman last quoted, and his account of it affords a most striking exhibition of Chinese manners. Having described the mode of depositing the baby, similar to that already given, he observes:—"As we entered, the nurses, each with a child in her arms, started off in all directions, apparently frightened at the appearance of the *fan-quais* (foreign devils). It was some time before they would come out of their rooms, and then they stared at us with unfeigned surprise. I should have taken up one of the Lilliputian Celestials, but I was cautioned against it—for, if no contagious disease be caught, you are sure to get vermin on your dress. We wandered about the large apartments from room to room, all of which had one or two occupants, and some were filled with older children, in baby-jumpers of strikingly original make, the nurses all appearing, after a moment of fright, to gaze upon the strange sight of features, manners, and dress. Is it possible, said I, that all the charitable institutions of the European and Anglo-Saxon race are observed in such detail in Asiatic China!"

Among the modern enterprises of Shanghai is a large market, which an American was erecting at a recent period, and which, possibly, by this time has been brought to a completion.

The city of Foo-choo-foo (called also Hoh-choo) is situated in 26° 7′ north latitude, and in 119° 15′ east longitude. This is a very large town—one of the largest in China. The circumscribing wall is eight and a half miles in extent. It is the capital of the province of Fo-kien. The population is computed at more than half a million. The country around forms a circular basin, with a diameter of twenty miles. The usual uniformity and monotony of a Chinese city is to be found in this, but there are various relieving circumstances. Trees are planted at various places, which, notwithstanding their pent-up situation, display their verdure and refresh the eye. At the northern extremity a hill rises abruptly, and is crowned by a watch-tower, which can be seen from the whole city and the country around for some distance. On the south-east another hill rises five hundred feet, its sides ornamented with temples and the better description of dwellings. Between these two hills in the southern section of the city there are two rather striking pagodas. The residences of the great mandarins are indicated by tall decorated poles or by painted walls. The city walls are devious, strangely coloured, and bear conspicuous buildings, meant for watch-towers. The writer last quoted describes his visit, which was made at night, under the guidance of Chinese boatmen; and represents himself as taken through lanes dismal in the lantern's shade, up dirty, ragged, stone-fenced streets, down under deeper arches than before, only to go up again stone steps almost perpendicular to an immense height.

It was not until 1853 that Foo-choo-foo assumed importance in the eyes of the foreign merchants: the disturbances at Canton and the rebellion at Shanghai brought it into notice. American enterprise has the credit of having first turned the port to advantage, but the first vessel which left it freighted with Chinese produce was Dutch.

The streets are narrow, intricate, and unsightly, as is the case with all Chinese towns; probably they are narrower in Foo-choo-foo than in any other great city of China. Narrow as the streets are, they are made more so by the encroachments of the vendors of various commodities, who occupy the side-ways, so as to leave in the centre scarcely any room for a chair to be carried through.

The most conspicuous buildings are the treasury department, and the houses of the various officials. There are two temples of some note—one dedicated to "the god of war," and one to "the goddess of mercy." The viceregal palace, the college, and jail, are all worthy of some consideration, but their exterior is not remarkable, except for the curious decorations, which show the Chinese desire of display. An intelligent traveller who passed through the streets of the city declares that the people's industry surpassed anything witnessed by him anywhere, although he had visited every portion of the globe. So intent were many of the mechanics upon their business, that although a European carried in a chair through their streets was a rare sight, and great crowds followed that in which our observer was seated, yet these workmen never raised their eyes from their occupations. This traveller considered the Ningpo temple the best piece of architecture at Fouchow; it has numerous apartments, and galleries oddly stuccoed, or carved, or painted. There are two enormous columns of granite, its chief exterior ornament, and these are covered with designs the most peculiar. These specimens of Chinese architectural taste cost "two almas"—ten thousand dollars, which, considering the cheap-

ness of material and labour in China, would equal £4000 in England, and probably more. The sculpture on these columns is tastefully executed in some instances, but the chief effect is produced by the originality and oddity of the designs.

The bridge of Waw-show is one of the curiosities of the city; it is an immense structure. The first part of it, from the south side to the island of Chang-chow, consists of nine stone arches; it is three hundred and thirty feet long by twelve wide; from the island the bridge is continued to the Nan-toe suburb, a distance of thirteen hundred feet. "The upper bridge, on the western side, is eleven thousand feet in length." The whole of the lines of bridges are occupied with street vendors, retailing pancakes, bamboos, and innumerable oddities of food, apparel, and utensils, the use of which could not be recognised by a European. The result of this shopkeeping on the bridge thoroughfares is to narrow still more their original inadequate dimensions, and thereby impede the traffic. "Twice," wrote a traveller, who recorded his experience of the bridge of Waw-show, "my chair was near going over, and once I was held bodily over the tumbling waters below for more than a minute, so as to let an immense *cortège* with a Chinese mandarin go by. This bridge is old, but strong as petrified rock; and how the architect raised the immense stones to their resting-place with the simple machinery of China I am at a loss to understand." The same writer records the experience of another day in the streets of this city in the following interesting record:—"While passing along one of the widest streets we suddenly saw a great commotion among the citizens, and a most abrupt dropping of my chair came immediately after; then appeared bands of Chinese music; then officers of state, on little long-haired, dirty white ponies, with pikes and shields, followed by a company of infantry, one upon another, in splendid confusion; and just at this moment my coolie got another crack over the head with a bamboo for being too anxious to view a pompous mandarin; others came pouring on—musicians and guards—and soon some well-dressed chair-bearers; and then it was that I discovered the cause of this immense assemblage, and why I had been so grossly insulted by having my chair thrown into the mud—for I was just then in the presence of his most royal and noble exellency the Tartar general of the province and country round about. More of his *attachés* followed, and everything was again quiet. On mentioning this circumstance on my return to the British consul, he said it was most unusual to meet the great officer away from his palace, but that his want of courtesy only tends to show the still hostile feeling which the mandarins, not immediately interested, have against foreigners. I also have been told that the prefect has sent two or three most insulting notes to her majesty's representative. Save that unceremonious reception, we met with no hard treatment from the dense crowd that followed us through the palace-yard, where we were obliged to leave our chairs, through Curiosity Street, one of the widest in the city. The Tartar general was completely wrapped in furs, and, as he was paraded past, looked down upon us with the greatest possible contempt. We examined in Curiosity Street the whole assortment of bronze and stone ornaments, and saw many beautiful specimens of ivory-carving, wood-work, and tortoise-shell, all which show patience, plodding, and ingenuity, remarkable, for each specimen is made with the simplest machinery. My companion made some purchases of bronze, but I was more amused with some lacquered ware that was on exhibition in one of the shops, and purchased eighty dollars' worth of little boxes (exquisitely ornamented, entirely made of lacquer), and a beautiful lady's dressing-case, with more compartments than cells in a honeycomb. These presents for home are most valuable, because so rare; only one individual in the empire possesses the secret, and Fouchow is the only place where they can be bought, hence the enormous prices which are charged, for all that he manufactures that are not sold to foreigners are taken to the imperial palace at Pekin, which accounts for the independence of the artist—no rival in his Japanese skill, and an emperor and empress for patrons! Save in that wonderful ware, I think that the much-celebrated Curiosity Street of Fouchow is over-rated. One day soon disappeared in searching about that old city, which numbers some six hundred thousand souls, and, if the suburbs are also included, possibly a million. But, from my description of what I saw in Shanghai, you may judge of my experience to-day. My time did not admit of my going over the grounds of the old British consulate, formerly a monastery of much antiquity and consequent interest, from which site the view of the city is most beautiful; neither did I visit the far-famed monastery of Coæ-shan, situated about fourteen hundred feet above the city, commanding a most imposing view for miles around. The quaint bell and immense gong struck by the priests—the ancient relic of Buddha—a whale's tooth—an old priest, said to be five hundred years of age, who lives in a cage, with finger-nails four

inches long, and who looks in splendid condition for a man who eats nothing, and has been starving himself for centuries—the pond of tame fish which the good fathers feed from the hand—and the singular semi-Catholic, semi-barbarous style of costume and manners, would have amply repaid me for my time; but my time would not admit of it, and the day was rainy, else I might have accepted Mr. Hale's mountain-chair, so generously proffered by the British consul." The peak overhanging the monastery is two thousand seven hundred feet above the sea, and with a good glass mountains, rivers, and villages can be seen at great distances. On the extreme point, Europeans who have ascended the mountain have left their memorial in a stone pile, called a *casin*, each adding a piece to the heap.

The population within the walls of the city is about six hundred thousand; that without is about two-thirds of the number, making a total of a million.

The country around is extremely pleasant; the villages are populous, the land undulated, and in some places the scenery is even fine. The Pih-ling Hills offer a very pleasing place of excursion for the Europeans and Americans who reside within the town; these are not numerous, comprising in all about fifty foreign residents, merchants, consuls and their officials, and missionaries. Only three or four ladies were among them at the beginning of 1857. The merchants and consuls complain of the dulness of the place, from the very limited European society. The missionaries alone seem content with what the other foreign residents regard as a trying isolation. Those reverend men are content in their great work, and toil on with unceasing solicitude, studying the language, literature, manners, and character of the people, and watching with unslumbering vigilance for opportunity of bringing the natives to the knowledge of Christianity. Not far from the city a dialect or language is spoken which the Chinese do not understand, but, strangely enough, the Canton English, as it is called, forms a medium of communication.

It will be instructive to the reader to give a few statistics on the exports of Foo-choo-foo:—

EXPORTS FROM FOUCHOW.

TO GREAT BRITAIN.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1853-4. | 10 vessels | 5,959,000 lbs. |
| 1854-5. | 35 vessels | 20,493,000 „ |
| 1855-6. | 20 vessels (July to Jan.) | 15,601,500 „ |

TO THE UNITED STATES.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1853-4. | 2 vessels | 1,355,000 lbs. |
| 1854-5. | 13 vessels | 5,500,000 „ |
| 1855-6. | 14 vessels (July to Jan.) | 8,848,500 „ |

In the season 1853-4 about 300,000 lbs. of tea were exported coastwise.

During the season 1854-5 two vessels were dispatched to Australia, taking 509,000 lbs. of tea, and three vessels out of the thirty-five to England went to the continent, taking 1,140,000 lbs. of tea.

In 1855-6 three vessels were dispatched to Australia; estimated cargoes, 700,000 lbs. To the continent two vessels were dispatched, taking about 400,000 lbs., and coastwise nearly 1,000,000 lbs. were sent during the season.

The Hamburg ship *Alma Ogla* was the first vessel that left Fouchow with teas for a foreign port; she left on the 19th of August, 1853; the American ship *Tsar* followed her on the 27th of August: both bound for London. The last-named arrived first.

The ship *Houqua* was the first vessel to the United States; she left January 16th, 1854, and was followed by the ship *Oriental* on the 22nd of February, and was lost in Kin-pai Pass on the 25th of the same month.

Black teas are the principal exports.*

The neighbourhood of Foo-choo-foo is infested by pirates, and traders require to keep a good look-out, to carry guns, and have a well-appointed crew, practised in small arms. Notwithstanding these precautions, terrible catastrophes have occurred. Sometimes, however, the pirates, even when in dark nights they have, with muffled oars, approached a vessel at anchor, and so escaped the fire of its cannon, have paid a bitter penalty for their temerity under the rifles and revolvers of English or Americans.

Near Foo-choo-foo is a place called Woo-sung, which has only of late attracted the notice of foreigners. Close by this there is a mission village, erected by the American Episcopalians; it contains an excellent house for the bishop, with a dozen other well-built stone erections, which are inhabited by the clergymen, schoolmasters and mistresses, native teachers, medical assistants, &c. The beautiful appearance of the village, amidst the strange monotonous scenery around it, is like an oasis in the desert.

Ningpo is in longitude 121° 22′ east, and in latitude 29° 55′ north. It is the capital of a department and a province, and is considered the finest coast city to which foreigners are allowed access. The Chinese hold it in high reputation for the literary attainment and refinement of its citizens. One-fifth of the whole population within the walls is computed to be engaged in literature. About a tenth of the population beyond the city walls is supposed to consist of sailors and fishermen. The manufactures are, chiefly mats, carpets, and cloth, the latter principally woven by women. There are one hundred thousand houses and shops taxed by government. The population within the walls and in the suburbs cannot be less than half a million. The city is surrounded by a wall five miles in circum-

* Train.

ference, and possessing six gates, which open upon the suburb or the river. Within this wall the people may be said, without a violent figure of speech, to be packed together, so narrow are the streets and dense the population; yet the principal streets, from which the others branch, are spacious, and the houses superior to those in other Chinese cities. Considerable space is occupied by temples and other public buildings, and there are some gardens of considerable extent in proportion to the size of the place; these are beautifully cultivated, and give a fresh and rural appearance to their neighbourhood. The space occupied by these gardens, buildings, and spacious streets, is so considerable, that the dwellings in the remainder of the city are crowded together to afford habitations for so numerous a population. These circumstances also cause the suburbs to increase rapidly.

The people of Ningpo impress strangers more favourably than those of any other Chinese city; they contrast strikingly with the rude and boisterous natives of Canton. Their bearing to strangers is polite, respectful, and, to some extent, kind.

The *Times'* special correspondent arrived at Ningpo at the latter end of August, 1857. The place was then in great agitation, from the depredations made by Portuguese pirates, and their destruction by the Chinese fleet, and also from the consequences of the great rebellion. The correspondent thus records his impressions of the place and its commercial importance:—"This great city, with its three hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, its beautiful river, and its excellent water connection with the interior, is the least valuable of all our commercial stations. Neither tea nor silk is brought down in any quantities, and the little tea that is prepared here is sent to Shanghai to be shipped. The importation of British and straits' produce was last year but £136,359 9*s.*, and not two-thirds of this was British manufacture. The greater security of European shipping and its comparative immunity from the pirates outside (whom I saw the other day send a whole fleet of junks back into the river) have given it some importance as a shipping port for Amoy, Formosa, Swatow, and the straits. In 1856 a hundred and ninety-eight British ships, with an aggregate of 25,506 tons, loaded here. 'This carrying trade is likely to increase, for the Chinese are becoming quite alive to the advantage of a stout ship and an English flag. 'Can insure?' is a question now very often in a Chinaman's mouth, and Chinamen are rich in this city. Ningpo is still in the after-throb of great excitement. The European settlement is on the side of the river opposite to the walled city. The hongs are not numerous, nor very large, and they are mixed up with Chinese residences and large timber yards (timber is the staple of Ningpo), and they form a rectangle, the area behind which is occupied by graves and paddy-fields, but chiefly by graves."

In connection with the opening up of China to European intercourse, the gentleman referred to declares that the difficulties are not so great as has been supposed in Europe. Before reaching the city of Ningpo he had travelled many miles by the great water-courses, and he thus observes upon the general experience of Chinese behaviour which his journey afforded:—"We arrived at Ningpo, after some discomfort and some necessity for strong doses of quinine, but after much excitement and great enjoyment. We have passed four hundred miles of country not often before traversed. We have entered four first-class Chinese cities (two of them unknown to European travellers), many second class cities, which in other countries might be classed as first, and innumerable towns and villages. Throughout the whole of our journey we have received from no Chinese an uncivil word or insulting gesture. No mischievous urchin has thrown stones down upon us from any one of the hundreds of bridges we passed through; no one stopped us, and no one waylaid us. It is true that the mandarins at Peh-Kwan sent us a message to appear at their yamun, but when we sent answer that we would endeavour to make preparation to receive their visit on board our boats, and when Mr. Edkins had sent them a Testament, they took the evasive answer in good part, and suffered our boatmen to proceed. From this journey I draw two practical conclusions: the first is, that the authorities in China are exceedingly anxious in no way to complicate their present disputes with England, and, holding in very wholesome terror the English name, are inclined to shut their eyes to the presence of peaceably conducted foreigners; the second is, that, unless excited by the authorities, as they have been at Canton (and as they might have been here, for had the mandarins chosen to say we were Portuguese, we should certainly have had our throats cut), the Chinese people have no objection whatever to the presence of foreigners in their cities. Whenever, therefore, the provisions of a new treaty shall open all China to every European provided with a passport from his own consul, there will be no difficulty in the English merchant carrying his own goods up the rivers and canals, and into the great cities of China.

The people will be glad enough to trade with him, and the authorities can, if they will, protect him."

There is, however, a difficulty in the way of European intercourse with China which is seldom discussed—the bad conduct of the Europeans themselves. The foregoing extract shows the spirit entertained towards the Portuguese, whose conduct is in every respect infamous in their dealings with the people of China. The behaviour of British sailors is sometimes also very bad, and creates a dangerous prejudice. The following instance, related by "the correspondent," will illustrate this, and the recommendation he expresses for the prevention of such misdeeds is worthy the consideration of the powers now engaged, by their successful arms, in opening up China more freely to the nations:—"A circumstance has just occurred which still further illustrates the great impolicy of allowing European vagabonds to be uncontrolled in this country. 'Squeezing' has become so intolerable in this province, that a large city not forty miles distant is in rebellion. Every power in China 'squeezes.' The toutai sends forth to 'squeeze,' the the Canton fleet sends out to 'squeeze,' and squeezing parties are undertaken upon private account. A few days since an Irishman, accompanied by some Chinese, went into the interior to one of the villages where I had passed the previous night, upon, it is alleged, a squeezing expedition. While there he accidentally shot one of his Chinese companions. Delighted with this opportunity of 'getting the law on their side,' the populace rose, seized the Irishman, bound him as though he had been a wild beast which no thongs could make harmless, and sent him up—after severe debate among themselves whether they should not behead him on the spot—to the toutai of Ningpo. He arrived here in a terribly macerated condition, and claimed the protection of the British consul. Doubtless it became the consul's duty to grant this protection, and the man is now in Dr. Parker's hospital. Small advantage, however, will be derived by any British merchant from any treaty which may 'open up China,' if it is to be opened up to European brigands. There must be some arrangement among the European powers upon this matter."

The port of Amoy, Hong-Kóng, &c., will be reserved for description under the head of Insular China.

Besides the ports opened up by the Nankin treaty, there are many other large cities in China which might be made accessible to commerce under an enlarged treaty, and there are many large villages so admirably situated, that they would, under the influence of Western commerce, soon become great cities.

The *Times'* correspondent, in travelling to Ningpo, passed through a great variety of country, and over a vast area where Europeans had never previously set foot, at least within recollection of the inhabitants or record of history, and the general impressions he received are instructive to others. The following is a picture of China and Chinese life, drawn from the scenes presented to him as he passed along, too vivid and striking not to be interesting as a true representation of modern China. Leaving Hangchow for Ningpo, the journey is thus related:—"I should prove intolerable were I to describe the rest of the route with the same minuteness with which I have described other portions of my journey. We had five days' journey before us, the greater part even less visited than Hangchow itself. I must not even venture to describe the sepulchre of Yu, the founder of the Hia dynasty, although it is the grandest sepulchral temple in China, and boasts an antiquity of two thousand years, and although a fierce thunderstorm burst so close, that there was a smell of fire, and the gigantic idol trembled. Perhaps I may be permitted, however, to say, that nearly a hundred lineal descendants of the great emperor, who controlled the great inundations and curbed the waters of the four great rivers, still live in poverty under the protection of the temple. Under the Ming dynasty they received pensions; the Tartars allow them none. Here is a pedigree, ye followers of Rollo! Enough to say of Peh-Kwan that the people asked us whether we were Siamese. They had seen the Loochoolans, and we were not like them, and they knew we were not Japanese. Chao-hing is for many miles round girt with sepulchral monuments. It is to the worship of ancestors what Hangchow and its lake are to Buddha. All the wharves and bridges were crowded by all the population of the place as we went through. The half-naked bodies seemed countless as we moved slowly through canals exactly—bridges, smells, and all—like some of the back canals in Venice. We passed several nights among the most uncultivated crowds of boatmen while awaiting our turns to be dragged by windlasses over those dykes of slippery mud which in China do duty for locks. We passed other nights in passing through lakes and listening to the songs and cymbals which told of marriages in the villages on its banks. We watched the paddy harvest, examined the tallow-trees, with their poplar-like leaf, their green berries, and their

alder-shaped form. We saw the cotton come into flower. We fired in vain at two eagles circling round the head of a man, who was accompanied by a little dog, which they wanted to carry off. We stopped and interrogated a sort of Chinese Gil Blas, who was travelling on foot (almost an unprecedented thing in China), and who carried with him all his worldly goods—a pair of blue breeches, a pipe, and a small teapot. We investigated at Yu-Yoa the country from the top of the citadel hill, and in the dyer's shop we examined the dye wherewith those ever-present blue breeches are dyed. After ten days of sight-seeing everything seemed to repeat itself and to revolve like the events of the Platonic year. We became convinced at last that if we were to journey from Hangchow to Pekin, and from Pekin to Szechuen, we should find just the same arts, and manners, and agriculture, varied only by the exigencies of nature."

One of the most important cities of the interior of China proper is Hangchow. This was once the capital, and Chinese patriotism and prejudice still regard it with fictitious importance and religious veneration. They have a saying—"There is Heaven above, and Pekin and Hangchow below." Descriptions of this city are scarce; that of Marco Polo is not worthy of reliance; and we have no European accounts, except that given by the *Times'* commissioner of a visit made by him and the Rev. Mr. Edkins, of the London Missionary Society. Marco Polo says the walls were in his day a hundred miles round. The Chinese chronicles of the city state that in one of the numerous fires which have taken place there more than half a million of houses were burnt. The writer just quoted maintains that the city never could have been much larger than it is, and assigns this reason :—"It stands upon a slip of land about three miles wide, intervening between the river (which is wider than the Mersey, and has thirty feet of water at low tide) and the lake. At one end the ground swells into a hill, over the crest of which the city wall passes. The shape of Hangchow, therefore, is very much that of a couch, the hill part being represented by the pillows, and being the fashionable part of the city." The vicinity is unhealthy, fever and ague being caused by the vast quantities of stagnant water collected near it, and by the decomposition of vegetable matter on the river's banks. The environs contain some good scenery, and very populous villages, adorned with temples and pagodas, lie in every direction. It is strictly forbidden to Europeans to enter this city, but the *Times'* correspondent, accompanied by two missionaries (the Rev. Mr. Edkins, and the representative of the Church Missionary Society), determined upon the hazardous enterprise. The account given of its accomplishment is deeply interesting, and even exciting:—"With a retinue of twelve chair-bearers and ten coolies, who followed with our baggage, we left our boats during the mid-day heat, and, skirting the borders of the lake, reached the walls of the city. Here Mr. Edkins, profiting by his other mishaps, instructed the party to avoid the Tartar part of the city and the Mauchoo gate. It was an exciting moment when the first palanquin passed under the city gate. From behind my exaggerated fan I could see a fat Chinese official, who was evidently on duty, but who had his back turned to us. The rascal pretended he was quite unaware of our presence. I found out afterwards that he knew that three Englishmen were passing in just as well as we did. I breathed more freely when the gate was passed, and when we became entangled in the narrow streets. They bore us through the dirtiest parts of the town, and past the *yamun*, or police office, known by the horrible imperial lion scrawled in paint upon the opposite wall. The people soon began to run together. The blinds of the chairs were sufficiently transparent to allow them to see there was something unusual; perhaps the fact of the chairs being closed was enough in itself. Then we grew bolder, and opened the blinds, and, although the crowd pressed to see, there was no hostile demonstration. At last we got to a better part of the city, we boldly descended, and found ourselves in the streets of Hangchow. We now bade one of the coolies guide us to the upper part of the city, while the chairs followed. We passed several curiosity shops, where there were some few things I should have bought, but, alas! our expenses had so far exceeded our expectation, that we were already afraid our funds would fall short—a contingency which actually occurred, for we had to borrow of a Chinese innkeeper. I noticed that in one of the curiosity shops an English beer-bottle was placed among the vases in a post of honour. As we ascended the hill we passed a tea-house, which was the first I had seen in China having any pretensions to ornament. This was evidently the Vérey of Hangchow. A mandarin chair was following us, and we drew up to allow the gentleman to overtake us. In evident perturbation, he stopped his chair, and went into one of the temples, where he doubtless expended some cash in incense to be delivered from the barbarians. We were now among joss-houses and private residences, which I had seen from the pagoda

hill, and from the terrace we could see down into the courts and houses of the lower city. It was a holiday in Hangchow: there were shows going on. We had heard much firing in the morning, and we now learnt that there had been a review of eight thousand troops, and our informants added with much laughter that one of the evolutions had been to make the soldiers charge right into the river up to their armpits. In this part of Hangchow we were less thronged than I had ever been before in China. There was no apparent obstacle to our going where we pleased or doing what we pleased. We did not venture into the theatre, for we knew by experience, at a sing-song on the bank of the lake, that the Chinese ladies, with their smart robes, their painted faces (white and red upon their cheeks, and vermillion on their lips, little enamelled stars beside their eyes, and black upon their eyebrows), would almost jump out of their boxes with fright; while the populace would throng about us, and the actors would stand still, and stare like the rest. Being a little overcome by the sun, I strolled away by myself back to the tea-house, and took my place at a little table as complacently as I should on one of the boulevards; the tea was exquisite—that slightly-dried, small, green leaf, which you never can taste in England; for tea will not keep, or pack, or stand the voyage unless burnt up to the state of insipidity in which we get it. I sipped, and was refreshed; but the sweet tranquillity was not mine. The curious tea-drinkers pressed around me, and there was a waiter, whose nature it was to walk about with a kettle of boiling water, and whose unconquerable instinct compelled him to fill up my cup whenever it was getting three degrees below boiling-point, and was becoming possible to drink. The people were very good-tempered, but they came very close, and the day was very hot. I was so strict in my Chinese costume, that they could find nothing to wonder at but my *physique* and my pith hat. They made the most of these. If I had been dressed in European costume, I believe they would have undressed me in their ardent curiosity. Meantime our coolies and luggage had been stopped at the gate we passed through. The officials told my man that we had acted wrong in not presenting our cards and the Foo-tei's pass, but it was not their business, but that of another officer, to stop foreigners. They do not wish to stop Englishmen's luggage, but look into the servants' boxes. They asked where the Englishmen were gone, and were satisfied when told that we had gone up the hill 'to chinchin joss.' All this talk about cards and passes was of course Chinese tarradiddles, but it shows that the Chinese authorities were perfectly aware that they had three Englishmen among them. I could find no silk weaving in the city, but there must be quarters like the suburbs of Lyons, for this is the very centre and depot of the silk district. After several hours in Hangchow we got into our chairs again, and passed through the opposite gate of the city, along a dirty faubourg, and over a flat to the Tsien-tang River, which is here about two miles wide. There is a little custom-house, but no ships and no commerce. Hangchow evidently depends upon its inland trade, and seeks no communication by sea. As we crossed the broad river I looked back up this picturesque city, and felt that its environs were as familiar as those of Liverpool, Cheltenham, or Richmond."

The cities on the plain from Shanghai to Ningpo very much resemble one another. The people are employed for the most part similarly: they regard Europeans with intense curiosity, and although not eager for an open trade with them, would readily respond to any attempts at traffic if the mandarins would permit them.

The city of Ting-tse is the only other great city of China of which much certain information exists. It is surrounded by a narrow wall and "wet ditch," and a small canal runs through it. It has four gates into the suburbs, and a water-gate for boats which bring goods into the city: these discharge their cargoes at the mouth of a small river, communicating with a canal which runs through the place. The upper classes of females are remarkable for their small feet and their extravagant use of cosmetics and paint. In their temples they are generally attended by a female servant or bondwoman, who carries a little basket containing articles of the toilet. During the religious services the ladies retire to withdrawing-rooms in connection with the building, where there are mirrors, before which they carefully place themselves, re-arrange their attire, and re-tint their lips, cheeks, and eyebrows.* In this city, more than in any other in China, the Chinese women compress the feet of their female children, although the Tartars of the same city allow the feet of their females to be properly developed.† The timidity of the women in the surrounding country at the sight of a European is ludicrous. General Alexander declares, that whatever be the extent of infanticide in China, and however inveterate the custom, the women of this city are affectionate to their children.

* Lieutenant-general Alexander, C.B.

† *Reminiscences of a Visit to the Celestial Empire.*

Such is China proper, its people, and its cities—a country with which our future connection is likely to be more important and intimate, as the present war cannot fail to issue in the concession, by the Chinese, of more extended communication with foreigners.

Beyond the boundaries of China proper immense regions are included in the imperial territories. To the north is MONGOLIA, the most remarkable physical feature of which is the great desert called Gobi: the word *gobi* is a Mongol term to express a naked desert. It extends from the sources of the Amour through Mongolia into Little Bokhara and Thibet, from north-east to south-west. It is nearly two thousand miles in length, the average breadth being under five hundred miles. This vast region does not appear to be appropriately named, for it is not really a *gobi*, or naked desert; there are fine pasture lands within its area. There are large districts of sands which do not shift, and which are covered in some places sparsely, in others thickly, with rank grass. There are many small saline lakes within its confines. The central portion is the true desert, and its extent is vast. The whole district is on an average two thousand feet above the level of the sea. Parts of it are double that elevation, and over the very highest for some way the route lies for the caravans to and from the Russian frontier: these have to traverse a waste of shifting sands, most laborious to pass through. Accidents sometimes occur, attended by loss of life; and blindness, total or partial, is frequently an incident of the toilsome journey.

The Mongols are nomadic—no reliable accounts of their numbers can be obtained. Their religion is Buddhist, and many of them are followers of the Grand Lama of Thibet. They are governed by tribal chiefs, by the spiritual authority of the Lama, and by a council of foreign affairs at Pekin.

The capital of Mongolia is Ourga, situated on an affluent of the Selinga River. Karakoum was the capital when the successors of Zenghlis Khan held their court, and presided over a vast empire. When Kohlai Khan conquered China, at the end of the thirteenth century, this city was permitted to sink into decay.

Maimachu, on the frontier of Asiatic Russia, is an important place: it is there that the Russians and Chinese transact the commercial exchanges between the two empires. The town is not large; it is clean and orderly. The boundary between the two empires is marked by a long shed, within which commercial transactions are conducted. A door from this shed on the north side opens into the Russian empire, and, on the south side, another opens into the Chinese empire. Beneath that shed the teas and rhubarb of China are exchanged for Polish linens, woollen cloths, and furs. Several German travellers have penetrated from the Russian dominions into those of China on this frontier, and some of them relate that the contrast presented by the habits, manners, and appearance of the people on different sides of the frontier line is very surprising.*

East of Mongolia, and north-east of China, is MANTCHOORIA: this region is mountainous, and nearly covered with forests. The mighty river Amour waters this country. Its population is scanty: the Mantchoos are more civilised than neighbouring tribes. The capital is Kirin-oula, where the viceroy resides. The northern half of the large island of Saghalien, off the north-east coast, is committed to his government. The reigning family of the Chinese empire is Mantchoo: they have held the imperial sceptre for two hundred years.

Southward from Mantchooria is the peninsula of COREA. This is a quasi-independent kingdom, the Chinese emperor never interfering with its government, but exacting a tribute. Corea is more exclusive in reference to foreigners than China. Its capital, situated in the centre of the peninsula, is Kingki-too.

West of Mongolia, and north-west of China, are the countries of the CELESTIAL MOUNTAINS, which divides two territories called Thian-shan-pe-loo, or the north country, and Thian-shan-nan-loo, or the south country. The northern region is sometimes called Sangaria—the southern, Little Bokhara; and frequently both regions are described together as Chinese Turkistan. The country at both sides of the dividing range is well watered and fertile. The Chinese hold military possession of the country, and collect revenue, but leave the people to manage their own affairs, who are of the same race and religion as the Turks of Europe and Asia Minor.

On the northern side of the Celestial Mountains the town of Goulja is of importance, and the chief town of the province. On the south side there are several cities of note. The capital is Akson, where the Chinese authorities preside. Yarkand possesses a considerable population and commerce. The frontier town of Kashgar is occupied by a large Chinese garrison. All these places are situated on branches of the great Yarkand River.

On the west of Mongolia is THIBET, extending to the borders of those states which

* Erman.

are dependent upon the government of British India, or have been recently annexed to it. The Chinese give to the whole region west of Mongolia the name of Chinghai, which is probably the same as the words China and Chinese. The Mongols of the Koka-nor, and other tribes, inhabit portions of these vast territories, but all submit to the government of Pekin, of which there is more awe than is felt in China proper, or in Pekin itself. Writers on the geography and history of China generally describe the country called Lodakh, on the northern frontier of India, as independent of the Pekin government; but its independence is merely nominal.

The wide-spread countries west of Mongolia are bounded by the Kuenlun and Himalaya mountain systems, and consist of lofty plains. The declivities of the Himalayas on the side of Thibet are not steep, although on the side of India the country descends with so deep a depression. Very little is known of these countries: the court of Pekin is even more jealous of strangers crossing from the Indian frontier than of persons penetrating into China proper by sea.

Many of the mighty rivers which water Eastern and Southern Asia have their sources in these regions. It is remarkable that the Ganges, Indus, Brahmapootra, Sutlej, and Irriwaddy, receive their waters from springs on the northern side of the Himalayas; the streams, as they seek the level, winding their course to the southern slopes, and finally sweeping onward in increasing volume to the sultry plains of India. The great rivers Yang-tse-Kiang, Hoang-ho, and Cambodia, which take a south-eastern course, also have their sources in the great western Mongolian highlands.

The language of Thibet is not so monosyllabic as the Chinese, and is supposed to be a link between it and the Semitic tongues: the Thibetians profess it to be derived from the Sanscrit.*

The religion of Thibet and Mongolia is Buddhism. The Grand Lama is the spiritual chief of Thibet. It is believed by the people that he has maintained his spiritual reign at the capital ever since a period corresponding with the Christian era.† This is supposed to be accomplished by a series of transformations, as when one lama dies, the spirit of Buddha Lakya is transferred to another body. This is ascertained by a series of revelations vouchsafed to certain hierarchs, after many ceremonies of an absurd kind, and while the sacred vehicles of revelation are in a state of intoxication by a particular spirit. The Emperor of China, however, takes care to hold in his own hands the confirmation of the election, lest it should fall upon any person inconvenient to his government. If no objection be entertained by his celestial majesty, the new incarnation of Buddha is installed in his high office, and becomes the Dela* Lama. The general impression in Europe is that this is the only functionary of this sort in the world: such an impression is erroneous. There are three in Bhotan, who are clothed in white; and three in Mongolia and Thibet, of whom the Dela Lama is one, clothed in yellow: the latter is the orthodox colour, being patronised by the Emperor of China. The great Mongol lama is of still higher authority than the Dela Lama,† but he appears to derive that superiority from the policy of the Chinese emperor: the Dela Lama is more reverenced throughout Thibet, and is adored as a god.‡ Every chief of a great Buddhist convent appears to obtain the title of lama; but the Grand Lama at Lassa, and the Lama of Tehoo Loomboo, are the supreme hierarchs of Buddhism.

The intercourse between Thibet and British India is considerable, so far as the influx of Thibetians—or, as the Hindoos call them, Bhotians §—is concerned, for the inhabitants resort to all the great places of pilgrimage in Bengal, such as Orissa, Gaya, Benares, Allahabad, &c. They believe that Benares is the seat of supreme learning, that "the holy city" is the source of all science and literature, and that the people of Thibet derived religion and learning originally from India. Of this there is no proof, but such a belief may well prevail from the superstitious regard cherished for India, in consequence of the religion of Thibet having been derived thence. On one of the highest accessible peaks of the Himalayas the Thibetians mingle with pilgrims from all parts of India, and even from Ceylon, to perform various rites together, which would appear to be incompatible with two religions so adverse as Buddhism and Brahminism in many respects are. This circumstance has excited the surprise of authors and travellers, but the philosophy of it appears to be that all striking phenomena of nature—mountains, river sources, junctions of rivers, lakes, desert rocks, forests, and the heavenly bodies—receive homage in the idolatrous associations common

* Captain Turner. † Abdul Russool.

* This word signifies both a sea and a desert, and probably refers to the appearance of the great plains of Thibet, the sphere of the lama's government. John Bell's *Travels in Asia*.

† M. De Lange, Representative of the Court of Russia at Pekin, 1721-22.

‡ *Histoire Genealogique des Tartares*.

§ As remarked on a former page, the Hindoos call both sides of the whole Himalaya range Bhotia: they do not use the word Thibet.—*Rennell*.

to all Asia, whatever the creeds of the people, except where Christianity or Mohammedanism has extirpated the traditional feeling.

Commerce also brings the people of Thibet into intimate intercourse with the frontier nations of British India. Through Nepaul, Bhotia, and Assam, the products of Thibet are exchanged for those of the rich provinces of Hindoostan and Bengal. Many of the productions of India find their way to China by way of Thibet.

There is also a considerable trade between Mongolia and Russia, and it would be far more extensive but for the encroaching spirit of the Russians, who are always intruding upon Chinese territory in the most unscrupulous manner, and in violation of numerous treaties. A writer at the beginning of this century thus describes the method of carrying on the commerce between Mongolia, through which the produce of Thibet and of China proper is conveyed to the Russian frontier:—"The commerce between Russia and China is at present a monopoly belonging to the treasury of Siberia, no other subjects of Russia being allowed to concern themselves in it, on pain of death, unless employed on account of the crown, although this law is often evaded by connivance of the *weywodes* on the frontier places. By virtue of the last treaty, they can send no more than one caravan a year from Russia to Pekin, which doth not consist of more than two hundred persons instead of a thousand and more, which they amounted to heretofore, and which were subsisted at the charge of the Chan of China whilst they were on the territories of China; but now they are to subsist on their own charges."* The last-named feature of this regulation was by Russian authority, and shows that while every effort was made by the czars to plunder the Chinese of their Mongolian territory, commerce was even less encouraged sixty years ago than it had before been.

In the days of Peter the Great, the Russian government made strenuous efforts to open up through Mongolia a traffic by which they might derive the products of that country, of Thibet (generally included under the name of Mongolia), and of the lower provinces, in exchange for their furs, which the Russians then possessed more abundantly as a means of barter. The Chinese responded as eagerly to such overtures, and a commercial intercourse was established, which, had Russia improved, would have grown to great magnitude, and which has been checked solely by the greed of territory, which led the Russians perpetually to ferment boundary disputes, provoking on the part of the Chinese counteracting measures.

The Chinese at that time, according to the testimony of Peter's own agent resident at Pekin, brought many articles of exchange to the frontier. Gold from Thibet, ivory and peacocks' feathers brought by the Thibetians from India, and woollen cloth of two qualities —one a fine fleecy commodity, the other rough and coarse—made in Thibet and other Mongolian districts, were conveyed to the rendezvous of Russian commerce, through long and wearisome journeys. A sort of glazed cotton cloth, called *kitaika*, made in China, was at that time a favourite Russian import.

It appears that the productions of Corea were brought by a very circuitous route through China, at that period consisting of paper made of raw silk; fine mats; cut tobacco, very fine, for smoking, deemed superior to that grown in China; striped cotton stuffs, &c. It would appear, also, that while the Chinese imported furs from the Russians, they also received furs from Corea, which were given in exchange for Russian furs. The Russians received Chinese damask, Indian cotton goods by way of Thibet, tea, porcelain, silk for linings, and "white copper" dishes.*

The intercourse between Thibet and China proper, and the government of the former, was regulated by a minister who resided at Lassa, whose approval was necessary before any measure, political or commercial, could be adopted. This functionary was, however, obliged to refer to Pekin for instructions and for final approval of any measures to which he gave his consent. "The council for the affairs of the Mongols at Pekin is a college, who have the care of everything regarding the nation of the Mongols, as well those who are the hereditary subjects of the Emperor of China, as also those who are only under the protection of this empire. This college, at the same time, enters indirectly into the cognizance of all the affairs which regard the powers who border on China, from the north-east to the west, whence it comes that they are the court who have most to do of any in China."†

In explanation of this mode of governing remote provinces and dependencies, De Lange in 1723 writes:—"In China all is done by the disposition of different colleges, to whose cognizance the affairs may belong, it not being permitted to address the court directly

* Bell.

* M. De Lange.

† This description of the conduct of Mongolian affairs at Pekin was given by a minister of Peter the Great of Russia, and it is still applicable.

upon any affair whatever. In the time of the last Chinese emperor, these colleges were so absolute, that, on many occasions, the emperor himself dared not meddle with their decrees; but, since the Tartar princes have been in possession of the throne of China, they are not much regarded; witness the exercise of all sorts of foreign religions publicly authorised, and the allowance of a Russian agent at Pekin, agreed to by the sole good pleasure of the emperor, in opposition to the remonstrances of his ministers, and to the constitution of the government of China." The emperors have ever since maintained a stern authority in reference to these colleges.

The people of Thibet are loyal to the Chinese emperor, religion being the great connecting link. They are not brave or enterprising, and would be very unlikely to make a successful insurrection. A few thousand Chinese soldiers, in half-a-dozen garrisons, occupy the country. A considerable army could, however, be collected on an emergency, as the Nepaulese found to their cost, on occasion of their invasion of Thibet. The social condition of the people is very immoral: polyandria exists, and similar in every respect to its practice at Ceylon, and with the same moral consequences. The Thibetians, however, are not jealous, as are the Cingalese; on the contrary, the infidelity of the women excites neither surprise nor resentment. The Thibetians are cold and phlegmatic in all their habits, and are sunk in the most abject superstition.

The climate is sternly cold for a large portion of the year, and the country is exposed to fierce winds, which sweep over the vast elevated table-lands, dispersing the thin soil, and often totally destroying the hopes of the cultivator. There are, however, many places low-lying and sheltered, where the climate is most delightful; and on the northern and eastern slopes of the Himalayas there are regions where the scenery and the climate rival those of most lands. There are sequestered dells and dales in these regions, the floral riches of which almost rival those of the sunny valleys on the southern declivities.

The revenue of the country is derived from land-rent and the gold mines, which are badly worked.* The mineral treasures of the region are supposed to be very great, but are not yet developed. Nitre is found in great abundance, and most metals in moderate quantities, except silver. On the frontiers of China proper there are coal mines, which are of immense value to the people, for Thibet is very bare of timber, and the climate requires the extensive use of fuel.

* Abdul Russool.

The animals are very various, and some of them very beautiful. The celebrated shawl-goat, and different species of sheep and deer abound.

Lassa is the capital of this region: it is forty-five days' journey from Pekin, and two hundred miles north from the north-east corner of Assam. It is geographically situated 29° 30′ north latitude, 91° 6′ east longitude. It is built on the north bank of a small river, and is of an oval form, four miles in length, and one in breadth. In the centre stands the grand temple, the high sanctuary of Buddhism. Each idol of the numerous objects of worship collected there has its own peculiar compartment. Around this collection of buildings a road separates it from the rest of the city. There is always a population of about two thousand Chinese, about three thousand Nepaulese, and a few hundred Cashmerians, besides the natives. It is impossible to estimate the native population, as pilgrims from the whole of Thibet perpetually crowd the place, and also numerous devotees from every part of Mongolia, of China, and all the realms of Buddhism. The Tartars appear to have invaded and plundered the city repeatedly, but never remained long. Little can be gleaned of its history, or of that of the race which inhabits it.

Within one hundred and eighty miles of the Rungpore district in Bengal there is a small town, called Teshoo Loomboo, where a great Buddhist monastery gives the place notoriety, and where the "Teshoo Lama" has his seat: he is the high priest of the Chinese emperor. This neighbourhood is more fertile and civilised, and some timber grows there. There are mines of lead, cinnabar, copper, and gold, in the hills which bound the great plain upon which the city stands. Nearly four thousand *gylongs* were occupied in daily prayer towards the close of the last century, when Captain Turner visited it: this number has probably increased since.

Throughout Thibet, and Little Thibet, and Lahdack, the number of monasteries and nunneries containing devotees of the Buddhist belief is surprising: the number of gods and saints mingled in strange variance with the theory of the Buddhist creed exceeds computation, and justifies the statement that Thibet is one of the most superstitious countries on the face of the globe. The accounts given by Macartney and Colebrook apply as correctly in the present day as when they were written, for everything in Thibet is as it were stereotyped, except that the gods, the saints, and the monasteries, increase in number, and the people in superstition. Nevertheless, the country exercises a vast influence

over other regions of Asia. China regards Thibet as holy land: the Mongols, Calmucks, and Tartars, hold it in the greatest reverence. The Thibetians declare that to them the Chinese are indebted for science and art, while they speak of India as the source from which they derived these advantages. They claim to be the inventors of printing, and to have taught it to the Chinese; but they admit that no improvement in this art has been made for two thousand years. They declare that astronomy, and astrology, which they regard as a noble science, have flourished in their country from time immemorial, and that the Chinese were their pupils in these matters. A British officer, who visited Thibet some years ago, stated that the monks discoursed with him about the satellites of Jupiter and the ring of Saturn, and that they were familiar with stellar phenomena to a degree which greatly astonished him. An invasion of Thibet from British India would issue in the subjugation with ease of the whole realm, for however impracticable long marches in such a country, yet facility of conquest would exist in the fact, that whoever possesses the sacred cities, and the persons of the lamas, are the conquerors of Thibet.

Having described the vast regions beyond China proper, Insular China remains to be noticed. The insular climate of China is less subject to the extremes of heat and cold than that of the continent. The islands which are of most importance are Formosa, Hainan, Chusan, Hong-Kong, Heang-shan, and Amoy.

FORMOSA lies off the east coast, and from its comparative proximity to the Malay peninsula, its eastern shore is inhabited by that race, who are generally regarded as aborigines: the western side of the island is inhabited by the Chinese. The population at large, especially on the eastern shore, is regarded by the inhabitants of China as barbarous. The word Formosa means beautiful, and was given to the island by the Portuguese, because of its lovely appearance. Coal in great abundance has been recently found upon it.

HAINAN is an island situated on the southern coast, inhabited partly by Chinese, and partly by aboriginal tribes. There is nothing sufficiently striking in the characteristics of the island to call for remark.

HEANG-SHAN is an island in the Canton River. The Portuguese settlement of Macao, called by the Chinese *Aou-mun* (the entrance to the bay), is situated upon part of the island which forms a peninsula. The site of the settlement was given to the Portuguese by the emperor nearly three hundred years ago, in consequence of services rendered by them against pirates. The poet Camoens resided at Macao, and wrote there his celebrated poem "the Lusiad." The population is about thirty thousand. The general conduct of the Portuguese settlers has been fraudulent and rapacious, and much of the ill will entertained by the natives of Canton against foreigners has been caused by their cruel and treacherous conduct. The Portuguese residents of Macao are not more than six thousand: the rest of the population are half-castes and Chinese. Few places which, within a century and a half, have been the scenes of enterprise, are so deserted and fallen as is this settlement. Formerly it was one of the richest emporiums of the East: now Hong-Kong seems to have extinguished its commercial glory. A few English and other foreign merchants are almost the only persons respected by the natives, so completely have the Portuguese lost character.

It is common for the foreign merchants of Canton and Hong-Kong to spend the hottest summer months on this island: there is a beautiful bathing place, and large although not well-built houses are easily procured, and cheaply rented. The foreign and Parsee burial-grounds are picturesque, especially the former: how enterprising are those old Persian devotees of the sun!—there are few places in the East which are ancient haunts of commerce where their traces or their presence are not seen. It is surprising that Europeans think so favourably of Macao in a sanitary point of view, for the atmosphere is damp, and a chilly feeling is consequently imparted to the residents even when the glass is high: it is also common for foreigners to die soon after their arrival, especially if young men.

The Portuguese population is considered devoid of the activity which once characterised them. They are much deteriorated in personal appearance, especially the females, who have coarse countenances and very dark complexions. The streets are little better than gloomy narrow alleys, and, being sometimes of great length, the appearance they present is peculiarly unpleasant. There are palaces and public buildings, formerly the abodes of bishops and governors of rank, or the resort of merchants and men of business, but these are all dropping, little by little, into decay. The Portuguese deserve credit for the architectural beauty of these buildings, particularly of a church, the front of which is alone left standing. Beautiful walks, parades, and gardens, all which were once beautiful, also testify to the taste which once characterised the Portuguese of Macao. The parades are partially broken, deep ruts are allowed to deface the once-pleasant walks, and the gar-

dens already assume that waste and ragged appearance which the fairest pleasure-grounds so soon wear when left without suitable care. The house of Camoens, who sang before Shakspere's "wild notes," as Milton called them, were heard in England, is still standing, although time, with his furrowing finger, has touched it. The fortifications bristle with cannon, but they are worthless; a few British broadsides would leave them heaps of rubbish. A gentleman who lately visited the island and city thus wrote of some of the features of interest which mark them:—"To me the old palace garden, with so many acres of still blooming flowers and foliage, and paths winding through quaint arbours and huge stone caves,—more solid than the artificial ruins of Bolton Abbey or Chatsworth,—was the most pleasing part of my tour. I was never tired of musing over the grounds, but did not remain long soliloquising over the iron-walled monument of the poet Camoens. I did not expect to find such old magnificence, but ruins of ages past do not at such distance from Christian lands increase my love of decay. From the top of one of the mammoth stone arbours we had a fine view of the old town and the inner and outer harbour; the former is stocked with junks and lorchas belonging to the place, and the yearly income of the latter in freights alone is said to be a hundred and fifty thousand dollars. We saw the islands round about, and were glad to look upon scenery as romantic as it was novel." *

The same traveller gives a picture of how the coolie traffic—or what may be with propriety be termed the Chinese slave trade—is patronised by the Portuguese, who have ever been the active abettors of the slave trade in all its forms:—"Looking down upon the Chinese part of the town, I saw a large castellated building, the courtyard of which was crowded with human beings dressed in white. My curiosity was excited. Was it an hospital? No. A lunatic asylum? No. A jail, a charity-school, or what? No one could tell. We searched and searched, but could not make the people understand our wants; finally, we got a boat, and moved round to the portcullis, but there was no admittance. Inquiry only made us more curious, but not more successful, until at last a friend relieved us of suspense, and told us that of course no one was permitted to enter—it was a private institution, being the place where a princely merchant stows away his coolies until they are ready for shipment! When I saw them from the garden highlands it was probably feeding-time. At Whampoa they use a hulk for this purpose. Poor wretches! they little know what is to be their fate.

* *Young America Abroad.*

While Mr. Train remained at Macao he witnessed a custom which he saw in other parts of China, the description of which is striking:—"We came back through the Chinese town, where with restless activity mechanics were working at their respective trades, shopmen were doing a thriving business, while barbers were never busier; music and dancing, with the singing artists, never more enthusiastic, and pawnbrokers were crowded to suffocation to-morrow is the Chinaman's New Year, and hence the unusual bustle and excitement in the town: before midnight all accounts must be squared, all books balanced, all bills paid, and debtor and creditor must meet as friends, for it is the custom of China to close up their papers and make a clean breast of financial matters at the commencement of every new year. At every turn I see anxious faces, indeed men rushing with some little trinket to Shylock's den, in order to raise a little ready cash. There are many who know not what to do, for their pockets are empty, and their debts unpaid, and something must be done before the clock strikes twelve, or else they are disgraced in the eyes of their country. Some bear the marks of desperation on their faces, and hence robbery or murder, perhaps suicide, ere the bell tolls the fatal hour. 'Tis no unusual thing to resort to violent measures if all else fail, and there be debts unpaid. What a strange custom! and yet it is universally followed from the sea-coast to the limits of Tartary. If Western nations balanced accounts as often, there would be less rottenness in finance, and more honesty in commerce. Here, at least, the idol of the shipper teaches a lesson it were well if we would learn."

The island of AMOY affords an important position for any European power desirous of having a naval and military post off the Chinese coast; for it is well situated in reference to the great ports, and possesses a comparatively equable climate. The London Press, particularly "the leading journal," strongly urged upon the government of Lord Derby, in 1858, the occupation of this island as a post for the security of English commerce. The island is about twelve miles in length, and ten in breadth, and contains within its small area a hundred and thirty villages and hamlets, and a population of nearly half a million persons. The city contains nearly two hundred thousand inhabitants; it is called after the island.

This little island is very picturesque, the surface being undulated from the sea-shore

a central rocky ridge of considerable elevation, upon the top of which there is a well cultivated table-land several miles square. The rock is black, of a grey tint when broken, but that tint gives place to black after exposure to the atmosphere. The port is capable of holding one thousand vessels.

The city is situated in latitude 24° 32′ north, and longitude 118° 8′ east. It is built on a promontory, so as to expose three sides to the sea, and is necessarily long and straggling. The citadel is surrounded by a wall one mile in circumference. The palace and gardens of the Se-tak occupy a considerable portion of the inner city, beyond the wall of which dirty narrow lanes and low ill-constructed houses stretch away in every direction. The Chinese authorities are peculiarly strict in not allowing foreigners to traverse the island, insisting that "the day's journey," which, according to the treaty, was to be allowed for purposes of inland business at the ports, being interpreted to mean from sunrise to sunset. No foreigner is allowed to spend a night in any of the villages, yet the people of these villages have shown a more free disposition to foreigners, and especially to missionaries, than has been shown elsewhere. The local authorities are also very friendly, but the orders of the supreme government are imperative against giving any encouragement to foreigners beyond what the strictest rendering of the treaty entitles them to demand. Although the climate is equable, and the island has the reputation among the Chinese of being healthy, yet the city is not so, and terrible havoc has been made among the missionaries and their families by the insalubrious influences prevailing there.

CHUSAN is another island which public opinion in England and in India has demanded the government to occupy during the Chinese contest of 1858. It is situated at the southern entrance to the estuary of the Yang-tse-Kiang. The island is very fertile and pretty, but small. It is surrounded by a vast archipelago of lesser isles. Few small islands are so populous.

HONG-KONG is the only territorial acquisition made by the British in the Chinese empire. The name means "sweet waters." The islet is about twenty-five miles in circuit, and is situated at the mouth of the estuary which conducts to Canton, which is a hundred miles distant; Macao is forty miles from the island. The strait which separates it from the mainland is in some places less than a mile wide. Safe anchorage for ships is afforded by the Bay of Hong-Kong on a large scale. When, in 1842, the British acquired the island, there were not more than a thousand inhabitants; in 1858 the number has increased to a hundred thousand.

The capital is called Victoria; it is the seat of a governor, and is an episcopal see. It is built in the form of a semicircle, upon the bay, the buildings extending for four or five miles on either side from the centre of the arc. The streets extend back as far as the mountain will allow; and as street rises above street on the ascent, they present a most interesting picture to a person beholding from the bay, while from the houses at the base of the mountain a magnificent panorama is presented of the town and bay, with the vast throng of commercial shipping, vessels of war, and innumerable fishing-boats, which generally keep "two and two," in order the more effectually to trawl their nets—contributing by this arrangement to the novelty and picturesque character of the scene. The country along the shores of the bay—sand, rock, and hill—adds to the general effect of this prospect.

The approach to the island is not prepossessing; the high grounds of Hong-Kong and the neighbouring islets look bleak and barren, but when the passenger arrives at the town of Victoria he experiences a most agreeable surprise, its fine buildings, sloping ascent, and the magnificent highlands beyond, affording a *coup d'œil* of a most pleasing kind. On landing, the stranger is struck by the proximity of the mountain to the city, overhanging it in a manner calculated to excite alarm for its future safety in case of earthquake, or any extraordinary season of heat or cold, by which the impending rocks might be lowered and hurled upon the houses beneath. Some of the newest houses, and even streets, have been built up the mountain's side. There are several good public buildings—such as government house, Bishop's College, and the Chinese chapel and school attached to it; also a Chinese printing-office, the different mission schools and churches, the hospital, church, club, barracks, military stores, and some of the merchants' establishments. The settlers and the Chinese are fond of giving fancy names to pleasant places in the vicinity—such as "Spring Gardens," "Happy Valley," &c. The public establishments are chiefly on the western side of the bay, called Western Point. Eastern Point is less public, and more picturesque. A Chinese boat-population—similar to that at Canton and other great cities built on large rivers on the seaboard—has already gathered at Hong-Kong.

The following notice of the habits of both the British and Chinese population is from the correspondent of the *New York Herald* in 1857:—"The club-house is most creditable

to the place, and the stranger not caring for the hotel is most comfortably off if introduced by any of his friends who may be members. A good library and all the English periodicals are on the tables and in the bookcase; and good chow-chow, good beds, and good attendance, can be purchased for about three dollars per day; but in China most gentlemen are immediately taken possession of by those who may be known to them, and then, of course, you make their house your home. Not to have a spare bed or two for the new comer would be considered contrary to the established usage of the land. You cannot but feel the greatest possible interest in witnessing the untiring industry of this race, so little known among Western nations. Women and men, and sometimes even little children, are hard at work making combs, trunks, or shoes; some chopping up meat, others arranging their vegetables; now it is a party of masons erecting a bamboo-stage, and then a chain-gang grading the hill at the point of the Hindoostanee soldier's bayonet; now coolies carrying water, an enormous load; then sedan chairs, borne by two or four; boys hawking about candies and sweetmeats; boatmen and house-servants coming and going all dressed in that peculiar national blue, wide trousers and Blucher jacket, and their long tail either wound about their head or trailing down behind. The streets of Hong-Kong offer a thousand subjects for reflection to those who have never been thrown in contact with the celestial race."

The same writer was struck by the resemblance of the island to certain auriferous districts both in California and Australia.

The government is conducted by a lieutenant-governor, chief-justice, and council of five. The first-named is the chief ordinary British official in China, as he superintends the trade of the *cinque* ports, and controls the subjects and ships of England in Chinese waters. The present lieutenant-governor is Sir John Bowring, a man of extensive learning and superior business habits. He is not a favourite with the missionaries in China, nor with the classes in England which send them there, and their distaste seems to have been provoked more by the tone which the lieutenant-governor has adopted than by any hostile acts. When in England he was identified with the Manchester school, in the interest of which he was returned for the Lancashire borough of Bolton. Sir John, then Dr. Bowring, was president of the Peace Society, and frequently expressed opinions on the subject of war utterly inconsistent with his official duties as the lieutenant-governor of Hong-Kong. This inconsistency has deprived him of the confidence of large classes at home, while his policy in China and his commercial intelligence have won for him the trust of the merchants in China both British and foreign.

The Chinese population of Hong-Kong is truculent and seditious, partaking of the worst spirit prevalent at Canton. The English are readily served for money; but the real feeling of the whole Chinese population is a desire—at all costs, and by any means, however sanguinary or treacherous—to get rid of their presence. During the war in 1857 their attempts to poison the British population at Hong-Kong, and their schemes, more than once successful, to gain a footing on board ships as passengers, in order to murder the Europeans, and seize the ships, proved them to be at heart brutal and cowardly, however they might feign obedience and quietness.

The habits and customs of the people are as purely and obstinately Chinese as if they were not resident on British soil. As at Singapore, so at Hong-Kong, they retain their distinctive peculiarities as tenaciously as if they resided in Pekin. Various efforts to induce them to conform to British habits in food and attire have been made, for sake of the convenience of such conformity, but without success. The Hong-Kong Chinamen are as fond of rice and tea, taken after their national mode, as their compatriots at Shanghai or Ningpo. Their idea of the way in which the latter article should be used has probably never been so happily expressed as by an imperial poet of their country:—"Graceful are the leaves of mei-hoa, sweetly scented and clear are the leaves of fo-cheou. But place upon a gentle fire the tripod whose colour and form tell of a far antiquity, and fill it with water of molten snow. Let it seethe till it would be hot enough to whiten fish or to redden a crab. Then pour it into a cup, made from the earth of yué, upon the tender leaves of a selected tea-tree. Let it rest till the mists which freely rise have formed themselves into thicker clouds, and until these have gradually ceased to weigh upon the surface, and at last float in their vapour. Then sip deliberately the delicious liquor; it will drive away all the five causes of disquietude which come to trouble us. You may taste, and you may feel, but never can you express in words or song that sweet tranquillity we draw from the essence thus prepared."

It is remarkable that not only at Hong-Kong, but at all the trading ports, an attempt is made to speak English, which, after a little practice, enables English and Chinese to converse with ease for all ordinary practical purposes. At Canton and Hong-Kong this is

called "Canton English," but at the other ports, and at Singapore and Malacca, it is called "Pigeon English." Certainly no other oriental nation has made such indefatigable and successful efforts to establish a medium of verbal communication with the English, based on English words.

Such is a general description of an empire with which we have been repeatedly at war—are at war while these pages are issuing from the press; within whose insular empire we have established ourselves; upon the confines of whose territories our Indian empire touches; and with which we are likely to hold still more important relations in the future. A few remarks in reference to their general condition will fitly close this chapter.

As to the present aspect of our commerce with the Chinese empire, commercial men may form their deductions from these facts:—

At the end of the commercial year 1854 the balance of trade between China and Great Britain was estimated at seven millions nine hundred thousand dollars, or two millions sterling, against China.

The estimate stands thus:—

IMPORTS FROM GREAT BRITAIN AND INDIA.

| | Dollars. |
|---|---|
| Opium, 65,000 to 70,000 chests | 24,000,000 |
| Cotton, 200,000 bales | 4,000,000 |
| Manufactures, &c. | 4,000,000 |
| Straits and India | 1,600,000 |
| Total | 33,600,000 |

EXPORTS TO GREAT BRITAIN AND HER COLONIES.

| | Dollars. |
|---|---|
| Tea, 85,000,000 lbs. | 15,000,000 |
| Silk, 40,000 bales | 9,200,000 |
| Sundries | 1,500,000 |
| Total | 25,700,000 |

During the succeeding three years the exports to Great Britain have greatly increased.

In the commercial year 1856-7 the export of teas to England and her colonies was 87,741,000 lbs.; and in the same year the deliveries in England of China silk amounted to 74,215 bales.

In the chapter on the general commerce of India the relations of that part of our empire with China, especially in connection with the opium trade, will be discussed.

It is important to inquire whether the government of that country is likely to improve, and whether it presents a prospect of stability as to its principles, form, and dynasty. It does not possess the affections of the people. The emperor is more feared than loved—more reverenced with a superstitious regard to the sacredness of his person and functions than intelligently respected. The imperial throne has more authority, and is regarded with more affection, along the northern slopes of the Himalayas, or among the rovers of the Mongolian deserts, than in China proper. The relation of the government to its remoter provinces is paternal; to its home provinces oppressive. The industry of the people, although persevering, is repressed, and the fiscal system is exacting and urgent. Everywhere there are traces of decay, and only the untiring labour of the people prevents a rapid retrocession in agriculture, manufactures, and general wealth. The faithful testimony of an eyewitness at the close of 1857 records such impressions when beholding the energy of the people and the effects of a bad and oppressive government, and the predominant originality of the Chinese race asserting itself in connection with all imported ideas, religious, scientific, and social:—"I notice everywhere the same lavish expenditure of labour in paving the footpaths and bridging the dykes with slabs of limestone or granite. The pagoda, from the galleries of which nothing is visible but the limitless flat plain and the frequent villages, is of course a thing comparatively of yesterday. The Buddhists brought the form from India not long before the birth of Christ; but these products of untiring toil, these mounds and dykes, these countless masses of enormous stones brought from afar, —still more those practical, matter-of-fact, Sabbathless, business-loving, pleasure-despising habits of mind, which, under a less corrupt and depressing system of rule, would lead the present race of Chinese to sustain these works and to create others—that insensibility to play of fancy, yet love of quaint conceits and forced antitheses—that incapacity to feel grace and beauty, yet strong appreciation of mere geometrical symmetry—that complete disconnection from (not divergence from) all the modes of thought and vehicles of thought, traditions, and superstitions of other nations—these things suggest a train of dreamy thoughts, and send the mind wandering back to times almost as old as that setting sun. May it not be that we have here a not very degenerate specimen of a civilization that covered the whole earth before our traditions begin—which spread and flourished before the Semitic or the Indo-Germanic race had being—which has left its traces in India and in England, in Mexico and in Italy, in California, and in Greece, in Brittany and in Normandy, and in the most remote islands of the ocean; pilers of mounds and hewers of mountains, builders of Babels whose might was quenched we know not how, and whose sparse descendants we can just trace under the names of Egyptians, Pelasgians, or Etruscans, mingling with new races, and losing their identity."

Throughout China proper there exists an

invidious nationality, which is intolerant of the governing family being of any other race than the Chinese: Mantchou, Calmuck, Mongol, it matters not which, the vast mass of the Chinese people hate Tartar rule, whether power be wielded by an emperor or his satrap. It is alleged by those who have made considerable acquaintance with China, that there cannot be less than seven millions of men bound together in secret societies, which preserve their fealty with stubborn attachment and constancy of purpose. Of course such a number would represent very many more than those actually confederated. Various efforts have been put forth to suppress these societies, but they have been fruitlessly made. Numbers implicated in the seditious confederacies have perished under the headsman's weapon, although life was offered to them if they would reveal the secrets of these associations. The punishment of death does not seem to have any terror for them; and although the government executions sweep thousands and tens of thousands away, the treasonable clubs increase in numbers and boldness.

The rebellion, which for a period of at least nine years has been raging in China, has excited the astonishment of Europe, and earnest inquiries as to its origin, character, and probable success, have been made ever since the tidings of the outbreak first reached Europe. As to the origin of it, there can be no doubt that the treasonable clubs had much to do in setting the example, and affording encouragement, and at length aid, but they did not originate it. The general discontent of the Chinese people was such as to prepare the public mind for any new combination against the government. A new and strange organization came into existence, but neither its founder nor those who joined it had any notion of directing it against the imperial throne. That organization was the "Chinese Union," founded by Dr. Gutzlaff exclusively for Christian purposes, as already shown upon a former page. Every member of this Union undertook to teach some other Chinaman what he knew of Christianity, or to place in his hands some evangelical treatise, or a portion of the sacred Scriptures. This "Union" extended rapidly into the interior, and some discontent with the government existed among its members, in consequence of the severe treatment received from Buddhist and Confucian fanatics, among the mandarins, officials, and scholars. The previously existing "political unions" (as they would be called in English parlance) inflamed this discontent purely for political purposes, they, in their exaggerated nationality, being eager to grasp and use any instrumentality that promised to be effective in opposing the Mantchou dynasty. Eventually circumstances occurred, and a person arose, which gave to "the Union" a political as well as a religious character. A certain man, who from childhood had been skilful in all the learning of the Chinese, met with a native missionary, the assistant of the celebrated Congregational clergyman, Dr. Milne; this native teacher presented the young scholar with a tractate in the Chinese language on Christianity, which the latter read earnestly, and was led in the result to attend public worship as conducted by the Congregational missionaries. He continued to do so for a considerable time, and studied the Bible and other religious books such as he was likely in that connection to receive. Retiring to the interior, he engaged himself actively in connection with "the Union" of Dr. Gutzlaff, and succeeded in obtaining extraordinary accessions of members to the ranks of that religious confederacy. The mandarins persecuted him and the new converts; many were decapitated, and great numbers suffered the spoiling of their goods. These things were not known in the seaports, and of course not known in Europe, where the idea of native Protestants suffering martyrdom in great numbers would have excited an extraordinary sensation. After endurance for a considerable time, some of the evangelists arrested by the mandarins were rescued: attempts were made by the mandarins to punish those who took part in releasing the prisoners from custody, but the authorities were resisted by the evangelicals with more audacity than before, the political clubs making common cause with the members of the religious "Union," and all flew to arms. They were encountered by the Tartar troops, and a civil war began, having a twofold object—religious liberty, and the rescue of the Chinese race from the rule of the Mantchou dynasty. The political "clubbists" cared nothing for the objects of "the Union;" "the Unionists" regarded only the liberty of teaching and worship: but as these also were patriots, they, when once in arms, readily coalesced with the clubbists in a common effort to dethrone the Tartar tyranny. Various oppressed classes, and ultimately all the discontented, good and bad, joined these two sections of insurgents, and a motley army was formed under the chief leaders of "the Union," as they were men of superior intelligence and moral influence. The *tien-teh*, or chief, was Hung-sew-tsemen, the scholar who received the book from Dr. Milne's native teacher, Leang-Afah. The history of the origin of the insurrection

does not correspond with the accounts generally given by either the merchants or correspondents of the English and American press; it more nearly accords with that which the most experienced missionaries relate, but does not entirely agree with any. After most mature consideration of a vast variety of material, this appears to the author to be the only method of accounting for the origin and early rapid progress of the insurrection. A very respectable authority* has lately combated the idea that Christianity had anything to do with the movement, and alleges, that the assumption of a religious motive was a mere trick of Chinese diplomacy, such as that crafty people are always so ready to resort to. But the publications of such of the rebel chiefs as had any connection with the Rev. Dr. Gutzlaff's Union render it utterly impossible to receive any such explanation of their conduct. No doubt the *Herald's* correspondent was informed by Chinese merchants, native and foreign, that such was the case, but it is declared on very respectable testimony, by one† who spent much time, and incurred much labour, in travel through Thibet, Mongolia, and China, that the government at Pekin used every means to conceal the real facts of the case, and to misrepresent, distort, and pervert them. The native press was under strict surveillance; the provincial papers copied from the *Pekin Gazette;* and that journal, never veracious, was characterised by extraordinary mendacity in all its accounts of the opinions, purposes, and progress of the rebels, and of the origin, qualifications, and character of the chiefs. Even after the peace of 1842, when the British so completely vanquished the Chinese, that the emperor wrote to Key-ing and Pei-po, his majesty's commissioners, to make any terms with the barbarians, rather than allow the progress of their arms to continue, Huc, the traveller, declares that he was constantly asked by the people whither the barbarians whom the emperor had so severely chastised had been driven! "It is next to impossible to say what effect the late rebellions have had upon the government, for the articles in the *Pekin Gazette* only lead the people astray."‡ The following character of the origin and the originators of the great revolt is to some extent adverse to the narrative of both here given, and in some respects confirms it:—"The missionaries saw the handiwork of God, and their arduous labours fairly crowned with approaching success. Religion was the motive power, and many of the clever writers traced the origin of the rebellion to Thae-ping-wang, who was a student of the missionary Roberts in 1833. Some of the merchants agreed, but more of them had no faith in the Christianity of the troubles. It was no general insurrection, and each chief at each place acted on his own responsibility, and was actuated only by the hope of plunder or rising to fame on the waves of revolution. One of the leading chieftains was known to have been a horse-boy (of bad character*) of one of the merchants of Shanghai, and the others' history could not be traced to any good. The movement at Shanghai was entirely distinct from that one hundred and fifty miles up the Yang-tse-Kiang, at Nankin, while that at Amoy was not the same as that at Canton. Robbery and piracy were fast creating new men, and the government could not concentrate forces fast enough to put down the disturbers of the peace. The attack of the foreigners at Shanghai was, it will be remembered, on the imperial, not the rebel camp, showing the belief that the latter was the stronger. Then none knew how the battles would turn, and the foreigners, influenced only by trade and personal safety, were desirous of taking the popular side. Now they see their error, although many still hold that all was for the best; for had they not stopped the advances of the Tartar troops, no one would have been safe in the settlement. I have said that most of the missionaries believed that was only the ripening of the missionary fruit; and even now there are few of them that will endorse the position which I have taken, that nought but the love of piracy, and the excitement of the mob, influence the insurrection."

The general doctrines of the Unionists are the same as those of evangelical Protestants. Confirmation of this was afforded a few years ago when a number of the party emigrated to California. Concerning those men the *Neveda*, a Californian journal, stated that they were Protestants in doctrine and habit of life, and as such took oath upon the Bible in courts of justice. Many absurd opinions and blasphemous expressions have been attributed to the rebels of late years. This is accounted for variously. The supreme chief, soon after the perusal of the book given him by Leang-Afah, became ill from anxiety of mind, and the deep distress caused by the discovery that he had been an idolater and a "devil worshipper." During this illness he had visions, in which, as was natural in his excited state, there appeared to be urgent

* The correspondent of the *New York Herald.*

† Huc.

‡ The *New York Herald*

* This story has never been authenticated, and is probably without foundation.

revelations given to him to propagate the Word he had received, and, as he fancied, new revelations of truth were made to himself. It would appear that, while capable of reasoning well, and acting in concert with others, in reference to religious and political matters, he never recovered the shock of that illness, nor the intense impression made upon his mind by those visions. He was evidently subject to occasional aberration, and on those occasions put forth pretensions and opinions inconsistent with his ordinary behaviour, and his seriously avowed belief. Another explanation of these inconsistencies is to be found in the fact that the clubbists imitated the Unionists in their religious phraseology, because of the powerful effect which the evangelical doctrine exercised, and wishing politically to use its influence. These men did not understand the subject, and propounded doctrines, assumed titles, and performed acts in the name of the Bible and of Christ, which the members of "the Union" repudiated. The amalgamation, however, of the two sections went forward so rapidly, that much of the original purity of opinion and consistency of practice has departed. The original idea of civil and religious liberty which prevailed in the Union has also given place to a fanatical assumption that they are raised up to purge the earth of idolatry; under this notion they attack Buddhists and Roman Catholics, and destroy their places of worship. This circumstance has formed another source of misrepresentation. The Roman Catholics, being eager to deprive their persecutors of the character attaching to any moderate profession of Christian doctrine, have undoubtedly given descriptions of the creed and conduct of the rebels sometimes exaggerated, and in other instances unfounded.

The opinions deliberately published by "the Union" and its chiefs are such as cannot fail to demand the serious attention of Christendom; and whatever nonsense may be inculcated by some of the teachers or chiefs, there is in most of their proclamations and books a powerful leaven of evangelical truth. The supreme chief has been accused of blasphemy in calling Christ his brother, but it is a part of their phraseology to speak of God as "their celestial Father," and Christ as "their celestial Brother who redeemed them." It is in this sense that the term has been used, by such of the rebel chiefs at all events as had any connection with "the Union." Hung-sew-tsemen, who had been an author before he professed Christianity, wrote various compositions in prose and verse after his alleged conversion. The following is a specimen given by a very distinguished American missionary* who knew China well:—

"Confessing our transgressions against heaven,
Our dependence upon the full atonement of Jesus,
We should not believe in devils, but obey the holy Commandments,
Should worship only the true God, with the full powers of the mind,
Should think on the glories of heaven,
Also on the terrors of hell, and pity the wicked,
And early turn to the true, escaping
From the errors and afflictions of the world."

This appears to have been written soon after the light of Christianity dawned upon his mind, and before the thought of being a political and military chief ever occurred to him. After he had raised the banner of revolt, he posted on the walls of some of the cities the following address to the insurgents:

"Believe truly in Jesus, and ultimately have happiness; Turn away from God, and ultimately have misery."

This species of military proclamation was imitated by men less capable of giving good advice to the insurgents, either as to arms, policy, or religion.

A church dignitary† at Hong-Kong has given the following prayer, as a specimen of the religious and devotional compositions in circulation among the rebels:—"'I, thine unworthy son (or daughter), kneeling down upon the ground, with a true heart repent of my sins, and pray the great God (Shang-ti) our heavenly Father, of thine infinite goodness and mercy, to forgive my former ignorance and frequent transgressions of the Divine commands; earnestly beseeching thee, of thy great favour, to pardon all my former sins, and enable me to repent and lead a new life, so that my soul may ascend to heaven. May I from henceforth sincerely repent and forsake my evil ways, not worshipping corrupt spirits (Shin), nor practising perverse things, but obeying thy Divine commands. I also earnestly pray Thee, the great God our heavenly Father, constantly to bestow on me thy Holy Spirit, and change my wicked heart. Never again allow me to be deceived by malignant demons; but, perpetually regarding me with favour, for ever deliver me from the Evil One; and every day bestowing on me food and clothing, exempt me from calamity and woe, granting me tranquillity in the present world, and the enjoyment of endless happiness in heaven; through the merits of our Saviour and heavenly Brother, the Lord Jesus, who redeemed us from sin. I also pray the great God, our Father who is in heaven, that his will may be done on earth as it is in heaven. That thou wouldst look

* Rev. Issachar Roberts.
† The Bishop of Victoria.

down and grant this request, is my heart's sincere desire.' In this extract from *The Book of Religious Precepts of the Thaeping-wang Dynasty*, we have a clear recognition of the guilt of sin, the duty of repentance, the atonement of Jesus Christ, the need of a new heart, and the work of the Holy Spirit in renewing and purifying the soul for heaven."

A distinguished missionary* of the Congregationalists says:—"The Emperors of China have been remarkable for their absurd claim of extravagant titles and relationships to heaven. The rival emperor declares that Wang (king), and not Shing (holy) nor Ti (emperor or potentate) belongs to him, for the latter term belongs only to the great Supreme Being (Shang-ti)."

In confirmation of this favourable opinion of the pretensions of the rebel chiefs, the same missionary quotes a proclamation from the chief to his army:—"The great God, He is God (Ti). The monarchs of this world may be called kings, and that is all. The great God (Shang-ti), our heavenly Father and Supreme Lord, is omniscient, omnipotent, and omnipresent, the Supreme over all. There is not an individual who is not produced and cherished by Him. He is Shang (supreme); He is Ti (potentate). Besides the great God (Shang-ti), our heavenly Father and Supreme Lord, there is no one who can be called Shang, and no one who can be called Ti. Therefore from henceforth all you soldiers and officers may designate us your lord, and that is all; you must not call me supreme, lest you should encroach upon the designation of our heavenly Father. Our heavenly Father is our Holy Father, and our celestial elder Brother is our Holy Lord the Saviour of the world. Hence our heavenly Father and our celestial elder Brother alone are holy; and from henceforth all you soldiers and officers may designate us your lord, and that is all; but you must not call me holy, lest you encroach upon the designation of our heavenly Father and celestial elder Brother."

The prospects of the insurrection have been much discussed in China and in Europe. The most recent opinions given are unfavourable to its success. These views receive some confirmation from the fact that the rebels have lately experienced some signal defeats, have been driven from their important positions on the Grand Canal, and have lost some of the chief cities which they had conquered. This must not, however, be taken as proof of a failing cause, for some of their chief conquests were made with means so inadequate, that the wonder is they were able so long to occupy them. The city of Amoy, for instance, containing so large a population, was stormed by about six thousand insurgents, *sans culots*, as Dr. Legge termed them, and, according to the same testimony, armed chiefly with knives: yet the surprised mandarins fled at the approach of danger, and the troops were so fascinated with the audacity of the stormers, that they made common cause with them. Subsequently the Tartars reconquered the city. The great bulk of the Chinese look listlessly on, taking no part, and caring little who is the conqueror, so as their ordinary business is not interfered with: the little interest they do take is, however, in sympathy with the insurgents.

The rebellion has lasted too long to expire under a few reverses caused by the insurgents having pushed on too far from their basis of operations. The doctrine which the revolters are spreading is acting as a solvent upon the established order of things, too active and potent not finally to subdue both throne and temple. Even if the present insurrection were suppressed, the seed of it could not be extirpated: it has been sown broad-cast upon the Chinese mind. Since 1849,* when the first outbreak showed itself—a period of nearly ten years—the moral influence of the rebellion among the people, although not among Europeans, has been growing, so that wherever a rebel army arrives, there is no disposition in even the most populous cities to resist them; and generally the Tartar troops fail to encounter with success the fierce energy of those earnest men. The last authority upon the prospects of the rebellion, whose opinion has reached Europe, is the correspondent of the *Times*. He thus expresses himself, writing at the latter end of August, 1857:—

"From three o'clock till eight I slept, and awoke to find myself moored against the village of Min-Hang. While at this village I fell in with a Chinese physician, who had escaped from Nankin when it fell into the hands of the rebels. He was the first specimen of a Chinese gentleman I had seen. The villages in this neighbourhood contain many fugitives from the rebel districts. The government lodges them in the temples, and allows them thirty cash (about threepence) a day, wherewith, at the present prices, they cannot buy even a sufficiency of rice. Of course disease is common among them, and this benevolent old gentleman devotes himself to their care. He came on board my boat, and we had a long chat. He insists that the key of the Yang-tse-Kiang, Chin Kiang, has

* The late Dr. Medhurst.

* It was not until 1853 that it gained head.

been recovered by the Imperialists; for his friends at Soo-choo have written to him to say so. I doubt this, however; for if this decisive event had happened, the government would certainly have announced it at Shanghai. His view is that the rebellion is dying out. He says the locusts have destroyed it, having especially come upon those provinces where the rebels hold their sway. He does not rest his expectation upon the imperial armies, for he says that the rebels are robbers and murderers, accustomed to every artifice, and adepts in all villany. All the loyal people can do is to hem the conflagration round, and wait till it burns out.

"These are the opinions of a well-informed Chinese gentleman, who has seen much more of these rebels than the Europeans who have written upon the subject. About forty-eight hours is the longest period that any European has been among them, and they have never invited any closer intercourse. Mr. Edkins interpreted for me these sayings of my Chinese acquaintance with no great satisfaction. The missionaries still hang their hope upon this rebel cause: the facts are unpromising, but still they hope. Devastation and bloodshed track the course of these insurgents wherever they go, but these are only necessary incidents of civil war. The ruin of those public works, which are to China what their dams are to the Dutch, mark where these rebels are, and where they have been. Still more widely-extended ruin follows upon the exhaustion of the imperial treasury. The two great rivers, no longer restrained by the great artificial embankments, now suffered to decay, are altering their courses, and devastating tracts as large as European kingdoms. Perhaps a man whose fervid religious zeal is akin to that which animated Joshua or Gideon, may see in all this but the will of God working to a great end, but the religious facts are not encouraging. The nominal head of the movement, claimed as a missionary convert, has sought no communication with any Christian teacher. He boasts himself the sovereign of the whole earth, calls himself the younger brother of Jesus Christ, and claims to have constant personal intercourse with the Almighty. His second in command, the king of the east, blasphemously styled himself the Holy Ghost; but he has been slain in internecine conflict, and the great leader, or his counsellors, proved their vigour and their Christian humanity by butchering two thousand of his adherents in cold blood.

"This does not look like a hopeful result of a missionary conversion, nor does it give much promise of temporal success to the insurrectionary movement. But then these reformers put to death the 'idolaters,' whether they call themselves the priests of Buddha or the missionaries of the Pope; they forbid opium-smoking under pain of death, and tobacco-smoking under pain of blows; they appear to have read, although they have misinterpreted, the sacred books which the missionaries distribute. Amid the outpourings of blood, in famine and pestilence, in the wreck of all the physical good which antiquity has wrought, our missionaries think they see a hope for the religion of the Bible."

It is but just to the writer of the foregoing passage to state, that he admits his fellow-traveller, the Rev. Mr. Edkins, Congregational missionary, differed from him totally in his views as to the principles and prospects of the insurgents. That the reader may put upon this admission its full value, the following is the correspondent's estimate of the judgment of that clergyman. Having described some of the missionaries as having urged the rebels "to go forth and kill," an extremely improbable hearsay story, the correspondent observes:—"Mr. Edkins is a man of very different spirit to such as these. Upon the testimony of the linguists of Paris, and of the Chinese here, I know him to be one of the greatest of Chinese scholars, and from my own intercourse with him I can say that he is fairly read in the sciences, and well acquainted with western literature. He has undertaken the task of showing the Chinese that we have a literature, and thus disabusing them of that contempt which extends itself to our faith. His American coadjutor, Dr. Macgowan, undertakes to instruct their graduates in the mysteries of the electric telegraph, and their pilots in the law of storms. Missionary labours thus directed must result in good. Your medical missionaries, such as Dr. Lockhart and Dr. Parker, command the gratitude and goodwill of the people. Men of learning, like Mr. Edkins and Dr. Macgowan gradually compel the respect of the literati. These men are ploughing a soil in expectation of a seed-time which is not yet. To the missionary societies of England and America I would say *hæ tibi erunt artes*,—ignorant declaimers in bad Chinese have no success in China. Their preaching is foolishness in more than the apostolic sense; but this practical and conceited people only jeer and blaspheme. Yet I have found even the higher class of missionaries hoping against hope that the rebels may succeed, and that they may turn out to be Christians."

A correspondent of the *New York Herald*, whose letters were dated a little earlier than those just quoted, takes the same views, and

they are expressed in a manner which entitles them to consideration:—

"I have given my reasons for believing that the late insurrection was entirely foreign from the Christian's labours; but, as I have said, few of the members of the mission will agree with me. However, my opinion goes for what it is worth. Read MacDowal's and Meadows' correspondence in the *Times* last year, if you wish to see different views. The one argues directly against the other; but neither conclusively. Depend upon it, the Tsing dynasty came much nearer being overthrown with the English war than by the late movement; for the one had power, the other only told of weakness. It is utterly impossible to say what a day may bring forth. Here, as in Europe, a change may come in the night-time. China may remain stationary for a year or two, or longer, and then, *mirabile dictu*, all may be in commotion again. As Europe was in the middle ages, so is China now—just upon the eve of some wonderful moral and political change. Feudal Europe held back for a long time from civilization, from the arts, literature, and commerce. So it is now with China. Foreign influence must work out the country's destiny. What is wanted is the united action of several nations —an allied fleet to wake them from their lethargic slumbers.

"I have shown, in running my eye through the page of history, that the revolution of 1853 is nothing at all unusual: periodical storms of insurrections have and will continue to spread the Jacobin system throughout the empire; the same restless democratic spirit that is working at the vitals of European monarchism, in a different form is eating at the roots of the Tartar's throne. I can imagine nothing more terrible than the breaking up into petty governments of such a mighty people. Better be as they are, than in the hands of native princes, each striving for the other's life."

As a question of authority between "the correspondents" and the missionaries, it will not be wonderful if men who have known China for many years, and have conversed with the rebels, should know better the condition of China, and the state of Chinese parties; nor is it unlikely or unreasonable, that men accustomed to study human nature from the religious point of view, should be the better judges of a great religious or quasi-religious movement. Probably no man in China is more competent than the Rev. Dr. Legge, of the Congregational mission, to judge this matter. His views are, that although the fortunes of the rebels may be chequered, they are sure to succeed in the end; that in such case they will open China to European commerce, but will nevertheless suppress the opium trade; that although they imperfectly understand Christianity, and civil and religious liberty, they will make China as free to the missionary as to the merchant; and however likely at first to persecute idolatry in every form, they will yield to more tolerant views under the influence of Christian ministers, and the social and political ideas entertained by the English, Americans, and others conducting commerce at their ports.

The merchant class in China is less favourable than the missionary class to the rebel cause, in consequence of the notorious determination of the insurgents to suppress a traffic by which the trader profits. This will, perhaps, explain much of the too sanguine favour shown by the one, and the distrust or hostility of the other, to the insurrectionary party. There can be no doubt that the issue of the war with England in 1842 deprived the Tartar troops of all prestige in the eyes of the people, and inspired the hope of a successful struggle; and that the present war with England and France will be productive of the same result in a still greater degree, affording new life to the rebel cause. Should success crown their efforts, then, in the words of Dr. Legge, it may be said, "there will be effected one of the greatest revolutions the world ever saw." Idolatry will cease to be the established creed of one-third of the earth's population; Christianity, in a form more or less enlightened, will be ostensibly recognised by that proportion of mankind; and freedom of intercourse will be secured between China and Europe, productive of marvellous commercial results. Should such a change take place in China, Japan, Java, and other benighted regions of the East will feel the vibrations of a moral and political earthquake extensive and mighty, and be startled from the social, moral, and intellectual torpor in which they have been so long benumbed. The regeneration of China is the regeneration of the oriental world; for the industry and enterprise of the race fit them to become the apostles of a new eastern civilization.

# CHAPTER XII.

## INDEPENDENT COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE BEEN THEATRES OF WAR DURING THE PROGRESS OF OUR EASTERN DOMINION (*Continued*).

### BIRMAH.

THE empire of Ava comprises many territories which did not originally belong to it, and which have all been included under the general name of BIRMAH. Fierce wars have been conducted by the Birmese with Cochin China, Siam, Laos, Pegu, and with every people around them, by which their dominion gradually extended over the whole of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. In this career of conquest many checks were experienced, especially from the Peguans, who at one time plundered the capital of Ava. The wars with England were disastrous to the Birmese, issuing in the loss of some of their finest territories, comprising, as shown on another page, the countries along the whole eastern shore of the Bay of Bengal. Having already described the provinces thus conquered from the Birmese, it will be unnecessary to dwell long upon the characteristics of an empire, our chief interest in which is connected with its contiguity to those conquests.

The Birman empire, in its present extent—shorn of the territories wrested from it so lately by the English—occupies that portion of the Indo-Chinese peninsula which separates the British dominions from those of China proper and Siam. It is bounded on the north by Assam and Thibet; on the east by China and Siam; on the west by certain states of India tributary to Great Britain, and by the British province of Arracan; on the south by China, Siam, and Pegu. It is impossible to say with precision what are its precise boundaries along its eastern and south-eastern frontiers, as they are perpetually changing, especially from disputes with Laos, Lachtho, Cambosia, and Siam. These are peaceful nations, but the love of extending territory, which seems ingrained in the hearts of all orientals, brings them into incessant differences with the Birmese, who are, however, more generally the aggressors. The area is unknown: no surveys exist, and any statement would rest on mere conjecture. Since the loss of Tenesserim, Pegu, and the other ceded territories north of the latter, it is alleged that from two hundred thousand square miles, which the empire once contained, its area has been reduced to half that extent.

The number of the population cannot be ascertained: the highest estimate is about sixteen millions. The ancient part of the empire—that which is inhabited by the governing race—is Ava, a very extensive region. It gives its name to the whole of the Birmese dominions, which are frequently called the empire of Ava; and it is supposed by some writers to take its name from the city so designated, which is upon the right bank of the Irriwaddy, and central to the empire.

The climate is one of the finest in India, especially in the northern portions of Ava bordering Thibet. The intense heat experienced in the British provinces of Tenesserim, Pegu, and Arracan, is not common in any part of Ava, except for a short time during midsummer: the climate is, however, very warm in every part of the empire. The productions of the soil are tropical. The regularity of the seasons is favourable to the cultivator, as he can nearly always rely upon a return of the expected produce, and has no difficulty in determining upon what is suitable to plant or sow. There is very little lowland in Ava, and hence, notwithstanding the low latitude, vegetables and fruits common to Southern Europe in some places grow well. Most of the productions of India and China thrive within the limits of the old Birman empire. Good wheat, and other cereals, are raised. Tobacco, cotton of two sorts (one very white, the other brown, suitable for nankeens), indigo, sugar-cane, and rice, yield abundant crops to the husbandman. Nearly all the fruits of the tropics are plentiful in Ava. Trees of very many kinds flourish: teak grows thickly by the river courses, although the best kinds are found in the mountains, which are also crowned with varieties of useful firs. The forest districts are unhealthy, as they are in India. Ague and jungle fever are very common, and Europeans cannot encounter the pestiferous influence of these neighbourhoods. The woodmen are a peculiar class, who live by the timber trade: they endure the deleterious influences of the climate as none others can, but they seldom live to an advanced age.

The tea-plant is indigenous to Birmah: some good qualities of the Assam species are found on the frontier of that country. Some very fine qualities have been also discovered on the Chinese frontier, but the quantity picked in either case is very small. In the interior there are wild plants, which are very prolific, bearing a leaf resembling Bohea; and

a peculiar species, the leaf of which makes a most agreeable pickle, in the opinion of some Europeans surpassing all others.

The mineral productions of Birmah are abundant as they are varied. The gold and silver mines of Badouem, on the Chinese frontiers, have been long known. The mines of Woobolootan are amongst the most remarkable in the world; they are situated on the hilly range near the River Keenduem, and yield gold, silver, sapphires, and rubies. Near the city of Ava, at Keoummevum, there are mines still richer, and the variety of the treasures found there probably exceeds that of any other mines in the world. Between the Rivers Irriwaddy and Keenduem there is a small river called the *Shoe Lien Koup* (the stream of the golden sand), in which gold dust in large quantities is obtained. In many of the minor streams, along the lower mountain slopes, gold is found in the sands. Ava is famous for its beautiful chrysolites. Amethysts and garnets are found in very great numbers: jasper is a product much prized by the Birmese. Near some of the rivers amber, the purest and most pellucid in the world, is dug up. The marble of Birmah is likewise unrivalled; it admits of a polish which renders it almost transparent. This commodity is invested with religious sacredness, because the images of Buddha are formed from it: its exportation is prohibited, except through the medium of government. There are but few minerals which are not to be found in Birmah: iron, tin, lead, antimony, arsenic, and sulphur, are obtained in large quantities, with but little expenditure of labour or capital.

One of the curiosities of Birmese production is the petroleum oil, which is drawn from wells, that have attained great celebrity in the East: throughout the imperial provinces this oil is much in request, and as the government holds a monopoly of its sale, a large revenue is thence derived.

The animals of Ava are of the same species as those of Arracan, Pegu, and Tenesserim generally, which have been already described when an account of those vanquished provinces of the Birman empire was given. In Ava the elephant is much prized.

The vegetable, mineral, and animal products of this fine country are articles of commerce with neighbouring nations, and but for the illiberal commercial notions of both the people and the government, the Birmese empire would, ages since, have been a vast emporium, so numerous and valuable are its resources.

The chief commerce is conducted with China, in which country there is a market for most Birmese commodities; and the manufactures of China are highly valued in Ava. China takes most of the cotton which is exported, and especially of the brown sort, which is manufactured into cloth in the city of Nankin. The Chinese eagerly purchase from the Birmans amber, ivory, precious stones, and betel-nut. Formerly edible birds' nests were a Birman export, but these were sent to China by provinces which are now British. The Birmese receive for their commodities from China silks raw and wrought, velvets, gold-leaf, paper, porcelain, and metal vessels. The Avanese are very desirous to procure Chinese preserves, which are in high reputation in all that part of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. Cocoa-nut is a much valued importation from Ceylon and Continental India. From the latter muslins are received, and broad-cloths from England. The beautiful wing and tail feathers of the Argus pheasant (*Argus giganteus*), found only in the Indo-Chinese peninsula and the Island of Sumatra, were formerly a profitable commodity of Birmese commerce. They are now generally exported from Malacca. Marabout feathers are at present obtained chiefly from Cochin China: previously they were also a Birmese export.

Feathers were, at a former period, woven for clothing in Ava and China. The forests of the former, and the sea-coasts, afforded haunts for multitudes of birds; and the feathers were plaited or woven into garments with great ingenuity. The plaited feather-work of Ava was very beautiful, but the Chinese excelled in incorporating feathers with various tissues, and producing what they called feather-cloth. This art is almost lost in China: it is still practised after a rude fashion in Ava. The Birmese also used feathers in decorating jewellery, but the natives of China excelled them greatly in this art, which they still successfully practise, the higher classes of the Birmese being good customers: feathers, precious stones, and the precious metals being exchanged for these decorated products of Chinese ingenuity. These manufactures are of a character so peculiar and remarkable, that a description of the processes cannot fail to interest the reader. A distinguished naturalist, referring to the uses to which the ancient Birmese and Chinese put the feathers, so abundant on the Indo-Chinese peninsula, and particularly naming the head-ornaments and feather-cloths, observes:—

"Among them was the celestial goose velvet, the foundation of the fabric being of silk, into which the feathers were ingeniously and skilfully interwoven on a common loom, those of a crimson hue being the most expensive. Of these wild goose feathers two kinds of cloth were made—one for winter, the other

for summer wear. Rain could not moisten them: they were called 'rain satin' and 'rain gauze' respectively. Canton men imitated the manufacture, employing feathers of the common goose, blending them with cloth. This fabric, though inferior in quality, was much cheaper. Goods of the same description were also brought from Hohleh (believed to be Bokhara), made of birds' feathers: they were twilled, the crimson-coloured being most valued. The article was too heavy for garments. The Cantonese also learned to imitate this, making it like plain silk, and inferior to that from abroad. Although the Chinese would seem to have lost the art of weaving feathers, plumagery is still extensively practised in the decoration of metallic ornaments worn by all classes of females, chiefly on the head. The gaudy lustre of the metal is softened by laying over portions of it a covering of blue feathers representing flowers, insects, birds, and the like, which imparts indescribable beauty to the silversmith's elaborate filagrees. The art appears to most advantage as practised by artificers, whose occupation is the manufacture of garlands, chaplets, frontals, tiaras, and crowns of very thin copper, on which purple, dark and light blue feathers of gorgeous brilliancy are laid with exquisite taste and skill. A more tasteful, elegant, or gorgeous blending of art and nature than is exhibited in some of these head-dresses, perhaps no ingenuity has hitherto devised.

"As this elegant art has not hitherto attracted the attention of foreigners, the mode of procedure may be briefly described:—On the table at which the workman sits, he has a fasciculus of feathers, a small furnace with a few embers for keeping warm a cup of glue, a small cutting instrument like a screw-driver, a pencil or brush, and the articles—either silver-gilt, copper-tinsel, or pasteboard—which are to be feathered. The thumb and index-finger being smeared with glue, the feathers are gently drawn between them, which stiffens the barbs, causing them to adhere firmly together; and when dry the perpendicular blade is drawn close to the shaft, dividing it from the barbed portion. Holding this cutting instrument as in writing, *à la Chinoise*, the artist, by pressing on the strips of barb with the knife, cuts them into the desired size and shape, which is a work of some delicacy—the pieces being very small, in the form of petals, scales, diamonds, squares, and the like, and requiring to be of the same size as the particular spot on which they are to be laid. Besides fingering this tool in the manner described, he holds the pencil nearly as we do a pen, dips it into the glue, brushes the spot to be coated; then expertly reversing it, touches with its opposite point a tiny bit of feather, which is thus lifted up and laid on the part for which it was fitted. Care is requisite, also, in giving a proper direction to this twilled work, for such, of course, is the appearance presented by the barbs. The feathers most in demand for this purpose are from a beautiful species of *alcedo*, brought from the tropical regions of Asia: they are employed for silver articles. King-fishers of coarser plumage and less brilliant hues, found throughout the country, are used for ornaments made of copper or pasteboard. Blue always greatly predominates over lighter or darker shades, relieved by purple, white, or yellow." *

Several substances for tanning are exported from the limits of the old Birmese empire, some of which are the products of Birmah proper—terra japonica, an inspissated extract from the leaves and branches of the *Uncaria gamber*, and cutch, an astringent extract, obtained by boiling the wood of the Acacia catechu, are specimens of these.

The bone fans, in the manufacture of which the Chinese so excel, are made from material in a large degree supplied by the Birmese empire. The ivory fans of China and other ivory manufactures of the celestial empire are made in considerable part from material exported by either the Avanese or inhabitants of British Birmah. Although African ivory is preferred in this country, the Chinese find it more convenient to obtain that of Birmah in exchange for their silks. The ivory of the *tame* elephant of Birmah is supposed to be superior to that of the animal in a tame condition elsewhere. That from the wild animal of Birmah is valued by the Chinese as highly as the best African. The uses to which ivory may be put are almost innumerable,† and the natives of the empires of Birmah and China adopt a very great number of them. Fans, flowers, fancy boxes, idols, idol furniture, altars, inlaid work for columns and doors of temples, throne decorations, and ornaments for the pavilion of the white elephant, are some of the purposes for which it is employed. The government has a monopoly of such as is exported to China. Ivory dust is used for food by some of the higher classes, which others consider to be irreligious. The blanc-mange which is made from it is extremely agreeable. The Birmese never succeeded in attaining to the perfection of either the Indians or Chinese in the working of

* Dr. Macgowan on Chinese and Aztec Plumagery, in *American Journal of Science and Art.*

† See a Paper read by Professor Owen before the Society of Arts, reported in the Society's Journal of the 19th of December, 1856.

ivory; for although some good specimens of Birmese carving exist, especially of ancient date, yet the following encomium upon their more artistic neighbours is correct:—"The Chinese have long been celebrated for their excellence in the fabrication of ornamental articles in ivory, and, strange to say, up to our own time, their productions are still unrivalled. European artists have never succeeded in cutting ivory after the manner of these people, nor, to all appearance, is it likely they ever will. Nothing can be more exquisitely beautiful than the delicate lacework of a Chinese fan, or the elaborate carving of their miniature junks, chess-pieces, and concentric balls: their models of temples, pagodas, and other pieces of architecture, are likewise skilfully constructed; and yet three thousand years ago such monuments of art were executed with the very same grace and fidelity!" *

Horn, particularly the horn of the buffalo, is also sent to China, where it is manufactured into drinking-cups, hilts of swords, snuff-boxes, &c. In Birmah drinking vessels are made out of this material by the hand, and in a most wasteful manner; in China the process is as scientific as in England, and therefore less expensive than the Birmese work, so that these articles are sent into Ava, made from the horn imported thence to China. The process in the latter country may be thus described:—"The horn, being sawn to the required length, is scalded and washed over the fire, but, instead of being slit and opened, is placed, while hot, in a conical mould of wood; a corresponding plug of wood is then driven hard in to bring the horn to shape. Here it remains till cold, and is then taken out, and fixed by the large end on the mandril of a lathe, when it is turned and polished both inside and outside, and a groove or *chime*, as the coopers call it, is cut by a gauge tool within the small end for receiving the bottom. The horn is then taken off the lathe, and laid before the fire, when it expands, and becomes somewhat flexible; a round flat piece of horn, of the proper size (cut out of a plate by means of a kind of crown saw), is dropped in, and forced down till it reaches the chime, and becomes perfectly fixed in this situation, and water-tight by the subsequent contraction of the horn as it cools." The buffalo and deer horns imported from Siam to Great Britain frequently pass into that country from the Birman empire, and nearly thirty thousand pairs of horns reach England from the Siamese coasts.

Hogs' skins are used in the manufacture of shoes. The animal thrives in Birmah, as it does in almost all countries and climates. The most valuable wax imported to England is the insect wax of Birmah and China, the secretion of the *Coccus ceriferus*. Musk, in grain and in the pod, is brought to England from Birmah and Siam.

The Birmans use no coin in their commercial dealings with foreigners or with one another; silver in bullion, and lead, are used as the currency.

The people are muscular and active, but not tall. The complexion is purer than that of the Chinese, and much fairer than that of the natives of Bengal, the form both of feature and person much more resembling that of the Chinese. The women are much fairer than the men, and in the northern parts of the country they are sometimes fairer than the inhabitants of Southern Europe.

The government is despotic, the emperor, like his brother of China, assuming the most absurd and pompous titles. In a state document of 1810 the King of England was described as the emperor's vassal. There are no hereditary offices or titles, all honours reverting to the crown upon the decease of the possessor. The officials and wealthy classes are polite and affable, but subtle and rapacious. This arises in part from the extreme oppressions to which they are subjected on the part of the crown, in order to enhance the already enormous riches of the royal house, which possesses stores of precious metals and precious stones, the most costly Chinese silks, ivory carvings, plate, and other articles of expensive Chinese manufacture, reputed to be of enormous worth.

The Birmese have always been warlike, and especially addicted to naval warfare. Their war-boats were a terror in the Bay of Bengal and in the Eastern seas at a period not very remote. The whole people are liable to be called out to military service; but a very small standing army is also retained, which, for the most part, consists of native Christians. The discipline and arms are alike wretched. In combat with men whose weapons are not superior, the Birmese show great spirit and courage. The henza, or Brahminy goose, is the royal ensign, like the eagle of certain European armies, ancient and modern.

The Pali language is the sacred text of Ava, Siam, and Pegu. The Birman language is written in the Sanscrit character, but bears no resemblance in construction to that language.* The character in common use throughout Ava is a round Nogari, derived from the square Pali. It is formed of circles and segments of circles, variously disposed,

* Report of the Society of Arts.

* Missionary reports.

and is written from left to right.* The higher classes affect an indistinct pronunciation.

The Birmans are fond of literature. A curious exemplification of this exists in the fact that Sir William Jones's translation of the institutes of Hindoo law were translated by an Armenian, in 1795, under the orders of the Birman emperor. Letters are so generally diffused, that very considerable numbers can read and write. Those who can afford to keep libraries do so, and, as in China, the public libraries are on a large scale. They are, however, few in Birmah. According to one authority,† the library of his Birman majesty, early in this century, was the largest royal library in Asia. The people are fond of poetry and music, and love to repeat in verse, and sing, the exploits of their ancient kings.

The religion of Birmah, as the reader has seen from references in previous pages, is Buddhist. There are no castes, and no hereditary trades or professions. The characteristics of this religion have been sufficiently depicted in former chapters. There is, however, one most extraordinary superstition for which the empire is noted—the reverence paid to the white elephant. The Birmese, who believe in metempsychosis, suppose that a white elephant contains a human soul in the last of many millions of transmigrations, at the conclusion of which he is absorbed into the Deity. A white elephant is, in consequence of this superstition, always selected for the highest post of dignity in the kingdom next to that of the emperor. The elephant takes precedent of the queen. The following description is the substance of one given in more detail by Captain Canning after a visit to the capital of Ava in 1812:—The residence of the white elephant is contiguous to the royal palace, with which it is connected by a long open gallery supported by numerous wooden pillars, at the farther end of which a curtain of black velvet, embossed with gold, conceals the august animal from the eyes of the vulgar, and before this curtain the offerings intended for him are displayed. His dwelling is a lofty hall covered with splendid gilding both inside and out, and supported by a number of elegant columns; his trappings are very magnificent, being gold studded with large diamonds, pearls, sapphires, rubies, and other precious stones; the vessels out of which he feeds are likewise of gold inlaid with precious stones, and his attendants and guard amount to a thousand persons. The animal thus fed, dressed, and attended, and apparently unconscious of his own importance, receives at a great distance the homage of his votaries, who humbly bow their heads before him nearly to the ground. He possesses a cabinet, composed of a *wringhee*, or prime-minister, a secretary of state, an under-secretary, a transmitter of intelligence, and various inferior officers, who are, nevertheless, high functionaries. There are several large estates in different parts of the country which belong to him, and by the income of which the vast expenditure connected with his dignity is defrayed. When such is the religion of Birmah, the moral and social life of its people cannot be expected to approach in any degree what is pure or happy.

As in China, the extraordinary minute provision made for the punishment of offences, and the multitude of crimes thus provided for, show the laxity of the people and the rigidity of the government.

The treatment of woman is one of the worst features of Birmese social life. They are subjected to every species of hardship, but are not shut up, as in India; on the contrary, they are as unrestrained as European women. There is a peculiar institution affecting woman, which may be called wife-lending, which would demoralise any country where such a law and such a practice was permitted to exist. Females, married or single, are *leased* for a certain time to serve as a wife, especially to strangers. If the stranger is obliged to depart the country, the bond ceases to be effective—both parties are free. Yet the women are seldom unfaithful. It is rare for a Birmese woman to betray her husband, even under the vilest provocation. No women in the East, or perhaps in the world, are so little given to intrigue in any form. Even when placed under bond to a stranger, they are true to that bond, and are kind to their offspring. All children of Europeans born in Ava are held by the laws to be the subjects of the emperor, and cannot be removed without his special permission, which it is presumed he would hardly dare to refuse when British subjects made the demand, yet under cover of this law shameful desertion has been excused. In British Birmah similar customs exist in respect to woman, but of course without the sanction of law. The result, however, is injurious not only to the unfortunate women who are deserted, but to the reputation of England and of British subjects. The Birmah correspondent of the *New York Tribune* recently gave an *exposé* of the consequences ensuing from such a demoralised state of society, calculated to enlist the sympathy of every British philanthropist, especially when it is remembered

* Captain Canning. † Colonel Symes.

how the religious and benevolent public of America have struggled to sow the seeds of truth both in British and native Birmah, and their noble exertions to save and educate the native females of those territories. According to the statement in the *Tribune*, many Europeans take advantage of the customs above referred to, and often have families by native women, who are left wholly destitute, the children to grow up heathens, and less cared for than those of Birmese fathers. The correspondent thus exemplifies his assertion:

"Three years ago this present month I was informed by a Birman that a young Englishman had entered the monasteries of the priests, and embraced the Buddhist religion. I could not believe such a statement, and took no small pains to look into the matter. I found, to my inexpressible regret, that the cast-off son of an English gentleman had shaved his head, put on the yellow robes, and entered the monastery as a priest of Buddha, where he daily bowed before the idols of Gotama, and was worshipped by the people as himself a god. His father was—he know not where.

"During the same season, while travelling in the jungle, remote from any city, I called at a small village, where my attention was arrested by a lad about twelve years of age under the care of a priest, and in training for the priesthood. He had the large Roman nose, an intelligent forehead, brown hair, and every feature indicated that he possessed a large share of English blood. I made inquiries concerning his parentage. He was the son of an English officer, but had never known his father. His mother died when he was an infant, and, but for the 'tender mercies of the heathen,' he would have been left to perish. My heart yearned for the poor boy. I would gladly have taken him to my heart's home; but he had been given to the priests, who were unwilling to part with so valuable a prize. I have never seen or heard from him since.

"About two years ago I was passing by a market-place, and saw two girls—perhaps I should say young ladies—of eighteen and twenty years of age selling fish and a variety of eatables. They were dressed in Birmese costumes, but so strong were their English features, that I inquired of a man near by concerning them. He said they were the daughters of an English officer, who left the place eighteen years ago, when the youngest was an infant. Their mother died soon after, and they had been brought up by their grandmother, who was very poor. They had no knowledge of their father. Neither could speak or read a word of English. They were heathen, although the daughters of a nominally Christian father. They lived, dressed, and worshipped as the heathen do—slept on a mat, and ate with their fingers.

"I called a few days ago at the house of a collector of revenues in this city. His wife was the daughter of an English physician once stationed here. She said she had been told by her mother that her father was Dr. somebody (I could not make out who), and that he lives at Madras, though she has not heard from him for many long years. Poor woman! I fear she will never hear from her father again. Her husband is a very strong Buddhist, and she joins with him in all his acts of heathen worship.

"Not long since, while passing through the streets, I saw a little girl about two years of age. She possessed English features to a remarkable degree, and, more than all else, the Anglo-Saxon indomitable ruling propensity, for with a stick she was driving about the yard a number of children, some of whom were many years her seniors. I inquired concerning the child, and learned that it was the daughter of an officer who had left the place before the birth of the child. He had made no provision either for her or her mother. The mother had recently taken a Birmese husband.

"I called one day at a house where was a Birmese funeral. A large congregation had assembled, and among the crowd I noticed a white child about a year old. It was a bitter cold morning for this country. The poor child was bareheaded and barefooted, and covered only with a thin calico slip, through and under which the bitter east wind was piercing as the little one clung to the bosom of her mother, a thin delicate girl of eighteen. I inquired concerning the father of the child, and was told that its father was Captain ——, who left the place about a year previous. For the first few months he sent the mother a small pittance per month, but she was now entirely dependent upon her own labour for the support of herself and her worse than fatherless infant. This captain, let it be remarked, had an English wife and family, whom he left in Bengal while on these coasts."

The empire of Ava has few cities, yet the country places are sparsely inhabited, the people collecting in villages, as in India.

There are two capitals—Ava and Ummerapore; and these are the only towns of any great note in the Ava dominions. The first-named of these two cities is more properly designated Aingwa, but corrupted by Europeans into Ava. It is situated in latitude

21° 51′ north, and longitude 95° 58′ east. It is only four miles from Ummerapore, and both may be considered one city, from the intimate connection between them, the environs of one nearly meeting the other. Ava is divided into two fortified departments—one only a mile in circumference, the other four miles. It is a place of temples, most of them passing into a state of dilapidation; but the superstitious people, although willing to build others, would regard it as sacrilege to repair those that still exist. In the temple of Logathero Praw there is a gigantic idol of Buddha, formed from a huge block of the purest marble. The idol occupies a sitting posture, and from the pedestal on which it is represented as sitting to the top of the head it measures thirty-four feet. The measurement across the breast is ten feet, and the diameter of the head is eight feet. Colonel Symes was of opinion that the temple was built over this colossal figure, as the door would be too small to admit even the head. Ummerapore (the city of the immortals) is situated on the banks of an extensive lake, seven miles long, and one and a half broad. It is well fortified, according to Birmese notions. The private buildings in Ummerapore and in Ava are mostly of wood, and frequent conflagrations devastate both. The temples of the former city are chiefly of wood, and richly gilded with the best Chinese gold-leaf both within and without. The amount of gold thus consumed is very considerable. The best building is the imperial library, which is of great value, the books being covered with choice woods richly gilt.

There are various ruined cities, possessing no traces of former greatness, nor any objects of value, except colossal images of Buddha.

The conflicts with Britain have much humiliated this empire. They were generally begun by their imperial majesties with arrogance, and ended in defeat and loss. Birmah is one of those antique old Eastern lands which must be rescued by truth and civilization, conveyed by Western instrumentality.

## AFFGHANISTAN.*

This country has been repeatedly the scene of English campaigning, and along its frontiers a border war has been frequently sustained. It is bounded on the north by Little Thibet and Koondooz; on the north-east, by the Indian Caucasus and Little Thibet; on the east, by the Punjaub and the line of the Indus; on the south-east, by Scinde; on the south, by Beloochistan; and on the west, by Persia. It is impossible to make any accurate statement of its area or population. Its surface exceeds that of France, Belgium, and Holland. The population is supposed to be about six millions.

The configuration of the country is hilly, and along its frontiers for the most part picturesque. The Hindoo Cush (Indian Caucasus), a westerly extension of the Himalayas, and the Parapamisan, a still more westerly continuation of the same range, towering up into the regions of perpetual snow, present objects of sublimity along the north-eastern and northern frontier. The Suliman, and other ranges, diversify the scenery along the east, or Punjaub boundary. The streams flowing from these hills, especially from the line of the Hindoo Cush, fertilise the lower country. The border lands of Beloochistan are desert, like the neighbouring frontiers of that country. The rivers are not numerous. The Cabul passes the city of that name, and flows eastward to the Indus, which it joins above Attock. At the confluence a remarkable *ignis fatuus* is seen every evening. The Cabul River is not voluminous, but, from the character of the country through which it flows, its descent to the level of the Indus is rapid. The Helmund directs its course westward, crossing a desert, and empties itself in the great lake Zerak. There are other rivers of some importance, but none large. Eastward, the Cashgar, Koomul, and Gorum, irrigate the country. To the west the country receives the fertilising influences of the Ettymandur, the Urghundaub, the Kooshrood, the Furrakrood, and the Sera. The people are accustomed to cut great numbers of small channels from all the rivers and streams, some of which are exhausted upon the earth, for the fertilisation of which their course is thus checked.

The south-west monsoon is heavy in some districts of the country, while others are, from their conformation, or westerly position, beyond its influence.

In a region so hilly the climate must be various. The valleys experience the heat of a low latitude, while the high acclivities of the mountains are clothed with perpetual winter, and on the lower slopes a European climate is found, producing the fruits and vegetables of the temperate zone. The climate seems especially influenced by the direction of the winds, which, sometimes blowing from snow-capped mountains, or over desert wastes, are cold; in other directions, coming from regions more warm and humid, they are refreshing. The easterly winds are from such causes genial, while those from the west are severely cold, partaking in their character of the east winds in early spring in the metropolis, and along the east coast of Eng-

* Aff-ghani-st'han.

land. There are valleys which are so surrounded by mountains, that they can hardly be affected by winds, from whatever quarter.

The appearance of the Affghans would impress the traveller in favour of the climate. They are fair, tall, robust, and appear to enjoy good health, except from the influence of epidemics, which are numerous and severe. The most common are fever and ague in the hilly jungle districts; opthalmia near the deserts; catarrhs in the latter regions and on the highlands; and smallpox everywhere, which carries off great numbers. In winter Europeans suffer, especially in the higher districts, from coughs, and other pulmonary affections. During some seasons the winter has proved to Europeans as trying as that of Siberia. In January, 1842, the British army, in its retreat from Cabul, suffered terribly from this cause. The climate is generally very dry, rivalling Scinde in this respect, without being liable to the heavy and incessant rains at long intervals to which that country is subject. In some of the districts of Affghanistan the climate is supremely delightful; and old traditions exist in Western Asia that the region of Paradise was situated in that country, just as in Southern and Eastern Asia similar traditions point out Ceylon as the place where our first parents tasted the forbidden tree.

The inhabitants believe that they are the descendants of Saul, King of Israel, and frequently apply to themselves the designation Beni-Israel. Some elaborate works have been written to prove this, and others to show that they are descendants of the tribes of Israel carried captive, whose abode it is so difficult to trace, but the argument is not satisfactory in either case to historians and ethnologists generally.

The customs of the people and their manner of life differ much according to the physical peculiarities of the districts which they inhabit. In some places they cultivate the soil, raising such products as are favoured by a tropical climate, or the cereal harvests of the temperate zone; in others they are cultivators of widespread orchards, the bloom and fruit of which in their seasons present aspects of extraordinary loveliness. These orchards might be called fruit-tree forests, their extent is so vast. In some districts the people inhabit old cities founded by the Greeks or the old Affghan kings. In others the people occupy long straggling villages of mud-built huts, with wooden or tiled and terraced roofs. Large districts are occupied by tribes who feed their stock on the wild grass and herbage, moving about like the wandering shepherd races of ancient times, pitching their tents where the pasture more abounds, or some grateful stream supplies refreshment to the flocks and herds and those who tend them. However diversified their habits and occupations, their homes and the sources of their support, their physical features are much the same, except in some border districts. They are bold, haughty, hospitable, vindictive, prompt to make war, tenacious in maintaining it, skilful in retreat, in pursuit vigilant, ever hanging upon the front flanks and rear of a regular army, ready to dispute its advance through some defile, or cut off stragglers in the weary march. Many of the people expect that they are at some future period to march as conquerors through Persia, and to settle in the ancient land of Israel. Such an expectation is the more remarkable, as, with the exception of a few half pagan border tribes, they are fierce Mohammedans. The destinies which they make out for themselves are reconciled to their religion by the notion that the earth is to be one day subject to the Prophet; that to him all nations shall bend the knee, and in him is the fulfilment of all things. His disciples have a right to universal possession, and what portion of the world so suitable for the Beni-Israel as the land of their fathers? It is not to be supposed from these vaticinations and hopes that the Affghans are indifferent to their own country; they are patriotic, and capable of stong local attachments; and their belief that Eden was a portion of their country adds to the attachment which they feel; but they suppose that it is their destiny to move forward, or for a considerable portion of them to do so, to the land of promise, from which their supposed progenitors were exiled. These views are not shared equally by all the tribes, some of whom could not be persuaded to forsake their mountains permanently for any reward, although always willing to make border raids for plunder, even where the gain is doubtful and the danger imminent. On the frontiers of Scinde and the Punjaub some of the tribes are the fiercest Mohammedan fanatics in the world.

The Affghans make good soldiers when employed under our Indian officers. The infantry of their own chiefs is very ineffective, except in mountain warfare, being wholly without discipline. They were shattered by the first volley of the infantry of old Runjeet Singh. Their cavalry is very good as irregulars; the horses are of superior breeds, some resembling the Arab in form, but larger; others are of a rude appearance, and vicious, but strong, fleet, and enduring. Thus mounted, these wild horsemen made splendid charges upon the infantry of the old

Khalsa army, but were broken upon the squares of those fine battalions. Before British discipline the Affghans never made any stand, except where very small numbers were engaged, and the conflict was hand to hand, or where, protected in some narrow defile, they could deliberately take aim with their long matchlocks.

The commerce of the country is in a very backward condition, although there are many products which would be acceptable to their neighbours, and some wants to supply, which the resources of the countries beyond theirs could satisfy.

There are no navigable rivers, and no good roads; over a large portion of the country there are no roads of any kind: these are of course impediments to commerce of a most formidable kind. Camels are employed in travelling and bearing burthens, as are also horses, which are singularly sure-footed. Caravans are formed, which trade between Chinese Turkistan and Çabul, and between Persia and India, bearing the products of those lands to Affghanistan, and returning with the productions of the latter. The dromedary is also useful for travelling and trading purposes, and is much used in all the plain country, especially in the portions that are dry and sandy. These animals not only carry the articles of exchange, but are objects of commerce. The tall, long-legged dromedary, known in Western India, is imported from Affghanistan, and the Bactria camel is much valued in Scinde and the Punjaub. This animal is very strong, covered with shaggy hair. The camel and dromedary are exchanged for the oxen of the Rajpoots. The sheep of the mountains are an article of commerce, as is also the wool they produce. These sheep have large flat tails a foot broad, and are almost entirely composed of fat. Goats, with long twisted horns, are abundant in the mountains; both the hair and horns of these animals are of some commercial value.

There are various wild animals which are hunted, not only for the skins, which are bartered, but for food. The hunting dogs possessed by the Affghans are very superior, the greyhound and the pointer equalling the best breeds in England. English officers and civilians purchase them. The Affghans are also expert in training eagles and hawks for the chase. Europeans fond of wild sports could find abundant occupation in the mountains which separate our Indian dominions from Affghanistan. The chirk is a bird which the mountaineers have taught to strike the antelope, and fasten on the head until the greyhound comes up. The lion hunter might possibly find the object of his pursuit in the hilly country of Cabul, but the animal is now extremely scarce: some writers state that it is extinct.

The country seldom suffers from locusts, and the people are very little annoyed by mosquitoes, a circumstance important to the lovers of field sports. In their pursuit of game the people incur great danger from various species of venomous reptiles, while the tiger and wild boar sometimes, and the bear frequently, endanger their pursuers. Sometimes the black bear will descend from the wooded hills to feast in a field of sugar-cane, and will defend himself with formidable strength and long-sustained ferocity. The wild sheep, wild goat, and wild dogs, are favourite objects of Affghan sport.

There are few mineral resources of the country used as articles of commerce, but it can hardly be doubted, little as those regions are explored, that the riches of the mountains are vast. Gold has been found in the streams. Silver has also been discovered. Beautiful rubies have been brought by the Persian, Scinde, and Punjaub merchants. Cliffs overhang the Cashgar River, containing *lapis lazuli;* lead, iron, sulphur, and antimony, have been obtained. Saltpetre abounds; rock-salt is taken from "the salt range;" alum is extracted from the clay at Calabaugh; orpiment is procured at Bulk, and from the country of the Huzzaras.*

The timber of Affghanistan will become increasing valuable to the inhabitants of Scinde and the Punjaub. Among the trees suitable for commerce are cedar, oak, walnut, birch, &c., and some woods of wild fruit trees beautifully adapted for tasteful cabinet articles.

The countries with which the Affghans trade besides the British territories adjoining, are Chinese Turkistan, Thibet, Turkistan, Beloochistan, Persia, and Arabia, by way of the port of Kurrachee, in Scinde. To British territory are sent horses, ponies, sheep, goats, hunting dogs, wool, horn, skins, furs, hair, honey, and other animal products; madder, asafœtida, tobacco, almonds, pistachio-nuts, walnuts, hazel-nuts, and a vast quantity of fruits both fresh and dried. Shawls, manufactured partly in Affghanistan and partly in Thibet, and cotton, are also sent down to India. The Affghans derive in return spices, cowrie shells, musk, coral, cotton cloths, silk cloths, indigo, ivory, chalk, bamboos, tin, and sandal-wood. The horses exported from Affghanistan to India are generally natives

* Certain hill tribes. The name, meaning a thousand, is used to denote the reputed number of their tribes.—MILNER.

of Turkistan, but are sold as of Affghan breed.

The people live well, as fruits, vegetables, and animals abound. So plentiful is fruit at Cabul, that grapes sell for one farthing a pound, and even more than that weight is very frequently given for so small a sum.

It is beyond the province of this work to give a minute historical account of the various tribes by which the country is peopled. Few tribes can number a very numerous fraternity, for the whole population is not more than that of Belgium and Holland, and the number of tribes is exceeding great. Sometimes these amalgamate, or form a net-work of alliance along our frontier, rendering them formidable so long as they act together, and are hostile, which their predatory habits dispose them to be, when the fear of British soldiers does not operate to deter their incursions, or wise policy does not conciliate them. Union, however, is not an Affghan virtue: a certain saint of theirs left this prophecy concerning them, which some interpret as a malediction, and others a benediction—"Always free, but never united."

The Huzzaras and Eimanks inhabit what is supposed to be the original home of the ancient Affghan race, by those who allege that the present stock is from the ten tribes of Israel: certainly the difference in appearance, language, and habits between the two septs or nations, whichever they may be, in relation to one another, justifies the supposition of distinct origins. These old tribes, however, proclaim themselves to be of Arab line, an opinion which many British officers who have served on the frontier have adopted. The Huzzara (or Hazerah) country is now British territory, as was shown on a former page. After the termination of the Sikh war it was made over to Gholab Singh, but, from the turbulent character of the people, the ameer was not likely to hold it in subjection, and other territory adjoining the Jummoo frontier was given in exchange. Tribes of the same race as the Huzzaras extend along our whole Punjaub frontier; and were it not for the skill with which Sir Henry Lawrence and his fellow-commissioners, and afterwards Sir John Lawrence, conducted their frontier operations, it would have been impossible to have secured British authority within the conquered dominions of Dhuleep Singh. Other tribes, more warlike still than the Huzzaras, but of kindred blood and character, dominated them, and urged them to conflict with the various occupants of the Punjaub, Sikhs and British. Sir Henry Lawrence observed in his report:—"The Gukkeers, Guggers, and the other aborigines of Huzzara, have most of them been mastered by Pathan invaders from beyond the Indus. These chieftains, secure in their fastnesses, and connected by ties of consanguinity and fellow-feeling with tribes still wilder than themselves, had been accustomed not only to spurn all constituted authority, but actually to exact black mail from the rulers of the Punjaub. The Moguls, and subsequently the Douranees, failed to master them; and the Sikhs, after having been frequently foiled, at length nominally accomplished their subjugation, by stirring up internal faction, and by the perpetration of countless acts of cruelty and treachery. But the conquerors held little more than the ground occupied by their garrisons; and the mountaineers, kept down only by a movable column kept constantly in the field, took advantage of the Sutlej campaign to rise, *en masse*, and recapture all the forts."

Sir Henry, having noticed the Huzzara and the tribes of the Trans-Indus frontier, observed:—"On account of the notoriety which many of the hill tribes had attained, and the large armaments which have been employed against them, it will be not amiss to group the several races under one view, and thus to complete the portraiture. The two main denominations are, firstly, of mixed tribes, chiefly of Affghan and Turkish descent, and secondly, Belooch tribes.*

"The mixed tribes hold the mountains from Huzzara and Peshawur to Dera Futteh Khan, and consist of the following sub-divisions:—Turnoulees, Momunds, Afreedees, Khuttuks, Pathans, Bungush, Orakzyes, Wuzeerees, Sheeranees, and Bhuttenees. The Beloochees tenant the hill ranges from Dera Futteh Khan to the south-western extremity of the Derajat, and to the borders of Scinde; their sub-divisions are the Ooshteranees, the Bozdars, Ligharees, Boogtees, Murrees, and Ghoorchanees.

"The Turnoulees chiefly belong to Huzzara, but they hold lands on both sides of the Indus. Leagued with the Jadoons of the Mahabur, and with the Chuggerzyes, Hussunzyes, and other northern Pathan tribes, they proved most formidable opponents to the Sikhs. It was in their country that Mr. Carne, the collector of Customs, was murdered.

"West and south-west of Peshawur, the most important tribe are the Afreedees. They hold the Khyber and Kohat passes. The numerous sections of the tribe (*kheyls*), each headed by its chief, have been usually split up into factions, and united only to oppose the sovereigns of the Punjaub and of Cabul, and to levy black mail from travellers and mer-

* To be noticed under Beloochistan.

chants. All the great invaders and the supreme potentates of northern India have successively had these Afreedees in their pay —Ghengiz, Timour, Baber, Nadir Shah, Ahmed Shah, the Barukzyes, the Sikhs, and lastly, the British. To all these unmanageable mountaineers have been treacherous. In each kheyl, some will receive money from a government, and will connive with the remainder in stopping its convoys, plundering the baggage, and murdering stragglers. Their hills near the Khyber are difficult for military operations; but the highlands of Turee, which stretch back into the interior, and in which the Afreedees, together with the Orakzyes, and others, take up their summer abode, are accessible from Kohat, and possess a climate congenial to Europeans. In their plain settlements they are merely squatters, who have won their acres by the sword, and pay revenue with the utmost unwillingness and irregularity. They are not deficient in aptitude for husbandry. Men descended from the same stock with them farm some of the most highly-cultivated garden-lands in Furruckabad. They are brave and hardy, good soldiers, and better marksmen. The best shots in the Guide corps are Afreedees. Perhaps two hundred of them may be found scattered among the Punjaub regiments. If placed as escort or sentries over treasure, they are not to be trusted; but in action they are true to the salt, even when fighting against their own brethren. In this fidelity they are not singular. Fanatic Mohammedans everywhere will fight against men of their own creed, on behalf of the infidel, Hindoo, Sikh, or British.

"The Momunds have of late gained a notoriety by their desultory skirmishing with the British troops. They inhabit the hills north of the Khyber, and hold both banks of the Cabul River. Their capital, Lalpurah, is situated just beyond the north-western extremity of the Khyber. They have encroached upon the plains, and now possess some of the richest lands in the Doab, from Michnee, where the Cabul River debouches from the hills, to Mutta, on the Swat River. They have also extensively colonized south of the Cabul River. In many points of character they resemble the Afreedees, but are inferior as soldiers.

"The Eusufzye Pathans and their martial qualities have been already mentioned. At the battle of Turee, which gave the sovereignty of Peshawur to the Sikhs, the Eusufzyes formed the strength of the Mohammedan army, which, numbering thirty thousand men, withstood a Sikh force of equal numbers, supported by guns, and headed by Runjeet Singh himself. On another occasion, they surrounded and attacked a body of Sikh irregular cavalry, eight thousand strong; the maharajah was absent, but Hurree Singh, Nulwa, and forty other sirdars, the flower of the Sikh chivalry, were present. These chiefs, feeling their position to be desperate, charged with the utmost gallantry, and cut a way through their assailants—a heterogeneous mass of undisciplined fanatics.

"The Khuttuks dwell in the hills south of Peshawur, and the plain which lies between the base of these hills and the Cabul River. In the Kohat valley, also, they are the predominating tribe. They hold the Kooshalghur Pass, leading from the Indus into Kohat, and offering the easiest entrance to the valley.

"Of these four great tribes, the Afreedees and Momunds have repeatedly appeared in arms against us since annexation; while the Eusufzyes and Khuttuks have never fired a shot except on our side: yet neither of the two latter are inferior to the former in manliness or spirit. Even during Avitabile's reign of terror, they never abated their resistance to Sikh authority. This relentless ruler never ventured into the Khuttuk valley, or the Eusufzye plains.

"The Orakzyes are to be met with to the north-west of Kohat, near the Hungoo valley.

"The Bungush tribe inhabit the enclosed plain of Meeranzye, and also the Khoorum valley, within the Cabul limits.

"The Wuzeerees have their abode in the hills south-west of Kohat, overlooking the Bunnoo valley. The internal history of this remarkable tribe is fully set forth in the volumes of Mr. Elphinstone and Major Edwardes. They occupy numerous passes opening into the Tânk and Bunnoo valleys. The hill, which overhangs the western face of the Soorduk defile, is always held by them. The British government is peculiarly interested in the guarding of the Soorduk Pass, as it forms the direct line of communication between Bahadoor Kheyl and Bunnoo. The nomadic habits of this tribe have been previously touched upon; they are both graziers and robbers. Commanding the main channel of commerce from Cabul and Ghuznee to the Punjaub and Hindoostan, they strive to levy contributions (with more or less success) from the Provindeahs, those warrior merchants whose hardihood and perseverance command a passage from Ghuznee to Derajat.

"Between Tânk and Bunnoo, the Ghubber mountain, a large mass protruding into the plains, is infested by a predatory tribe named Mithanees, who are perpetually at feud with the Wuzeerees.

"On the mountainous border of Dera

Ismail Khan, the most formidable tribe are the Sheeranees; they have frequently descended to rob and murder."

The late governor-general of India,* in minutes entered the 9th of May, 1853, thus notices the Affghan tribes which have been enumerated and described in the above portions of the report of the Punjaub commissioners,† and refers to the importance of our frontier relations to Affghanistan, as affecting the maintenance of a standing army along the border line to prevent invasion. Peace has, however, been principally maintained by the intelligence and skill of the Lawrences and their coadjutors, rather than by an imposing array of arms:—

"The frontier, indeed, has not been free from disturbance, but the attacks upon it have been made, not by the ruler of Cabul, but by the wild tribes of the hills, who, if they are hostile to us, are not one whit more so than they are to the ameer, and to all mankind besides. There has not been war upon the frontiers, but forays over the border. These tribes have been murderers and plunderers since the days of Ishmael, their father; and it is not to be expected in reason that they should at once be converted to order and harmlessness, merely because British rule has been advanced to the foot of their mountain fastnesses. Much, however, has already been done.

"A policy of forbearance and defence was enjoined towards them. The lands they had held in the plains were left to them, and their communities were in no respect interfered with, so long as they respected the rights and the security of others. When after a time the tribes in the Derajat, and above the Peshawur valley, began to commit aggressions, defensive measures alone were taken, while warning was given that a repetition of such aggressions would bring down punishment on their heads. When the warnings repeatedly given to them were disregarded, our subjects murdered, and their property destroyed; and when it became apparent that the tribes were misconstruing the forbearance of the British government, and were presuming on the supposed inaccessibility of their mountain retreats, the government felt it to be its duty to have recourse to sterner measures and severer retribution.

"The punishment of the valley of Ranizaie by the force under Sir Colin Campbell, of the Syuds of Khagan and of the Huzzumzies by Colonel Mackeson, of the Omerzye Wuzeerees by Major Nicholson, and more lately of the Sheeranees and Kusranees, on the borders of the Derajat, have given to those wild people a lesson, which will have, I doubt not, the best effects, and indeed has already produced them. During the past cold season no single outrage has been committed upon the Peshawur frontier.

"The people of Ranizaie, and the several divisions of the Momund tribes that have been punished, have made their submission, have asked permission to re-occupy their lands, and have offered to pay for them revenue—a sign of subjection which they have never exhibited before to any previous dynasty, whether Mogul or Persian, Affghan or Sikh."

The whole of the chiefs of Affghanistan, whether on the British, Belooch, Thibetian, or Persian frontier, are subject to the reigning monarch at Cabul. He has the right of making peace and declaring war, but cannot cede territory. His grand vizier has the chief responsibilities of government. Previous to the inroads of the Sikhs and British, the kingdom was divided into twenty-seven provinces, eighteen of which had separate governors. These were Herat, Furrah, Candahar, Ghuznee, Cabul, Bamian, Ghorebund, Jellalabad, Lughman, Peshawur, Dera Ismail Khan, Shikarpore, Sewee, Scinde, Cashmere, Chuch Huzzara, Seia, and Mooltan. Several of those provinces fell under the dominion of Runjeet Singh, and were conquered by the British from Dhuleep Singh, and now many of the principal Affghan provinces are placed under the British non-regulation provinces of Scinde and the Punjaub. Herat has lately been the cause of a war between Great Britain and Persia, the province lying sufficiently near the Persian frontier to attract the covetousness and ambition of that power. It has, by treaty on the part of the courts of London, Teheran, and Cabul, been recognised as an independent territory.

The language of the Affghans is called Pushtoo. Its origin is a matter of dispute among philologists. Some maintain that it is an original language. Sir William Jones considered it a dialect of the Chaldee of Scripture. The Persian alphabet is employed by the Affghans; but as there are sounds in the Pushtoo which the Persian character will not express, they adopt a system of points. The literature of the country is Persian.

The sect of Mohammedans to which most of the Affghans belong is the Sooni.

The power of the kings of Cabul before the loss of so many fine provinces was very considerable, and the population, in 1809, according to the computation of Elphinstone, was nearly treble what it is now.

* The Marquis of Dalhousie.

† Sir Henry Lawrence, Mr. John Lawrence, Mr. Mansell, and (his successor) Mr. Montgomery.

There are few countries so capable of resisting invasion as Affghanistan. On the side of India it can only be entered through defiles, where a small band of resolute and well-disciplined men could defend them against hosts. The Bolan Pass, *en route* from Scinde to Candahar, and the Khyber Pass, leading from the Punjaub to Cabul, illustrate the inaccessibility of the country by hostile forces, if the defence be firm and intelligent. From Turkistan the passes through the Parapamisan and the Hindoo Cush are still more formidable, rising to elevations of eleven and twelve thousand feet. Herat is the key of Affghanistan from the side of Persia, and some have called it the key of British India.

There is a peculiarity in the antiquities of Affghanistan and its borders on the Persian side very remarkable. Round towers, generally of stone, called *topes*, the largest of which are about a hundred and fifty feet in circuit at the base, and rising to the height of sixty feet, are to be found in various parts of the country. Their origin or use cannot be traced. Some of them have been proved to contain square chambers, in which ashes, rings, vessels, and relics, have been found, the nature of which could not be ascertained. Burnes pronounced them to be the tombs of kings, but he did so on insufficient evidence. These towers resemble the round towers in Ireland, concerning which also conjecture is lost in the remoteness of antiquity.* Various authorities have assigned to the latter a purpose similar to that which Burnes ascribes to the round towers of Cabul. Others believe them to have been erected as temples of the sun; and certain writers deem them to have been the emblems of a philosophical and yet more corrupt idolatry. No doubt they are of oriental origin, and a correct theory in reference to them would throw light upon the antiquity of the Affghan towers.

The morals of the people are sufficiently indicated by the quotations from Sir Henry Lawrence and Lord Dalhousie. Treachery, indifference to human life, eagerness for plunder, a love of feud and tribal conflict, vindictiveness, and wild fanaticism, seem to be striking characteristics on the unfavourable side. Bravery and hospitality are the virtues most prized and practised by them.

Cabul is the Affghan capital. It is situated in the north-east, on the Cabul River. The site is nearly six thousand four hundred feet above the level of the sea. The soil is productive, and the climate delightful. Orchards surround the city, yielding the many kinds of Asiatic and most descriptions of European fruit. The population is sixty thousand. In the centre of a garden outside the city two slabs of beautiful marble mark the graves of Baber, the founder of the Mogul empire in India. Both within and without the city flowers are much cultivated, and very numerous and beautiful varieties spring up in the fields, orchards, and on the hill-sides. The jessamine, narcissus, hyacinth, poppy, tube-rose, and common English flowers, are everywhere to be seen. The country is not well wooded, but the hills nourish birch, holly, and hazel, and on the low grounds the mulberry, tamarisk, and willow. The pistachio is to be met with on the hills near Cabul, but along the Hindoo Cush it grows abundantly. The wild olive, and a gigantic species of cypress, are favourite trees with the people. Timber becomes more scarce in the neighbourhood, and the inhabitants complain of want of fuel.

The sufferings of the British army in 1842 from the severity of the climate has created an impression in England that, from the elevated situation of the city, the winters are intolerably cold, but, although sometimes very inclement, they are not generally severer than in England. The summer climate is really trying to Europeans, for the city is so shut in by hills, that there is not a free play of air, and the heat becomes intense. For a few weeks after midsummer the valley of Cabul has been compared to a furnace. The closely encircling hills afford protection from the winds and snow-storms of winter. It would appear that the climate in this region was in ancient times more temperate as to heat and cold than it is now, for Indian and Persian writers of antiquity celebrate its genial character in prose and verse. The scenery of the province is very lovely, variety being given by the ever-changing aspects of the mountains, dependent upon light and shade, and the different points of view presented by every change of the observer's position. The infinite variety of fruit blossom, and of flowers which cover the earth a large portion of the year, also give a peculiar charm to the landscape.

The predominating tribe of Affghanistan (the Douranee) inhabits the province of Cabul. The throne is occupied by a Douranee dynasty, which was founded by one of the officers of Nadir Shah, on the death of that distinguished personage, in 1747. Shah Soojah was deposed in 1810, the people having rebelled, and rival chiefs having successfully intrigued against his person and dynasty. The shah fled for protection to Runjeet Singh, bearing with him the *Koh-i-noor*, or "mountain of light," the most splendid and valuable diamond known. Runjeet did not

* Petrie; O'Brien.

scruple to deprive the refugee of his treasure; but retribution followed, for the kingdom of Runjeet was in turn subdued by a more powerful foe; the diamond became a trophy of war, and was destined to reflect its glory upon Queen Victoria.

The Douranees are very eager to establish their descent from Israel. They say that Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, consigned their ancestors to the country of Cabul after the overthrow of the temple and city of Jerusalem. This view was adopted by the oriental scholar Sir William Jones, the diplomatist Sir Alexander Burnes, and the Baptist missionaries Drs. Carey and Marshman. Modern orientalists and philologists dispute these claims; yet while the argument on the negative side seems unanswerable, it is very remarkable how such a tradition of their origin should exist among the people themselves.

There is an Armenian colony in the valley, whose fathers were brought thither by Nadir Shah during his Turkish wars; also a Hindoo settlement of remote antiquity; and another of Usbeck Tartars. It would seem to have been the policy of various princes to colonize that region with foreign and even remote peoples, and this circumstance gives some weight to the views of those who suppose that there has been a colonization of Hebrews.

Cabul is computed to be 839 miles (travelling distance) from Delhi, 976 from Agra, 1118 from Lucknow, and 1815 from Calcutta.

South of Cabul is the ancient city of Ghuznee (or Ghuzni), situated in latitude 33° 10′ north, and longitude 66° 57′ east. This was once the capital of an empire which stretched from the Ganges to the Tigris. Like Cabul, its better fortunes are in the past, although, also like that city, it has had a chequered history. The climate is intensely cold, owing to the great elevation of the district above the level of the sea. The inhabitants of the city are obliged some years to remain more than six months within their houses, in consequence of protracted winter, which often continues beyond the vernal equinox. On at least one occasion, at a remote period, the city was buried beneath a fall of snow; in several instances it narrowly escaped a similar fate. The productions of the country around are such as might be predicted of an elevated region exposed to such a climate. The only animals which thrive are camels, although hardy breeds of sheep and goats subsist.

Old travellers have given accounts of ruins and other traces of magnificence, but few now remain, and the city is little better than a large and squalid village. There are, however, some architectural remains of interest, and some slight vestiges of "the palace of felicity," where kings held sway, and of the mosque once called the "Celestial Bride." The tomb of Mahmoud still exists. He was the conqueror of India, and the founder of the Ghuznee dominion. This tomb is about three miles from the existing city—a spacious but not magnificent building, covered with a cupola. The tombstone is of white marble, bearing sculptured verses of the Koran. At its head lies the mace which the deceased monarch is said to have wielded. It is plain, with a heavy head of metal; few men could use it with effect from its great weight. There are thrones also placed within the tomb, said to have been used by the monarch; they are not remarkable, except for being beautifully inlaid with mother-of-pearl. The gates of this tomb were splendid pieces of sandal-wood, which had been brought from Somnauth, in the Gujerat peninsula. After the lapse of seven centuries, these gates were borne away by the British army, in 1842, by command of the governor-general of India, Lord Ellenborough, and restored to Somnauth. His lordship was much censured, and even abused, for this act in England; it was regarded as an indication of his indifference to Christianity, and his desire to foster the prejudices and bigotry of the people of India as a matter of unprincipled expediency. His lordship did not deserve these censures; he removed the gates on a principle that was as clear and politic as it was just. It was to restore to the people of India what once was theirs, which they prized, he being their governor, and they having vanquished under his orders the enemy whose ancestors had made a trophy of these costly doors. The act was also politic towards the Affghans, as leaving them a lasting lesson that their country was not inaccessible to British arms. It was not his aim to conciliate the Affghans at that juncture, but to impress them with the power of the Indian government—the best mode at the juncture of dealing with them. There was one light in which the act of the governor-general might be viewed as of questionable prudence. The gates were taken from a Mohammedan city, and a spot held sacred by Mohammedan feeling; it might offend the disciples of "the Prophet" in India, and shake their loyalty. That people care little for country where creed is concerned. A foreign Mohammedan invader would be more welcome who came with despotism and the Koran than the most tolerant native prince of any other persuasion, although he governed with moderation and justice, and secured the peace and prosperity of the people. Lord Ellenborough took pains to show that the act was performed on his part

without any reference to the religion of the people of Gujerat or of Ghuznee, but solely as a matter of political justice.

There is a small tomb remaining built in honour of Hakim Sunai, a poet, which shows that the ancient Affghans of Ghuznee honoured literature, and blended the tombs of their poets with those of their holy men and kings.

Candahar is on the site of one of the cities founded by Alexander the Great, and is now one of the chief commercial marts for the productions of India and Persia. It has become well known in England in connection with the operations of Generals Nott and England in the great Affghan war. It is fortified after the rude manner of the wild people of these regions. It is situated in latitude 36° 11′ north, and longitude 66° 28′ east. "The heat is very severe, and the cold temperate, except in the months of December and January, when water freezes. Here are flowers and fruits in abundance."* This account of the climate, given more than three hundred years ago, is strictly applicable now. It was once the capital of the Douranee empire, before the son of Timour transferred the seat of power and regal honour to Cabul. The population is an assemblage of very various tribes and nations, each occupying a separate quarter of the city. The entire number of the inhabitants was in 1820† more than a hundred thousand; there has not since been made a more accurate or careful computation, and it is probable that no great change has in this respect taken place. The Douranee Affghans constitute more than half the number of residents.‡ Jews form a more respectable portion of the citizens than they do of any other Affghan city.§ The Armenians, although not as numerous as at Cabul, are respectable in numbers as well as in position. The bankers and brokers are chiefly Hindoos. The city is as well regulated as most towns of the European continent, and it is better laid out than probably any other in Asia. There are many excellent houses occupied by Douranee chiefs and wealthy Hindoos and Persians. The public buildings are not characterised by originality or beauty, but they are respectable, especially the palace, the tomb of Ahmed Shah, and one of the mosques.‖

The neighbourhood, like Cabul, is planted with orchards, which extend to a great distance around the city, and add beauty to the otherwise very pleasant character of the scenery, which, being level and fertile, yields freely to the hand of the cultivator. Madder, asafœtida, bicerne, and clover, are reared in great quantities, but the chief object of culture is tobacco, which finds a ready sale in Affghanistan, the tobacco of Candahar having an extensive reputation.

The whole province has a high character for the value and variety of its productions. At the close of the last century a native traveller* published a minute account of its people and productions, and he stated that the province of Candahar was rich in "wheat, rice, jouree, grain, peas, dates, almonds, saffron, and flowers." The wheat is called white wheat, and is eagerly purchased throughout Affghanistan, and in contiguous countries. Mosques abound all over the province. The Brahminical Hindoos who settle there frequently conform to the religion of Mohammed. According to the native traveller before quoted, the domestic animals are camels and dogs, the latter of peculiarly fine breeds. The province is thinly inhabited, and contains very wild districts, where tigers, buffaloes, deer, and antelopes, abound.

Karabaugh (*ksharabag*, the salt garden) stands in latitude 33° 4′ north, and longitude 71° 17′ east. The Indus is here compressed by the mountains into a channel only three hundred and fifty yards broad, but very deep. The best account of this neighbourhood is that of Elphinstone, who represents the mountains descending abruptly to the river, a road cut along their base, and stretching away beyond the town, hewn out of the solid salt rock. The first part of the pass is literally overhung by the town, which rises street above street on terraces of giddy elevation. The variety of colours presented to the eye is very striking in the town and neighbourhood, the clear beautiful shining crystal of the salt contrasting with the deep blue waters of the Indus, and the colour of the earth around is nearly of a blood-red.†

Bameean is situated in a region of mountain grandeur, where the climate is pleasant in summer but severe in winter. It may be called a trogloditic city, the neighbourhood being remarkable for excavations in the hills, the people in considerable numbers living in these caves.‡

The policy which our Indian government should pursue in the affairs of Affghanistan is a *vexata quæstio*. Frequently the necessity of active alliance with the Douranee chief, or active war against him, has pressed itself upon the attention of the government of England. In 1809 it was discovered that the French were endeavouring to form a confederacy with Persia for the invasion of Aff-

* Abul Fazel. † Hamilton.
§ Seid Mustapha. ‡ Elphinstone
‖ Forster.

* Seid Mustapha. † Elphinstone.
‡ Milner.

ghanistan, and thence of British India. The Hon. Mr. Elphinstone was accordingly sent as ambassador to the court of Cabul to offer alliance. Shah Shujah, the sovereign, entered into arrangements with Lord Minto, the governor-general, for a plan of co-operation and mutual aid.* This circumstance was supposed to deter the Persian shah, and obstruct the French government. The Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone negotiated with ability and frankness the treaties which bound the two governments.

When the Russians revealed their designs upon Central Asia, directing an army against Khiva and Bokhara, and successfully intriguing with Persia and the Affghan chiefs, the British sent an expedition to Cabul, which, although successful, experienced terrible disasters at the close of 1841, which were avenged in 1842 by another and more formidable army.

Herat is situated in the north-west, in the midst of a fertile district, and is a considerable emporium. The town is fortified strongly, and has been frequently held against the Persians with very inferior forces. It has been the policy of Persia to gain this city, in order to improve their position in reference to the British power in India, and to facilitate their long cherished designs on Candahar. These views of the Persians have been encouraged by Russia, that she might through them menace British India. In 1832 a series of intrigues were commenced by the Russian government, which were avowed by the Russian agents at Teheran to have for their object the conquest of Affghanistan by Persia, with the ulterior hope of facilitating a Mohammedan revolt in India. The Persian government simultaneously prosecuted a war against Herat with the same design. The policy of the British government on that occasion was timid and vacillating. Mr. M'Neill, the English envoy, and Lord Palmerston, the foreign minister, moved by a desire for peace, procrastinated when none but a daring and a dashing policy could be of any avail. The result of this cause, so usual with the English ministers since the reform bill, was the emboldenment of the Persian potentate and the Russian agents, and an ultimate expense of blood and treasure to England, which a prompt keen policy would have certainly averted. Never in history were faithlessness and duplicity more disgracefully displayed than by the Russian government and the Czar Nicholas on that occasion. While that government was solemnly disavowing to Lord Durham at St. Petersburg all intention of encouraging the aggressions of Persia against Herat, Russian agents and high officials were promising that power military co-operation, and affording them aid in money. The tameness of the English, and their inexpertness to fathom oriental character, were themes of derision and humiliating caricature at Teheran, Moscow, and St. Petersburg. Since that time the city of Herat and the district around it have been of deeper interest than ever to British politicians. An independence has been guaranteed to Herat, by a very imperfect treaty, in which Colonel Sheil, our agent, either acted very foolishly, or followed very foolish instructions. A determination that Herat shall not be occupied by the Persians has since become a more fixed policy of the English, and they have even lately demonstrated this purpose by arms in a manner to impress the lesson upon the Persian government and people. The policy of the English court and cabinet, and the spirit and deportment of the English minister, who had the chief conduct of affairs on both the occasions when England had by military demonstration to save Herat, has been admirably expressed in the following words:—"Fully alive to our interests in the East, and suspicious from the origin of the designs of Russia, our cabinet seems somewhat liable to the imputation of having exceeded the common bounds of patience and of forbearance to a degree scarcely *compatible* with national dignity. An anxious desire to avoid collision, a nervous apprehension of war, are the leading features of almost every despatch from the Foreign-office. Praiseworthy in the beginning, this feeling predominates over so long a period of time, as to become irksome and disgusting to the reader,—fully conscious of the futility of perseverance in a course which had obviously failed in its object, and seemed calculated to promote the very measures it was meant to deprecate. Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged, in reference to the Foreign-office, that when every art of conciliation had been fairly exhausted, the energetic measures resorted to were skilfully contrived, and manfully put in practice; nor is Lord Palmerston open to the accusation of having proceeded from the extreme of indolent forbearance to the opposite extreme of insolent menace or a hasty resolution to resist. Consistent throughout in his desire to obtain his object by persuasion, he resorts to a demonstration of force with professed reluctance, yet with a determination to assume all the responsibility of his actions."* French mediation induced the English to accept, in 1857, less favourable terms than they had a right to impose.

* Treaties.

* *Analysis of the Diplomatic Correspondence concerning Herat.*

BELOOCHISTAN.

Neither by the character of the country, nor the number of its people, does this region require an extended notice. In 1839 its capital was stormed by the British, and throughout the war with the ameers of Scinde, and during the subsequent settlement of that province, the Beloochees kept up a harassing frontier warfare. Several of the hill tribes along the Scinde and Punjaub frontier have been brought under British authority, which is now enforced along that mountain boundary of Beloochistan.

The region receiving this designation is extensive, being equal in area to that of the whole of the British Isles. On the north it is bounded by Seistan and Affghanistan along a line of frontier more than three hundred miles inland from the sea boundary, which stretches from Persia in the west to the basin of the Indus on the east. On the western boundary are the Persian provinces of Laristan and Kerman; on the east the British provinces of Scinde and the Punjaub.

The central and northern portions of the country are for the most part desert; the southern, called Mekran, is more fertile, but the heat is excessive, parching up the soil of the country. In the highlands, especially of the west, there are four seasons, similar to those of Europe, but warmer, except for a short time in winter, and at considerable elevations.

The products of Beloochistan are much more valuable than is generally supposed, for, as if by common consent, most writers of geography represent the country as little better than a desert. Hamilton declares that an army of twenty-five thousand men could nowhere be supported. The sandy soil, mixed with pebbles, stimulates production, a circumstance well known to cultivators in the west of Ireland, where the corn crops thrive better when the stones are left in considerable proportions amongst the productive soil. In Beloochistan fine crops of wheat and other grain are grown on stony lands, the personal labour of the cultivator in breaking up the soil having an effect similar to that of the spade husbandry of western Ireland.

The country is almost destitute of water, which is the chief impediment to successful farming. Nevertheless, "flocks of sheep and herds of cattle are numerous in every part of the country."* There are other domestic animals of great value, such as horses, mules, asses, camels, dromedaries, buffaloes, goats, dogs, cats, and several varieties of fowl, such as the common hen, and pigeons.

* Pottinger.

Wild animals are of numerous species, if not of great numbers of each species. There are of quadrupeds lions, tigers, leopards, hyenas, wolves, jackals, tiger cats, dogs, foxes, hares, mongooses, mountain goats, antelopes, elks, red and mouse deer, asses, &c. Of birds there are eagles, kites, vultures, magpies, crows, hawks, flamingoes, herons, bustards, floricans, rock pigeons, lapwings, plovers, snipes, quails. There are also wild geese, ducks, and turkeys—birds which the Beloochees do not possess in a tame state. There are few species of small birds in either Asia or Europe which may not be found somewhere within the limits of Beloochistan. Reptile life is not active there, although some species exist in small numbers. On the sea-coast fish is found, but the Beloochees seem to prefer it dried or salted, for they seldom use it except in these forms even at moderate distances from the coasts.

In most works on Indian commerce the exports from Beloochistan are ignored, while India is represented as sending thither many important articles—such as iron, tin, lead, steel, copper, indigo, betel-nut, cochineal, sugar, spices, silks, gold cloth, chintzes, coarse woollen, and jewellery. The Beloochees, in exchange for these valuable commodities, export the staple productions of their country. Hares, camels, asses, dogs, buffaloes, sheep, black cattle, and other animals, are sent into India, and also wheat and barley. Besides these there are various mineral productions which are exported from Beloochistan, such as rock-salt,—the red aperient salt,—which is found in the hills between Kelat and Cutch Gundava; also alum and sulphur. White and grey marble are taken from the rock to the westward of Nooshbeg. Antimony, brimstone, saltpetre, and sal-ammoniac, are sent into India. Various mineral salts are sent by sea to the nearest ports in the Arabian Gulf. Even the commodities for which Beloochistan is represented by so many writers as being indebted to India —iron, copper, tin, and lead—are found in her own hills, and gold and silver in several places. Cheese and ghee are bought by the Hindoos in the Beloochistan lowlands, and coarse blankets, carpets, and felts, are bought there by the Hindoo traders to send to distant places.

The religion of the whole people is Mohammedan, although among some of the hill tribes there are pagan rites and observances. They are generally fierce fanatics. The people are not of one race. The Beloochees most prevail on the western side, and their language is peculiar to themselves. On the eastern side the Brahooees, who also receive

the generic appellation of Beloochees, are the most prevalent.

Major-general Jacob, on the Scinde frontier, has at once awed and reconciled various tribes of the Brahooees; and those whom the firmness and policy of Sir John and Sir Henry Lawrence have quieted on the lower part of the Punjaub frontiers, and whom they call Beloochees (to distinguish them from the Affghan borderers), are of the same race. Describing the Punjaub frontier of Beloochistan, Sir Henry Lawrence thus writes:—"Lawless Belooch tribes cluster thick in the hills opposite Dera Ghazee Khan. In the Sunghur division of this district the Kusranees reappear, but the most powerful tribe are the Bozdars. Under the Sikh rule the fort of Mungrota was erected to check their depredations. Sawun Mull and General Ventura were obliged to purchase peace from them. Hurrund is infested by Ghoorchanees: one of them having been insulted by a Hindoo kardar of Sawun Mull, the whole body besieged the official's house, and murdered him. After that the government built a fort there. South of Dera Ghazee Khan, the Boogties and Murrees carried their arms up to the very walls of Rajhan. The desolate state of the country in that vicinity is chiefly attributable to their depredations. Since annexation, however, they have been partially awed by the British force, and partly conciliated by Mr. Cortlandt, the deputy-commissioner of Dera Ghazee Khan. But as thieves they are still daring and expert. They are favoured not only by the mountain defiles, but also by the hill-skirts, which have been already described as swampy, and overgrown by sedge and brushwood. But it is hoped that order may be introduced by police organization, by the location of an European officer at Mithunkote, and by concert with the Scinde authorities. The country inhabited by these Belooch tribes closely resembles that described by Sir Charles Napier in his Trukkee campaign. Indeed, that locality cannot be more than fifty miles from Rajhan, and the tribes which the Scinde horse hold in check are brethren of those that occupy the Dera Ghazee Khan border."

Of late years considerable attention has been paid to the languages of Beloochistan. That of the Brahooees is of Sanscrit origin, resembling the Punjaubee. Although the Beloochees proper are supposed to have sprung from the Seljukian Turks, but little progress has been made in the study of their language. It possesses no literature, and might be described as unwritten, had not the Serampore missionaries translated into it portions of the Scriptures. From specimens of the Lord's Prayer examined by these reverend persons very few words could be selected which had any Sanscrit affinity.

The capital is Kelat (*killat*, the fortress), which is situated in latitude 29° 8′ north, and longitude 65° 50′ east. This city has a very small population, scarcely exceeding twenty thousand. The site is elevated, overlooking a fertile and beautiful valley, about eight miles long, and two and a half broad. This valley is well cultivated, its entire extent being laid out in gardens. Although the name of the city means "the fortress," the defences are utterly contemptible. The king's palace is the citadel, the position of which is strong, affords good cover for musketeers, and would prove with a brave garrison very defensible in an assault, but it could offer no resistance to European guns. Small as the population is, it is composed of various nationalities; Beloochees and Brahooees are the most numerous, but Hindoos, Affghans, Punjaubees, Dehwas, and Rajpoots, also have each a proportion somewhat considerable.

CUTCH GUNDAVA is a large division of Beloochistan, situated between the twenty-seventh and twenty-ninth degree of north latitude. It is bounded on the north by Servistan; on the south, by Scinde proper: to the west it is limited by the Brahooick Mountains; and to the east it is separated from the river Indus by a desert. The length of the country from north to south is a hundred and twenty miles. The plain contains many villages, but the only town of any importance is Gundava, although Dudar, Bhag, and Sheree each contain from a thousand to fifteen hundred houses. The people of this district are chiefly Jats, but many Hindoos mingle among them. The Jats have traces in their person, language, and manner, of a Hindoo origin, yet their religion has for ages ceased to be Brahminical. The soil is loamy, and yields good cereal crops, and nourishes large fields of vegetables. It is remarkable that rice will not grow anywhere in this extensive district. The climate is peculiar, by the prevalence of a simoom, which blows during the hot months, when few Europeans could inhabit the country, and the natives suffer from pestilence.

The Beloochees are very patriotic, and jealous of any infraction of their territorial limits. Their hostility to the British during 1839, and throughout the war with the ameers of Scinde, was very decided, and their bearing valiant. They now seem to be convinced that the near neighbourhood of the British is a guarantee for their prosperity; and the policy pursued on their borders by Sir Charles Napier, Major-general Jacob, Sir Henry and Sir John Lawrence, has divested

them, to all appearance, of every vestige of their former animosity. Beloochee troops are enlisted in the service of the Honourable East India Company. During the war with Persia, under Lieutenant-general Outram, they behaved gallantly, and also served well, and displayed a hearty loyalty during the sepoy revolt of 1857–8. The country is not one likely to tempt the cupidity of the possessors of India, whatever power might rule in that rich realm; but its possession by the British, or the active sympathy of its people with them, would be regarded very jealously by Persia, to which power it might prove seriously injurious in case of war with England.

## PERSIA.

This is the last country it falls within the province of this work to notice as one which has been made by the British a theatre of war during their career of arms in the East. It cannot but strike the student of history as remarkable, that, taking Calcutta as the centre, the sword of England has swept around the Asiatic world. From the eastern sea limits of China to the shores of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea the stroke of battle has been dealt by her victorious arm. Around the confines of India, from east to west, from the headlands of the Indo-Chinese peninsula through Bhotia, Nepaul, the frontiers of Thibet, Affghanistan, Beloochistan, even to Mohammerah, the ensign of England has fluttered in the breeze, the bugle of her light infantry has echoed through a thousand hills, and the wild horsemen of her Indian empire swept a thousand plains. In vain have mighty hosts mustered, and the grandest phalanxes of war been presented against her—they were shattered by the thunder of her artillery, and the flash of her steel, as the trees of the forest broken by the lightning storm. The gorgeous city has opened its gates to her viceroys; the desolate plain has been swept by her cohorts, as by the wind of the sahara; the fertile valley has offered to her its teeming riches as a tribute; the mountain fastness has been penetrated by her resistless soldiery; and the flag which has so long floated over every sea is now the banner of invincibility and renown over the fairest realms of the Asiatic world. Never have the stories of conquest been so picturesque, the events of battle so varied, subjugated races bowing to a single sceptre so numerous, or the moral ascendancy and prestige of victors so complete. When Europe heaved with the throes of revolution, and thrones were shaken, until their occupants fell from the pinnacle of their glory, or thrones and monarchs perished in a common overthrow,—when the peoples of continental Europe shrunk, abashed and broken, before the terrible career of the mightiest military genius born out of the British Isles,—England founded a new empire in the East, as well as chained upon the wildest rock in the ocean the conqueror and despot of the West; and beyond the range of realm over which her sceptre is swayed its shadows fall, and its authority and power are feared. Persia, one of the greatest empires of antiquity, has again and again witnessed the war-ships of England in her waters, and seen "the red soldiers" of England on her shores, and amongst the most recent and glorious combats of English troops have been those fought upon the soil of Iran. These circumstances, the relations of Persia to Russia, Turkey, and our Indian empire, and the importance her relations to the first two powers gives to her proximity to India, must attract the attention of all intelligent Englishmen to her position, resources, and policy.

The boundaries of Persia have fluctuated probably as frequently as those of any country in the world. In her turn she has subjugated nations and been subjugated. At a very early period we find her a great kingdom, when the Jewish prophets record her grandeur and her glory. It was in the days of Cyrus that she reached the acme of her warlike splendour, although her riches and the numbers of her armies were more remarkable at a later period, when she summoned the resources of her vassal nations to the wars against Greece, in which her barbaric strength was broken by Grecian skill and heroism. Greek, Parthian, Roman, Saracen, Tartar, and Affghan, have harried and devastated her, yet she still exists in considerable power and affluence for a modern Asiatic kingdom. The present inhabitants of Persia dwell upon the same territory which was regarded as the parent and central land of the ancient Persian empire, although only a small portion of that country was occupied by the race of shepherds from which the Persian conquerors sprung.* Ancient Persia was bounded on the north by the Great Desert and the Caspian Sea; on the south, by the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean; on the east, by the rivers Indus and Oxus; and on the west, by the Euphrates and Media. Modern Persia lies within limits which have been shorn of various provinces which the old empire contained. The Russians have encroached upon its northern limits, robbing it of large and famous provinces. The area over which the shah now reigns is supposed to comprise five hundred thousand square miles, and extends about seven hundred miles

* Herodotus, ix. p. 122; Plato, the Laws, iii. c. 12.

from north to south, following the meridian of 54° east, or from the Bay of Astrabad, on the Caspian, to the south of Laristan, on the Persian Gulf; and eight hundred and fifty miles from east to west, following the parallel of 34° north, a line passing about equi-distant from Teheran and Ispahan.

The physical characteristics of the country are interesting to Great Britain in a political point of view, as the designs of Russia upon that country, and, through her, upon India, open up discussions which are important as to the resources of Persia, and the practicability of attacking it from India and the Persian Gulf.

A large area of Persia consists of a plateau, varying in height from three to four thousand feet above the level of the sea. From this vast plain chains of mountains rise, amidst which are sterile valleys, salt lakes, and salt and sand deserts. Elbruz is the chief mountain range, which runs parallel to the Caspian. Between this range and the great inland sea lies one of the loveliest countries in the world as to scenery and luxuriance of vegetation, but swampy and miasmatic. In the province of Khuzistan, in consequence of the numerous streams flowing to the Shat-el-Arab, or the Tigris, the country is beautiful and luxuriant, yielding the fruits both of Europe and the tropics. This region is one of those magnificent flower lands which are found in so many parts of Asia. It is almost, if not quite, as famed for its roses as Cashmere, and is more famed for its tulips than any other place in Asia. Violets, jasmines, pinks, ranunculuses, hyacinths, and anemones, bloom in the gardens, and even in the fields.

The general aspect of the country is barren and waste, and has always been so, notwithstanding the glowing language of Persian song and fable as to its beauties. Some portions of the country deserve even those eulogies for their riches and beauty.

The mineral resources of the country in some of its most rocky and desert districts is alleged by mineralogists and geologists to be vast, but no efforts are made to obtain those treasures, except in a few places, and the jealousy of both the people and the government deter European enterprise. Some courageous and scientific Frenchmen have made attempts to work mines with a success which promised much, but the religion, laws, government, and habits of the people, proved insurmountable barriers to success.

"The valleys of the centre provinces of Persia abound with all the rarest and most valuable vegetable productions, and might be cultivated to any extent. The pasture grounds of that country are not surpassed by any in the world. Trees are seldom found, except near the towns or villages, but the luxuriance with which they grow, wherever planted, shows that the climate is quite congenial to them." *

The animals are as various as the characteristics of the country. On the rich pasture lands superior cattle and sheep are to be seen in large herds and flocks; in the sandy and rocky districts the animals common to similar Asiatic regions are found. The dogs of Persia, like those of Affghanistan, are remarkable for strength, beauty, and docility. Horses are the finest animals of Persia; they are of various breeds—some renowned for their strength, others for fleetness and beauty. For military purposes they are especially well adapted.

Much depends as to either vegetable or animal life in Persia upon the supply of water. Persia is deficient in rivers. The Tigris and the Euphrates are by some called Persian rivers; these are navigable, and the streams which feed them irrigate the lands through which they flow. The Karoon, in Khuzistan, the Arras, or Araxes, in Aderbijan, and the Heirmund, which flows through the province of Seistan, are the largest rivers within the proper boundaries of Persia.

The climate of course influences the character of the productions, and is itself influenced by the qualities of the soil. Elevation determines quite as much as latitude the variety of climate in Persia. Sir John Malcolm pronounced it healthy; more modern travellers do not give quite so favourable an account of it, but admit that it is on the whole favourable to health.

The sea boundaries of the empire are not made available for an extensive commerce, or the acquisition of maritime power. The Persian Gulf stretches from the Straits of Ormuz six hundred miles, in a direction north-west. Its breadth varies from a hundred miles to more than twice that distance, but at the narrowest portions of the entrance is not more than twenty-five miles. It is remarkable for the great pearl fishery, which employs about thirty thousand persons. At the entrance of the gulf is the Island of Ormuz, situated about ten miles from the Persian coast. This island was the depot of the Portuguese for their oriental trade. It seems to have been a place of reputed commercial wealth in remote times; hence the allusion of Milton:—

"The wealth of Ormus or of Ind,
Or where the gorgeous East, with richest hand,
Showers on her kings barbaric gold and pearls."

* Sir John Malcolm.

The land on both sides of the Persian Gulf presents a most dreary appearance, precipitous cliffs of brownish grey colour rising high from the edge of the water, or a desolate waste stretching away far as the eye can see. The shores resemble those of the Red Sea. The coasts are studded with rocky islands.

The operations of the British forces in 1857 gives a particular interest to this portion of Persia, the commercial places, Bushire and Mohammerah, having been occupied by our troops. Bushire is regarded by the Persians as of great importance, but its defences were found by our troops inconsiderable. Captain G. H. Hunt, of the 78th Highlanders, says of it, that as a commercial town it has been oftener attacked than any other in the world. A British resident represents his country there. The town is situated on a sandy spit, the sea washing two faces, and a swampy creek a third. From the harbour it appears well built, but it is a wretched place, filthy, and irregularly constructed. "The Armenian church within its walls is worth a visit, as also the bazaar, and a very extraordinary water reservoir opposite to the residency. The Hablah Peak, and ranges of hills in the background, are very abrupt and bold, the higher ridges at this season capped with snow. The climate is most delightful, but the nights are bitterly cold."*

In the British campaign of 1857 an expedition was made from Bushire into the interior as far as Brasjore, a distance of about fifty miles. "Part of the road traversed lay round the head of the Bushire creek, and was alternately hard and loose sand and reedy swamp, a small fortified tower near some walls and a few date-trees being the only objects of interest passed upon the march."† In that part of the country which lies between Bushire and Char-kota sand-storms are common, resembling the *shimauls* of Aden, which darken the air with clouds of light sand. The cold nights also severely try the few travellers who encounter them, and severely tested the endurance of the British campaigners. From Char-kota to Brasjore the country a little improves, as there are occasional patches of date and palm-trees, and a few cultivated spots, where cereal crops are gathered. The mountain scenery is noble, but the lowlands are desert and sandy with rare exceptions.

Mohammerah is a town of some importance for Persia, situated at the junction of the Karoon River with the Shat-el-Arab. This was one of the places upon which the arms of the British were directed in the Persian war of 1857. The branch of the Euphrates known as the Shat-el-Arab flows through a country in the neighbourhood of Mohammerah which is peculiarly dreary. The banks are flat and swampy; date groves and miserable villages, although frequently occurring, do not relieve the general monotony. The water is muddy, and rolls its gloomy current heavily along. The banks are unhealthy, the malaria for some portions of the year being very fatal, yet a miserable population finds subsistence, and preserves itself: the delicate and weak die off. The strong only surviving, causes the personal appearance of the people to be better than that of most of the neighbouring inland tribes, notwithstanding the wretchedness of their abodes and their general destitution. The local influences there are deadly to Europeans.

The town of Mohammerah is a collection of wretched huts and buildings of mud, yet it is the depot for merchandise to or from India for the upper Persian provinces, for Bussorah and Bagdad. The governor's house is a good building, and the garden attached to it beautiful. A bazaar of very great extent for the place, but badly preserved, was well stocked with commodities when the British forces were there.

Akwaz is situated one hundred miles from Mohammerah up the Karoon River. The scenery is dreary and monotonous; plains of sand, with occasional patches of coarse grass, stretch away in seemingly boundless expanse. On the banks, by the water's edge, jungle grows thickly in many places, and is the haunt of the lion and other beasts of prey. Flocks of wild duck and teal abound. At Kootul-el-Abd the river bends gracefully, and its banks are richer and softer, the willow growing by the water, and the poplar extending some distance inland. Game of various kinds is plentiful in that neighbourhood.

The town is nearly surrounded by low sand-hills, and the plain is well covered with bushes. The place is even more miserable than Mohammerah: it is inhabited by a fine tribe of Arabs. The cultivation of the neighbourhood is very limited and imperfect, and almost the only pleasant spot is a pretty wooded island in the river. A reef of rocks impedes the navigation below the town, creating dangerous rapids. On this reef are the ruins of a bridge. "A few small arches still remaining are of very singular construction, the bricks used being exceedingly small and hard, and shining like porcelain. Tradition dates this back to Alexander the Great. The rapids once passed, the navigation of the river is unimpeded, and with moderately deep

* Captain Hunt. † Townsend.

water up to Shuster, a city of some importance."* Commander Selby, of the Indian navy, made some years ago a survey of the Karoon from Mohammerah to the rapids of Akwaz. The Bactdyari Mountains, one hundred miles distant, covered with perpetual snow, afford some relief in the far distance as the eye roams over the dark desert.

The Persian Gulf must, from its position, be the scene of war in a conflict between India and Persia; and it is of the utmost importance that surveys be repeated, and an accurate knowledge maintained of the wandering tribes on its shores. A quarter of a century ago, and even less, the gulf was infested by pirates, who were effectually dispersed by the Indian navy. The execution of the task engendered hostility in the minds of the natives,† which has never been removed, and which, although much mitigated by the moderation of the British during the late operations in the gulf, yet is far from being removed, and must be taken into account in any future demonstration. One of the chief hindrances to British influence has been the fierce fanaticism of the Mohammedans on both shores, but, according to the evidence of very high authorities, prejudices of this kind are greatly giving way.‡ From other as well as political considerations attention to the waters and shores of this gulf is important to English interests. "Commerce, the most powerful link to connect nations of widely different character, is now carried on without hindrance, the Persian Gulf is yearly assuming a more important character with reference to European politics, and the gulf is probably destined to become the highway between India and London."§ The following is as brief and accurate a general description as for popular purposes could be presented to the reader; it is written by a naval officer, who, from the love of scientific research, has spent much time in exploring these waters:—"The Persian Gulf is entered by a narrow strait, called by the Arabs 'the Lion's Mouth,' where from either side the opposite coast is visible. After passing these, the shores of Persia and Arabia receding, we find ourselves in a great inland sea, up to the head of which the distance is five hundred miles; its general width is a hundred and twenty miles. This, unlike the Red Sea, which is in a deep narrow bed, is shallow. The only deep part of the gulf is at the entrance, and here there is a hundred fathoms of water; but this depth is only found close to the rocks of Cape Moosendom—it becomes less deep as you go out from the cape. Within the gulf fifty fathoms is about the deepest water, and the upper portion is much shoaler. A peculiar feature of the gulf is that there is scarcely a good harbour in it. The Persian coast is often mountainous; the opposite, or Arabian coast, is mostly a low sandy desert shore. The former coast is the one most navigated, and is the safer of the two. The great gulf or estuary outside the straits, leaving the Meknar coast on the north, and the shores of Oman on the south, is called the Gulf of Oman; it is, most strictly speaking, part of the Persian Gulf."* "On this coast, as well as on the south-east coast of Arabia, it may be taken as a rule—that wherever the coast is low the sea is shallow, and where the coast is high the sea is deep."† The depth of the gulf and of the Euphrates is perpetually changing, from causes thus described:—"This phenomenon is attributable to the immense volume of mud and sand, carried down by the Euphrates and its associated streams, being deposited in so land-locked a body of water as the Persian Gulf, in which, aided by the inset of the tide, the sediment is poured back instead of being swept out by a boisterous open sea."‡

The Island of Karrack will, in all hostile expeditions of the navy of Bombay, be used as a depot. There is an admirable survey of this island, made on the scale of six inches and a half to a mile, upon which every nullah and the large fissures of the rocks may be traced. This survey was made by Mr. Anderson, the officer who, with Mr. Agnew, was murdered at Mooltan by the soldiery of Moolraj.

Although the shores of the gulf are now so desolate, they were once studded by great cities, the remains of which may still be observed. One of the most famous ports of antiquity was Gerrha. The ruins of this city may still be seen at the recess of a narrow bay near the Island of Bahreyn. Within a few miles of Bushire extensive ruins attest that a city once stood there. Tahrie, on the Persian coast, is supposed by some antiquaries to be the ruins of Siraf. There are several other traces of ancient grandeur of more or less interest on the coasts, and some a short way inland, where now all is desolation.

* *Outram and Havelock's Persian Campaign.*

† *Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society.*

‡ *Papers of the Bombay Geographical Society*, February, 1856.

§ Lieutenant Charles G. Constable, of the Indian navy.

* *Memoir relative to the Hydrography of the Persian Gulf.*

† *Geography of the Coast of Arabia between Aden and Muskat.* Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. iii.

‡ Sir Roderick Murchison, at the sitting of the Royal Geographical Society, 1851.

The political importance to England of preserving the prestige of her power in the Persian Gulf was probably never better expressed than by Sir William Fenwick Williams, Bart. (the hero of Kars), in a speech delivered in the House of Commons, when the policy of the late Persian war was under discussion:—"For ten years he had been employed in a public capacity in various parts of the East. He was engaged for five years in negotiations at Erzeroum relative to its affairs with Turkey, and for five years subsequently he travelled in all parts of the Persian territory. He had therefore many opportunities of becoming acquainted with the opinions of almost all classes of the people, and he could assure the house that, in his communications with Persian princes, Turkish dignitaries, and the peasantry of the country, the relative position of Russia and England was the constant theme of conversation among them. They weighed the military power of Russia with the naval power of England, and they talked almost continually of the possibility of Russia going to India. That idea was also inculcated on the minds of the people by every Russian agent who visited their territory, and it was said by those emissaries that Russia would establish herself in India step by step, and that one of those steps would be the capture of Herat. That being the case, he thought the house might safely affirm the policy of the war with Persia. When they looked at the position of Herat, they could have no doubt that that was the direction in which the finger of Russia pointed; and that being so, he contended that the results of the war with Persia proved that it was the very best move that England ever made. He said, then, that as the finger of Russia was seen at Herat, so the finger of England had been seen at Mohammerah, and for centuries to come we should see the good effects of the invasion of Persia."

Having described the general character of the country and its coasts, it is only necessary to state the provincial divisions and chief cities, a more minute account not being pertinent to the objects of this History.

| PROVINCES. | CHIEF TOWNS. |
|---|---|
| Fars . . . . . | Shiraz, Bushire. |
| Laristan . . . . . | Lar. |
| Khuzistan . . . . . | Shuster. |
| Irak Ajemi . . . . | Teheran, Ispahan, Hamadan, Casbin. |
| Ardelan . . . . . | Kermanshah, Senna. |
| Azerbijan . . . . . | Tabreez, Urumiah. |
| Ghilan . . . . . | Reshd. |
| Mazunderan . . . . | Saree. |
| Astrabad . . . . . | Astrabad.* |
| Khorassan . . . . . | Mushed, Yezd. |
| Kerman . . . . . | Kerman, Gombroon. |

* The Russians have pushed their frontier to this place.

The largest and most commercial cities are —Tabreez, thirty miles east of the Lake of Urumiah; Khoi, eighty miles north-west of Tabreez; Reshd and Balfroosh, on the southern shores of the Caspian; Yezd, occupying an oasis in the vast salt desert of Khorassan; Casbin, north-west of Teheran, surrounded by a vast extent of orchards and vineyards; Hamadan, at the foot of the snowy peak of Elwund, on the supposed site of the ancient Ecbatana; Kermanshah, on an affluent of the Tigris; Kerman, in the centre of the province of that name; and Mushed, towards the deserts of Turkistan. Yezd is one of the great *entrepôts* between Central and Western Asia, where the caravans from Cabul, Cashmere, Herat, and Bokhara are met by merchants from the west, and an immense interchange of commodities takes place. Shiraz, once so famous, is now a decayed city, largely in ruins, but derives interest from the tombs of its two natives—Sadi, the moral philosopher, and Hafiz, the lyric poet.

The remarkable ancient sites are Persepolis, on the plain of Merdusht, thirty-five miles north-east of Shiraz, a royal city of the Medo-Persian kings, of which there are stately vestiges; Pasargadæ, built by Cyrus to commemorate his victory over the Medes, identified generally with ruins on the plain of Mourgaub, north-east of Persepolis; Ecbatana, the old capital of the Medes, and the Achmetha of the book of Ezra, now supposed to be represented by Hamadan, where the reputed sepulchre of Esther and Mordecai is shown; Susa, the Shushan of the books of Esther and Daniel, an uncertain site, either at Shus, on the Kerrah, or at Susan, on the Karoon, in Khuzistan, at both of which there are the relics of a great city; and Rhages, connected with the captivity of the Jews, afterwards a capital of the Parthian kings, and the birthplace of Haroun-al-Reschid, now a heap of ruins, five miles south-east of Teheran. The modern Khuzistan is the ancient Susiana, and the Elam of Scripture. The Persis of the Greeks and Romans, and the Paras of the Old Testament, is now represented by the province of Fars. This is Persia proper, and the present is an obvious derivation from the ancient name, Paras or Pharas, abbreviated into Phars, or Fars.*

The people of the kingdom or empire may be divided into two distinctive classes, one of which is fixed, residing in the cities, or cultivating the soil of the more fertile provinces; the other comprises various wandering tribes, who reside in tents, and are often dangerous to the throne, yet also frequently its bravest

* Rev. T. Milner.

defenders. The first class are commonly called the Persians proper, but known in the East under the designation of Tanjiks. They have been termed the French of the East, from their vivacity and politeness, although probably the modern French are their inferiors in the latter particular. The people of all tribes, but more especially the Persians proper, give to their country the name of Iran. The wandering tribes are called *Illyotts*,* although a considerable number of these wild races, having taken to live in cities in later times, are distinguished by the name of *Sher-nishin*:"† the wanderers choosing, in contradistinction, to call themselves *Sahara-nishin*.‡

The reigning family is one of the tribes which has adopted city life, and settled in Teheran and its neighbourhood; and it is upon the loyalty of these tribes, especially in the direction of the Russian frontier, that the monarch relies against the encroachments of that power. The erratic tribes comprise a population of about two millions and a half, and, while recognising the sovereignty of the shah, are governed by their own customs, and are under the immediate control of their own chiefs. The government of the shah is one of the purest despotisms in the world, the only form of government for which the people would have any respect. The administration is oppressive and unjust.

The old capital is Ispahan, which is situated in an extensive and fertile vale, renowned for its beauty. It was once populous, and its public buildings and delightful gardens were the theme of Persian song and story: it is now desolate, yet less than a century and a half ago it was a city of great opulence, and the seat of government. In the autumn of 1715 an ambassador of Peter the Great of Russia visited Ispahan; an English gentleman happened to be in his suite, who recorded his impressions of the place, and published them in 1762. Although so many years elapsed between his visit and the publication of his book, it appears to be his impression that the Persian capital was, at the latter period, a place of eminence. He described the English and Dutch factories as prosperous, especially the former; and the English factory as situated in the midst of the city, and separated from it by a wall. The following brief account of its site and condition, as it appeared at his visit, shows, when compared with the present ruined and depopulated condition of the same place, how rapidly an oriental, and especially a Persian city, may decay:—

"Ispahan is situated nearly in thirty-two degrees north latitude, on a fruitful plain, in the province of Hierack, anciently the kingdom of the Parthians. About three or four English miles distant from the city, to the south, runs a high ridge of mountains from east to west. Shah Abbass the Great transferred the seat of the Persian government from Casbin to this place. Ispahan is plentifully supplied with water from the river Schenderoo, which runs between the city and the suburbs, keeping its course to the north. It rises near the city, and is fordable almost everywhere, unless during great rains, which seldom happen. After passing this place, its course is but short, for it soon loses itself in dry parched plains. Over the Schenderoo there are three stately stone bridges in sight of one another; but the one in the middle, betwixt the city and that part of the suburbs called Julpha, which terminates the spacious street Czar-bach, far exceeds any structure of that kind I ever saw. It is broad enough for two carriages and a horseman to pass abreast, and has galleries on each side, which are covered, for the convenience of people on foot; and watchmen are stationed at each end to prevent disorders. There are few houses in the town which have not their *chauses*, *i.e.*, cisterns of water, conveyed in pipes from the river—a most salutary and refreshing circumstance in such a dry and sultry climate.

"The city is populous, and, as I have already observed, very extensive. As most of the inhabitants have their houses apart, surrounded with gardens, planted with fruit and other trees, at a distance it appears like a city in a forest, and affords a very agreeable prospect. The streets are generally very narrow and irregular, except that leading to the great bridge already mentioned. This noble street is very broad and straight, and near an English mile in length. On each side are the king's palaces, courts of justice, and the academies for the education of youth, with two rows of tall chinar-trees, which afford a fine shade. These trees have a smooth whitish bark, and a broad leaf, like the plane-tree. At certain distances, there are fountains of water that play continually, round which are spread carpets; and thither the Persians resort to drink coffee, smoke tobacco, and hear news, which, I must confess, is very agreeable in hot weather.

"At Ispahan are many manufactories of silk and cotton, and a great many silkworms in the neighbourhood. As the consumption of silk is very considerable in this place, little of it is exported. The making carpets, however, employs the greatest number of hands, for which the demand is great, as they are

* "Families," or "tribes."
† Dwellers in cities.
‡ Dwellers in the field.

preferable in quality, design, and colour, to any made elsewhere.

"The fields about the city are very fertile, and produce plentiful crops of excellent wheat and barley; but then they must all be watered, on account of the dryness of the soil, which is a work of labour and expense. Besides these, I saw no other grain. Provisions of all kinds are very dear at Ispahan, which is sufficiently apparent from the number of poor that go about the streets. Nothing, however, is so extravagantly high as firewood.

"The Roman Catholics have three convents in the city, viz., those of the Carmelites, Capuchins, and Augustins. The Jesuits and Dominicans have their separate convents in the suburbs of Julpha, which is inhabited by Armenians, who are allowed the free exercise of their religion. There is a considerable number of Jews in the city, who are either merchants or mechanics." *

The present capital is Teheran, in latitude 35° 40′ north, longitude 51° 30′ east, built on a sterile plain, near the southern base of Elbruz. It is about four miles in circumference, and contains probably one hundred and fifty thousand persons; but the population fluctuates in the hot season, many of the citizens removing to cooler situations. In summer the heat of the place is intense. The country is naked and savage, presenting the wildest aspect of plain and mountain—

"Rough quarries, rocks, and hills, whose heads touch heaven."

The religion of the state, and of nearly the whole of the people, is Mohammedan. There are now but few of the Parsees (Ghebers, or fire-worshippers) remaining, after the exterminating persecutions to which they have been exposed. Sofeeism, or scepticism, prevails very extensively; this system is suitable to the volatile Persians, and it is steadily displacing Mohammedanism: yet the Sofeeists enter into the spirit of the national religion so far as to espouse its persecutions, and its quarrels with the rival sect of Mohammedanism professed by the Turks.

The religious history of Persia is interesting. "The primeval religion of Iran, if we may rely on the authorities adduced by Mohsan Fani, was that which Newton calls the oldest of all religions—a firm belief that one supreme God made the world by his power, and continually governed it by his providence; a pious fear, love, and adoration of him; a due reverence for parents and aged persons; a fraternal affection for the whole human species; and a compassionate tenderness even for the brute creation." †

* Bell. † Sir William Jones.

The earliest religion of the people soon became corrupted there as elsewhere, and by the same processes. The works of nature became objects of awe, fear, veneration, and were also made types of good or evil ideas. The unseen world was peopled with heroes, demi-gods, and demons, who were worshipped either from fear or admiration, and with homage, relative or direct. Persia, indeed, or Iran, from the earliest times, seems to have been the great classic ground of oriental mythology and romance, which diverged and spread from thence with its roving tribes, the Pali and Pelasgi, &c., to almost every surrounding and distant country, both of the East and of the West. The fabled wars of the gods and giants, which pervade the Greek and Latin classics, most probably originated from the wars of their heroes, or ancient kings, with the *dives*, or rebellious demons, in which they were supposed to be assisted by the *peris*, or fairies, the good demons and guardian angels of mankind; both acting under the control of the Supreme Being.

The sacred books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther depict the ancient power and splendour of the Persian court, and the absolute will of the monarchs at that early age. They also present a true account of the ethical and religious notions and character of the court and people. During the time of Esther and Mordecai, the monarch, and through him the court, were brought under the influence of the monotheism of revelation. Cyrus, the founder of this great empire, which included Babylon, Media, and Persia, was also much influenced by Jewish opinion, as the book of Daniel reveals. The religion of Zoroaster (fire or sun worship) described in a previous chapter, supplanted all other systems, and obtained an early and universal recognition among the Persian tribes. "That people rejects the use of temples, of altars, and of statues, and smiles at the folly of those nations who imagine that the gods are sprung from, or bear any affinity with, the human nature. The tops of the highest mountains are the places chosen for sacrifices. Hymns and prayers are the principal worship; the Supreme God, who fills the wide circle of heaven, is the object to whom they are addressed." *

At an early period Christianity was introduced by the Syrian Church, but was opposed by the Magi. The Nestorians, however, long maintained a position in Persia, and to this day some of them are to be found in the cities and hill countries. The near neighbourhood of Persia to Arabia brought her

* Herodotus.

early under the yoke of the Saracens, and the religion of Mohammed was established, as usual, by the sword.

The moral character of the people is such as is formed by the Mohammedan religion everywhere; but while the Persians cherish its sanguinary doctrines, and are, as the followers of the Prophet elsewhere, opposed to all science which is not found in the Koran, the polite and volatile character of the people, and the influence of Sofeeism, cause the Mohammedan temper and tone to be less obvious. There is very little sincerity or truth in the Persians of this day, while their arrogance and self-esteem pass the bounds probably of all other people. "The Persian character, throughout all its shades, has one predominating feature—an overweening vanity distinguishes the whole nation." * The policy of the court is utterly faithless, as the British government has frequently experienced.

The languages of Persia are various: Turkish, Arabic, and Pushtoo, are spoken by different tribes, according to their origin, but the Persian is the prevailing tongue. It has been called the Italian of Asia, because of its softness and fluency. It is the polite language of a large portion of Western, Central, and Southern Asia. Its antiquity is very great. Sir William Jones considered the ancient Persian to be identical with the Chaldee, or immediately derived from it. The Chevalier Bunsen regards the ancient Persian, or Iran, as the fount of the Indo-European family of languages.

The literature of Persia is various and refined, the language being especially adapted to poetry and romance: much of the literature it contains is in these forms.

The commerce of Persia is in a very low condition, and shows symptoms of still further decay. The pearl fishery furnishes an article highly prized everywhere, but especially in the East. The caravans convey various articles of commerce to or from Russia, Turkey, Independent Tartary, Beloochistan, Affghanistan, and Cashmere. Trade, by way of the Persian Gulf, is carried on with Kurrachee and Bombay, and, in a less degree, with the eastern ports of India and China.

The Persians still retain some celebrity in the East for light and tasteful manufactures, such as jewellery, in which, however, they are inferior both to the Bengalese and Chinese; sword blades, in which they are rivalled in India; pottery, which is much surpassed by the Chinese manufacturers; gold and silver brocade, in which the Chinese also excel them, as they do in plain silks. The Persians are famous for their manufacture of shawls, which are made from the products of Thibet and Cashmere, brought into Persia by the caravans. The Persian carpets have long maintained a merited celebrity. Mohair, known in Britain as a product of Asia Minor, and now brought into such extensive use in English manufactures, is derived in considerable quantities from Persia. It is the woolly hair or fleece of the Angora goat (*Capra Angorensis*), which is a native of a small district; but the breed has extended to Persia, and the hair become an article of commerce for the Persian caravans. Horses, hare-skins, and horsehair are also articles of export.

There is an exportation of silk to England, but it is very fluctuating, in some years being under a thousand bales, in others reaching four thousand, and occasionally six thousand. It arrives in small bales, or ballots, of seventy-five pounds net. Black lamb-skins are much valued in Persia, and, being abundant, are exported. Isinglass, obtained from the sturgeon fisheries of the Caspian Sea, is in high repute in Asia Minor, Turkey, Russia, and England. There are few countries, of equal area and resources, for which commerce has done so much in increasing its opulence and civilization.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### THE GOVERNMENT OF THE BRITISH INDIAN EMPIRE.

A BRIEF and popular *exposé* of the system of government of British India is a desideratum. Acts of parliament, and the archives of the India-House, reveal to the student the intricacies of the constitution of the company, its relation to the Board of Control, the regulations which govern its civil and military services, the collection of its revenue, and the administration of its law and police. Digests of law, abstracts of parliamentary papers, and the acts of the governor-general and council of India have been published, but they are crude and dry, and therefore not adapted for popular perusal. This chapter will present such a general view of the subject, as will enable the reader to peruse, in future chapters, the history of Indian conquest, and

* Sir John Malcolm.

of the incorporation of Indian territory, with greater clearness, and also to enter into the political discussions of the day, popular and parliamentary, in reference to Indian topics. Aid will be afforded to the student of this History by presenting some account of the forms of government which prevailed in times antecedent to the British dominion. By this means a comparative view can be taken of those forms, and the constitution and functions of the government of the East India Company.

The earliest accounts of Indian government are those handed down in the Institutes of Menu. The basis of rule was then laid down in a recognition of caste, and of the relations which existed among the four great orders into which society was divided, and which, in describing the religion of India, were sufficiently explained. The earliest form of government of which we have any knowledge was that which the words superior chieftainship, rather than absolute monarchy, would express. The king was supreme; he was assisted by councils, civil and military, who had no other power than that which he assigned to them. Yet this king or chief is described as amenable to law, as subject in certain cases to fine, but no provision seems to have been made for his arraignment, nor was the tribunal defined to which he was amenable. The inference is that the church was the grand court of appeal. When the people became dissatisfied with the sovereign's conduct, the priesthood was expected to enforce their will; the monarch would be powerless before the combined priests and people, unless at rare conjunctures, when the military class sided with the monarch against both. A struggle of such sort was frequently maintained. The process which an eloquent ethical philosopher of our times represents as having marked the progress of early society in Persia, scarcely less strikingly marked it in India, which derived thence many of its doctrines, political, social, and religious. "The Cyropædia, and the testimonies of Herodotus respecting the feelings of the Persians towards their king, and his inseparable connection with their worship, fully confirm another most important inference which we shall deduce from the legends respecting Zerduscht.* The Magian, officially, was his antagonist; some *monarch* was always the ally in his reforms. To exalt the royal above the sacerdotal function, to prevent the kings from being the servants of the priests, was unquestionably a great part of his work. Herein he was probably acting out a faith which was far older in Persia than himself. It is difficult not to trace—most modern historians have traced—an opposition between the Persian and Median tribes (an opposition not preventing but necessitating an attempt at union between them) which points to more than the strife of mere personal feelings and interests. The Median predominance seems always to indicate the triumph of a priestly order and of priestly habits: the Persian prevalence shows that a king is ruling who knows that he is a king, and is determined to maintain his authority against all opposers, by whatever visible or invisible instruments they may work. The nobler kings—such as were Cyrus and Darius Hystaspes—do not merely proclaim their own tyranny: they assert that Ormusd* is king; they are as entirely religious as those who are leagued against them; their faith is the ground of all their acts; in the strength of it they decree justice, organize satrapies, improve the tillage of the land, and constitute one of those mighty monarchies in which we recognise the character, strength, and spirit of Asia. In these monarchies everything depends upon the central power, or rather upon the earnestness with which the central power confesses its subjection to a gracious and beneficent Power, in whose name it rules and fights. The inscriptions which Major Rawlinson† has recently interpreted, show how remarkably this was the case with Darius Hystaspes: they embody the very spirit of the Zerduscht reformation, and might almost tempt us to the notion—a favourite with some German critics (not, however, it seems to us, compatible with any of the popular traditions)—that he was identical with the Prophet. He no doubt realised the conception of the teacher much more than any mere teacher could have realised it. His order was that attempt to imitate the order of the heavenly bodies, the calmness and regularity of nature, which one who looked upon light as the centre of the outward universe, and the king as the centre of the human society, would especially have admired and rejoiced in."‡ Thus the influence of the sacerdotal order was apparently opposed to the throne, while in reality supporting it; or in appearance upholding its despotism without limitation, but really restraining it. There was natural opposition, yet necessary union. The operation of these relations upon the government, and the condition of the mass of the people, was to consolidate a despotism tempered by moral influence and by an ecclesi-

* A reformer of the system of the ancient Persian Magi.

* The good god of ancient Persian mythology.

† Now Lieutenant-colonel Sir Henry Creswick Rawlinson, K.C.B.

‡ The Rev. F. D. Maurice's *Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy*.

astical *imperium in imperio*. One of the statutes of the code, recognised as of divine authority, ordained that the monarch should always have a priest as a member of his household. Indeed, the laws laid down as necessary for the government of the monarch were as extensive, stringent, and minute, as those which regulated the lives and allegiance of the people. Yet from the strictness of the laws, and their number, ensuring the protection of the monarch's person against poison, the knife, strangulation, &c., it may be inferred that, while the theory of his absolutism was not perhaps ostensibly questioned, it was not considered too sacred for those of his subjects who were aggrieved by it to defy it, and assail the person of the king himself.

Local peculiarities, great natural divisions, and causes which can now be but imperfectly traced, separated the inhabitants of India into different communities, under different chiefs; but the relations of the monarch, the warriors, the priesthood, and the people, remained everywhere essentially the same, and the policy, domestic and foreign, of all the different courts was identical. The Institutes of Menu were respected by all; and before the principles of law that book afterwards contained were codified, they were the vital elements in the political life of all the states of India. Among the political lessons given to the sovereigns from the sacred book was that of endeavouring to sow dissensions among their enemies in their foreign policy. This injunction of course received a very wide construction. If one prince desired the territories of another, the latter was accounted an enemy, and the aggrandizer most religiously set to work to obey the counsel of the sacred book, by carrying intrigue and dissension into the court and country of his peaceful neighbour, perhaps his ally; or it might be that this *finesse* was practised against one who was employing the like against him. Hence the foreign policy of the native rulers has in all ages been utterly profligate. The enjoined principles of negotiation are not so corrupt in "the book" as in the interpretation given; but so universal has this loose interpretation been, that the diplomacy of the native princes has been without faith—for even when engagements have been kept, convenience, not loyalty, regulated the procedure.

Among what may be called the curiosities of ancient Indian government are the directions which the sacred laws unfold for the employment of spies, whether for governmental or military purposes. They were to be chiefly chosen from artful youths, degraded anchorites, needy husbandmen, ruined merchants, and fictitious penitents. These directions have been but too faithfully followed in India ever since.

As general rules of policy, kings were enjoined to regard all neighbouring princes as enemies, but those whose territory lay beyond that of a neighbouring prince as a natural ally, and others as probable neutrals. Hence the protection of the second class of princes was often sought against the first, on terms ruinous to the independence of the state which sought it. Intrigue, chicanery, faithless cunning, disgraceful servility, the most perfidious treachery, and undying suspicion, resulted from this religiously enjoined policy.

Some of the early institutions of India resembled those of the feudal system in Europe. There were lords who rendered service to the supreme sovereign, but who held a species of limited sovereignty themselves. The lords of a single town, or of ten towns, or of one hundred towns, took rank accordingly, and held a position of relative importance and power.

It would appear that in the earliest times there existed municipal institutions in India, bearing some resemblance in their government and customs to those of the Basque provinces in Spain. A considerable amount of personal freedom, local order, and security to property, was maintained by the old Indian municipalities, the remains of which exist in India to this day.

When the Mohammedans conquered India, they introduced various alterations more in harmony with their own religious system. In the villages, and the remoter parts of the country, the old municipal system was respected by the conquerors, but in the large cities the will of the monarch more directly influenced the administration of affairs. Centralization, as opposed to local government, became the rule.

The Mohammedan rulers originated the class known as *zemindars*. These are now a sort of feudatory landholders under the government, possessing the right to sub-let. Under the Mohammedan dominion they were merely superintendents of districts, called *pergunnahs*.

The government of the Mussulman dynasties was in India, as it has been elsewhere, absolute. It has been described as "a despotism tempered by fanaticism;" and again as "a despotism held in check by conspiracy and assassination."

The fiscal system of the Hindoos was very simple. Their sources of revenue were few. The produce of the land was the chief subject of taxation; commerce was also taxed; various trades paid imposts; and every mechanic rendered twelve days' service to the state.

The levy upon agricultural produce was graduated; grain sustained an impost of from one-twelfth to one-sixth, according to circumstances, which were equitably taken into consideration: on rare occasions—such as war, or for some great public work—one-fourth of the grain produce was taken by the state. One-sixth of all other products of the fields was the highest amount exacted, and the same rate was demanded from manufacturers on the results of their skill. One-fifth of all sales was payable to the crown. Estates for which there were no heirs, and all other property remaining unclaimed for three years, were escheated to the monarch. One-half of the mineral wealth yielded in his dominions was forfeited to the king.

The laws relating to proprietary in land and tenure were complicated and obscure. Custom and arbitrary power must have determined many questions which were sure to arise in connection with this description of property. The townships, municipalities, and villages held the land in many places,—as these communities were little commonwealths, with the local government of which the crown seldom interfered, so long as the revenue was collected, for the payment of which the municipal officers were themselves responsible. The mayor, or head man, especially bore this responsibility. In the earliest ages this person was elected; subsequently the appointment depended upon the sovereign; and, finally, as it became the custom to confer it upon the son, or adopted son, of the person who died in the office, it became hereditary. The post was deemed honourable, and the emolument was considerable, derived partly by royal stipend, and partly by municipal fees. The collection of revenue was rendered the more easy in the townships by the association of two officers—one called the accountant, answering pretty well to our English town clerks, as he was supposed to be conversant with the laws of revenue; the other was called the watchman, whose office nearly corresponded to our chiefs of civic police.

Although this was the usual style of village communities, and their mode of land occupancy and revenue, there were in some places two separate classes in the communal circle. One of these was the owners of the land; the other included cultivators, labourers, shopkeepers, and various descriptions of temporary servants. The rights of the landholders were *collective*, and the distribution of proceeds was always so ordered as to preserve the recognition of this. In all villages there were two descriptions of tenants, who rented the land from the community of village proprietors, or from the crown, where the former class did not exist. Both classes were called *ryots;* one was temporary, the other permanent. The latter bequeathed their interest in the tenancy; they held a species of "tenant right." The former held his land by lease, or was a "tenant-at-will." Persons who, by caste prerogative, could not work, were allowed land on comparatively easy conditions, so that they might employ others. In certain portions of Southern India—such as Canara, Malabar, and Travancore—individuals held the "fee simple," or were subject to a certain fixed payment to the crown, but acted otherwise with their land as they thought proper. The zemindars originally derived their lands by grants from the king for military, political, or other services. Ecclesiastical lands were set apart for religious purposes, and were under the control of the confraternity of the temple or mosque to which the property appertained. It must be obvious from all these arrangements that the machinery of taxation was effective, and the expense of collecting the revenue comparatively little.

The Tartar conquerors of Hindoostan introduced various innovations, which tended to oppress the people both as to the tenure, assessment, and modes of collection, but chiefly as to the amounts levied, which were in many cases exorbitant; and also in selecting new objects of assessment—such as ploughs, music in ceremonies, marriages, &c. The result of these measures was to render the amount of revenue less certain, and ultimately less in value, for the people resisted the oppressions by cunning, evasion, abstraction of crops, falsification of accounts, and the bribery of municipal officers. The distinguished monarch Akbar Khan remedied many of these evils, and the meliorations he produced remained in more or less force until the power of England was established.

The general effects of the political and fiscal systems were unfavourable, although the evils were somewhat mitigated by the municipalities; yet even these narrowed the sympathies of the Hindoos, and were morally injurious in some respects, though they favoured morality in others. The municipal institutions have been very much overpraised by a certain class of writers, who are zealous to exalt everything native in India, at the expense of everything British; and to commend everything heathen and Hindoo, in comparison with what is Christian.

After two thousand years of bad government and oppression, of intestine strife and foreign invasion, European nations began to set up factories on the Indian peninsula for the purpose of trade. The English were not

first in these enterprises, but they were the most resolute and persistent. During the whole of the sixteenth century the English made efforts more or less successful to open up a trade with India. On the last day of the sixteenth century Queen Elizabeth signed a charter, constituting a number of gentlemen, associated for the purpose of trade with India, "one body, corporate and politique." The title given to this association was, "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies." The charter was granted for fifteen years, unless in the meantime two years' notice was given of her majesty's intention to revoke it. Delays and impediments arose, and the funds of the company proved to be inadequate, so that it became necessary to form an auxiliary association, which was ultimately absorbed in the former, with the consent of the crown. The charter accorded powers to a governor and twenty-four directors to govern the new company. At first these officials were nominated by the crown, but afterwards they were elected by the body of the proprietors, which originally numbered two hundred and twenty persons, principally merchants. The charter vested in them, their sons, servants, apprentices, and factors, the exclusive privilege of trading "into the countries and parts of Asia and Africa, and into and from all the islands, ports, towns, and places of Asia, Africa, and America, or any of them beyond the Cape of Bona Esperanza or the Straits of Magellan, where any traffic may be used, and to and from every of them." The general assemblies of the company were empowered to make laws and regulations, not only for carrying on their commerce, but also to inflict punishments, provided they were not at variance with the laws of the realm. They were allowed to purchase lands without limitation, and for four years to export goods free of duty.

When the first fleets that conveyed merchandise, supercargoes, and servants of the company arrived in India, they found the impediments to successful commerce very great. They had no land on which to erect stores, nor means to protect themselves and their servants from peculation, plunder, or violence. Agents were sent to Delhi to negotiate for land, and privileges necessary for such purposes, which were all that the company then contemplated. The result was permission to establish factories at Surat, Cambay, &c., under circumstances which enabled the company to possess lands, and raise defences for their protection.

In 1609 the charter was renewed. In 1613 the imperial firman for the establishment of a factory at Surat was obtained. Sir Thomas Rowe, by his skill in the embassy to Ajmeer, obtained liberty of trade throughout the empire.

In 1634 a competitive company, called "The Assada Merchants," obtained from the Mogul liberty to trade at the port of Piplee, in Orissa. In 1644 this new association was amalgamated with the original company. In 1640 the rajah ruling that portion of the Coromandel coast permitted the erection of Fort St. George.

Some years afterwards an English physician named Broughton having cured the favourite daughter of Shah Jehan, that munificent prince conceded to the English liberty to erect a factory on the Hoogly, which became the foundation of their subsequent dominion in Bengal. In 1650 the factory was built at Calcutta.

Cromwell, in 1657, abolished the company's exclusive privileges.

Charles II. renewed the charter in 1661, and confirmed to the company the Island of St. Helena, of which they had taken possession ten years before. The same year Charles married the Infanta Catherine of Portugal, and received as a part of her dower the Island of Bombay, which he made over to the company in 1668. The company began to fortify the island on taking possession of it.

In 1693 the charter was again renewed, after a formidable opposition in the House of Commons, which affirmed by vote the right of "every Englishman" to trade with the East.

A competitive company received a charter in 1698, under the title of "The General Society trading to the East Indies." Mr. Anderson, in his *History of Commerce*, represents the competition between the two companies as most disastrous, involving both in ruin. This state of things led to a coalition in 1702, under the title of "The United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies." The amalgamation of the two associations did not take place, however, until five years later.

In 1711 a statute of Queen Anne recognised the corporate capacity of the East India Company, and continued their privileges of trade. The managing committee in London at this juncture took the title of "Court of Directors." The government in India was conducted by a president and council at each of the stations. The civil functionaries were sent out under what was called covenanted service, the terms of which were, that they should obey all orders, discharge all debts, and treat the natives well. The presidents were commanders-in-chief at their respective

stations. The garrisons were composed of recruits enlisted in England, deserters from the Dutch and Portuguese, half-castes, enlisted in India, and natives, chiefly Rajpoots, who were called *sipahies* (soldiers), a name which eventually was changed into one of easier pronunciation by English tongues—*sepoys*.

The character and progress of the company hitherto prepared the way for the vast territorial and political power which they were destined to assume. The great modern historian of Persia, who is also a great authority on Indian affairs, appropriately described the company's career up to this point:—"While we find in the first century of the history of the East India Company abundant proofs of their misconduct, we also discover a spirit of bold enterprise and determined perseverance, which no losses could impede, and no dangers subdue. To this spirit, which was created and nourished by their exclusive privileges, they owed their ultimate success. It caused them, under all reverses, to look forward with ardent hopes to future gains; and if it occasionally led them to stain their fame by acts of violence and injustice towards the assailants of their monopoly, it stimulated them to efforts, both in commerce and in war, that were honourable to the character of the British nation."

A new career of government and influence now opened upon the honourable company. In 1716 Mr. Hamilton, a British surgeon, who had been sent on a commercial and political mission to Delhi, obtained "a firman of privileges" from the Mogul:—

1. That the passport of the company's president should exempt all British goods from examination by the Mogul's government officers.
2. That the officers of the mint at Moorshedabad should give three days a week for the coinage of the company's money there.
3. That all debtors of the company should be delivered up on demand.
4. That the company might purchase the lordships of thirty-eight towns in Bengal, with certain specified immunities.

In 1744 George II. continued the privileges of the company. In two years after that the war with the French began, which lasted until 1761, and issued in the triumph of the company, the increase of its territory, and of its power and influence at home.

The conquests of Clive having still further increased the company's territory, George III., in 1767, by statute (7, cap. 57), guaranteed these territories for two years to the company upon their payment of £400,000. In 1769 this act was confirmed for five years.

The company having, in 1772, assumed the entire control of Bengal, a committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the state of India. Nothing of a practical nature issued that session from the inquiry, which was renewed the next year. In that year the first provision was made for the government of India by the imperial parliament—statute 13 George III., cap. 63. Hitherto the election of the directors of the East India Company had been annual, but by this new act they were to be elected for certain terms of years. A governor-general and four councillors were appointed to conduct affairs in India, Fort William, at Calcutta, being made the seat of government. The act empowered the governor-general to frame ordinances and regulations, which, in order to have force, were to be registered in a supreme court constituted by the act, and holding its sessions at Calcutta. In the same year another act (13 George III., cap. 64) was passed, regulating the financial relations of the company and the government. This act also bound the company to export annually £380,837 worth of merchandise, exclusive of naval and military stores, but this obligation was only to last for two years. In consequence of these acts of the British legislature, Warren Hastings was appointed governor-general.

In 1781 (21 George III., cap. 65) the company's privileges were confirmed and continued for ten years, determinable thence after a three years' notice. The financial decrees of the English legislature were at the same time grasping, and unjust towards the company, which was to pay £400,000 per annum, their dividends to be limited to eight per cent., and after payment of it three-fourths of their surplus receipts were to be paid into the exchequer.

This settlement did not give satisfaction, and in 1782 a select committee of the commons sat on Indian affairs. In the result of that session, the year 1783 was made notable in the concerns of the East India Company by the celebrated bills of Mr. Fox. Only two years previously he was instrumental in breaking up "the board of plantations" and "the colonial department." It was near the close of the year that Fox introduced his measures: the first was for vesting the affairs of the East India Company in the hands of seven directors, aided by nine proprietors. The board was to have the disposal of all patronage. The second bill was for the better government of the territorial possessions in India, the regulation of land tenures, and the abolition of monopolies. Neither of these bills passed, but their discussion prepared the way for the adoption of a policy towards the company by the imperial govern-

ment which was destined to prevail, under various modifications, for three-quarters of a century. Pitt really derived his suggestions from Fox in the plans which he afterwards perfected. There can be no doubt that both these statesmen were influenced by a desire to frame a government for India the most likely to secure patronage and power for their respective parties; and that jealousy of the Whigs, and of liberal notions in general, moved both Pitt and his master, George III., to the opposition which the measures of Fox encountered from them.

In 1784 parliament again took up the question of Indian government. By 24 George III., cap. 25, the crown was authorised to appoint six privy councillors as commissioners for the affairs of India; three to form a quorum, and either the chancellor of the exchequer, or one of the secretaries of state, to be president. The power of the directors was increased in certain directions, and better defined in all respects. The right to fill up vacancies in the offices of governors at Fort St. George and Bombay, and in that of governor-general, was conceded to them. They were also empowered to recall the governor-general, to declare war, and to make peace. A secret committee was selected from the body of the directors, endowed with peculiar prerogatives. The supreme council at Calcutta, as constituted by the bill, was to consist of the governor-general and three councillors, the commander-in-chief to rank next in authority to his excellency. The commissioners appointed by the act were, in their collective capacity, called "the Board of Control." This was the *chef-d'œuvre* of Pitt's bill, and the scheme has never worked well. Mr. Washington Wilks, the editor of a journal in the north of England, well expressed the relation of "the board" to the company when he said, "The Board of Control never compelled the directors to do right, but often compelled them to do wrong when they would not." If this sentence is only to be received with some qualification, it is nevertheless a correct general description of the fact.

In the years 1786, 1813, 1833, and 1853, "Pitt's Act" received modifications, but the principles of the measure have remained as constituting the Anglo-Indian political system. The legislative power remained with the court of directors, who were the source of all civil, political, and military authority, and ostensibly held the right of dismissing governors, governors-general, commanders-in-chief, and all officers civil or military, of whatsoever grade, and exercising whatsoever functions. Still all these prerogatives were subject to the consent of the crown, given through the Board of Control, which revised all decisions and elections. The body of proprietors were consulted on all financial changes, and their suffrages were necessary in such matters, although it was a nominal rather than a real power which the proprietary exercised.

In 1793, by 33 George III., cap. 52, the territorial possessions of India, with their revenues, and the commercial privileges of the company, were continued for twenty years. The powers of the Board of Control were renewed, increased, and defined. The governor-general was invested with enlarged, and, in some cases, with even absolute powers. New enactments were also made for the regulation of the presidential governments.

The year 1813 was a year of great importance in the relations of the crown and company. Again for the space of twenty years the possessions of the company were continued, the expenses of their military establishments to be defrayed from their land revenue. Their exclusive trade with China for tea was also confirmed. As will be seen by the reader in an early chapter on the religions of India, provision was made in that year for an ecclesiastical establishment. The lease of twenty years held by the company from the crown expired in 1833, and another renewal for the same period was obtained. Various modifications of the company's charter were, however, insisted upon on the part of parliament and the crown. The trading privileges were abolished, in consequence of the outcry raised, especially against the monopoly of the China tea-trade, throughout the British Isles. A fixed dividend of ten and a half per cent. per annum was guaranteed to their stockholders, on condition of the company paying two millions sterling for the reduction of the national debt. The dividend, however, was subject to a redemption by parliament after April, 1784, on payment of £200 for every £100 of stock. Or if the company should be deprived of the government of India previously, then three years' notice made any time after the year 1854 would entitle the government to redeem the guarantee on the terms specified. The board of commissioners for the affairs of India (Board of Control) was remodelled—seven cabinet ministers were made *ex-officio* members. The authority of the board was also increased: it was empowered to demand copies of minutes of courts of proprietors and directors, and of all letters and despatches of importance which the directors proposed to send to India. Should the company refuse to give copies, or delay their transmission to

the Board of Control for fourteen days, then the latter was authorised to frame despatches on the matter in question, whatever it might be, and the company was bound to send them to India. A still more important right was given to "the board," one which the company regarded as an unjustifiable encroachment; this was the power to alter and reduce the annual estimates for the company's home establishment. The board was also empowered to send despatches to India in the name of the directors, with the concurrence of any three members of "the secret committee."

The act of 1833 also modified the local government of India, which was vested in the governor-general and a council of four, three of them to be persons who had been in the civil or military service ten years, and one who had never been before in the service. This council should assemble whenever the governor-general might appoint, and pass such "acts" as they deemed proper for the welfare of India, subject to the sanction of the court of directors. Governors and councils of three were to administer affairs in the Bombay and Madras presidencies, without the power of making laws or granting money. These changes stung the court of proprietary and the directors to the quick, but their acquiescence was obtained, which was rendered possible by the patronage which the act conceded. All offices, from that of the governor-general to the lowest clerk or military cadet, were placed in the hands of the directors, except a certain reserve, as to cadets, held by the Board of Control. The crown, however, retained the right of confirming the choice in the higher appointments; and if the directors allowed any office to be vacant for more than two months, the Board of Control was entitled to fill it up. This bill was very particular in expressing the right of the imperial parliament to legislate for India, and it enacted that a statement of the company's finance should be annually laid before the houses of the legislature. Various important changes in the judicial arrangements of the company's courts, and in the rights of British-born subjects to purchase land and reside in India, were comprised in this bill. An important act was passed in 1835, giving power to the directors to suspend the operation of the bill of 1833, so far as related to the government of Agra; and the governor-general in council was enjoined to appoint in such case a lieutenant-governor for that province.

When the lease of power given to the company in 1833 expired in 1853, considerable agitation was raised in the country against the renewal of their charter. The constitutional jealousy of the English people led them to regard any corporate body with suspicion, which seemed to exercise powers that belonged only to the queen, lords, and commons in parliament assembled. Much of this feeling, as directed against the East India Company, arose from an imperfect acquaintance with the merits of the case, the history of the company's Indian affairs having previously excited very little attention, even amongst members of parliament and professed politicians. The existence of this jealous state of mind towards the company, which was very much fostered by the merchant class, was taken advantage of by the government of the day, which was anxious, as every preceding government had been, to acquire the patronage of India as a means of preserving office; and from the aristocratic sympathies of all cabinets, Whig and Tory, they were desirous to disperse the civil and military gifts among their own class, hitherto so largely bestowed by the company upon the middle ranks of British society.

Victoria 16, 17, cap. 95 confirmed all previous acts, except where they might prove inconsistent with its own enactments. No new lease was, however, extended to the company; their territorial jurisdiction, and all other rights and privileges held under the act of 1853 were to remain until parliament should provide otherwise. The constitution of the court of directors was remodelled; instead of twenty-four members it should consist of only eighteen, ten of whom to form a quorum. Of the eighteen directors, fifteen were to be chosen out of the then existing body by themselves; three were to be appointed by the crown. It was also provided that the crown nominees should gradually increase until the governing body should consist of six such, with twelve elected members, the whole of the former, and half of the latter to consist of persons who should have resided ten years in India. No person to sit as a director unless he possessed £1000 East India stock. Each director was to receive a salary of £500 per annum, and the chairman and deputy-chairman £1000 each. These sums were ridiculously small, some of the officials in the India-house having larger salaries, and rendering services which deserved such a requital. The directors, if made stipendiaries at all, should have been paid on a scale of remuneration adequate to their vast responsibility and labour. The quorum of the general court of proprietors was fixed at twenty.

This act also instituted changes in the council of India. The fourth member of council was placed on the same footing as

the three colleagues who had necessarily served in India in some other capacity. Previously this officer had no vote: by the new act his authority was made identical with that of his fellow-members. There were added to the council four new members, entitled to sit and vote only when laws and regulations were made. These officers were thus selected: the chief-justice of the supreme court of India, *ex officio*; one of the judges of that court; and a civil officer of ten years' standing in each of the presidencies of Bombay and Madras. In addition to these especial members of council taking part only in matters of law, the governor-general had power himself to appoint two company's servants being of ten years' standing. All these appointments subject to the approbation of her majesty, that is, to the Board of Control.

Previous to the act of 1853, the commander-in-chief of the queen's army in India was not necessarily commander-in-chief of the company's army: by this statute he became *ex officio* invested with that authority. The number of European troops which the company was to be permitted to employ was fixed at twenty thousand as a maximum. The crown was authorised to appoint law commissioners to report on legal reforms. The directors received power to enlarge the limits of presidencies, to create a new presidency, and appoint a lieutenant-governor. The latter provision pointed to the north-west provinces, or "Agra government." Very important alterations were made in the company's patronage; the civil service, and the posts of assistant-surgeons to the forces, were thrown open to competition. The Board of Control was invested with the right of making regulations in reference to all parts of the service, as to admission and age of candidates at Haileybury and Addiscomb, the civil and military colleges of the company in England. It was provided that the Board of Control should not ostensibly alter or regulate matters connected with the colleges; all arrangements made by it were to be laid before parliament. The action of the Board of Control in reference to Haileybury soon assumed an adverse character, for in 1855 a bill was brought into parliament, under the auspices of the president, entitled "An Act to relieve the East India Company from the obligation to maintain the college of Haileybury." It was provided that no students should be admitted after the 1st of January, 1856, and that it should be closed on January 30th, 1858.

It will enable the reader fully to comprehend, and easily to remember, the progress of imperial legislation in reference to the constitution of the company, to place before him the leading articles of the act of 1793, with notes of the addenda, or alterations made by subsequent acts. The act of 1793 is known as 33 George III., cap. 52, and is called, "An Act for continuing in the East India Company, for a further term, the Possession of the British Territories in India, together with their exclusive Trade, under certain limitations; for establishing further Regulations for the Government of the said Territories, and the better Administration of Justice within the same; for appropriating to certain uses the Revenues and Profits of the said Company; and for making provision for the good Order and Government of the Towns of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay." The name of the act sufficiently indicates its object, so as to render the preamble unnecessary. The second section of the act was of great importance:

§ II.—And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that it shall and may be lawful for his majesty, his heirs or successors, by any letters patent, or by any commission or commissions to be issued under the Great Seal of Great Britain, from time to time to nominate, constitute, and appoint, during his or their pleasure, such members of the privy council (of whom the two principal secretaries of state, and the chancellor of the exchequer for the time being, shall always be three), and such other two persons as his majesty, his heirs or successors, shall think fit to be, and who shall accordingly be and be styled commissioners for the affairs in India.

This was the basis of the Board of Control; but by 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, secs. 19 and 20, the constitution of the board is in some respects varied. The office of commissioner is not restricted to members of the privy council, and the following great officers of state are to be *ex officio* commissioners:—the lord president of the council, the lord privy seal, the first lord of the treasury, the principal secretaries of state (then three, now four), and the chancellor of the exchequer. The act of 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, was passed on the 28th of August, 1833, and was entitled, "An Act for effecting an Arrangement with the East India Company, and for the better Government of His Majesty's Indian Territories till the 30th day of April, 1854."

§ III.—And be it further enacted, that any three or more of the said commissioners shall and may form a board, for executing the several powers which by this act, or by any other act or acts, are or shall be given to or vested in the said commissioners; and that the first-named commissioner in any such letters patent or commission for the time being shall be the president of the said board; and that when any board shall be formed in the absence of the president, the commissioner whose name shall stand next in the order of their nomination in the said commission, of those who shall be present, shall for that turn preside at the said board.

This provision was subsequently altered, for by 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 21, two commissioners are sufficient to constitute a board.

§ IV.—The president to have the casting vote.

§ V.—The board to appoint officers; their salaries to be fixed by his majesty. The whole of the salaries, charges, and expenses of the board, exclusive of the salaries of the members of the board, not to exceed the sum of eleven thousand pounds in any one year.

By 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 23, it is enacted, that no commissioner as such, except the president, shall receive a salary; and by 16 & 17 Victoria, cap. 95, sec. 33, the salary of the president is in no case to be less than that paid to one of her majesty's principal secretaries of state. By 53 George III., cap. 155, sec. 90, the total amount of salaries and charges is fixed at twenty-six thousand pounds, exclusive, however, of superannuations granted under section 91 of that act. Provision is made by 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 6, for extraordinary charges arising out of the cessation of the company's trade; but by section 110 the sum payable by the company on account of the board is not to be increased beyond the fixed amount, except for defraying those charges. The act 53 George III., cap. 155, was passed on the 21st of July, 1813, and was entitled, "An Act for continuing in the East India Company for a further Term the British Territories in India, together with certain exclusive Privileges; for establishing further Regulations for the Government of the said Territories, and the better Administration of Justice within the same; and for regulating the Trade to and from the Places within the limits of the said Company's Charter." The act 16 & 17, Victoria, cap. 95, was passed on the 20th of August, 1853, and was entitled, "An Act for the better Government of India."

§ VI.—Commissioners to take the following oath:—

"I, *A. B.*, do faithfully promise and swear that, "as a commissioner or member of the board for "the affairs of India, I will give my best advice and "assistance for the good government of the British "possessions in the East Indies, and the due admin-"istration of the revenues of the same, according "to law, and will execute the several powers and "trusts reposed in me according to the best of my "skill and judgment, without favour or affection, "prejudice or malice, to any person whatever."

Which oath any two of the said commissioners shall and are hereby empowered to administer to the others of them, or any of them; and the said oath shall be entered by their chief secretary amongst the acts of the board, and be duly ascribed and attested by the said commissioners, at the time of their taking and administering the same to each other respectively

§ VII.—And be it further enacted, that the several secretaries and other officers of the said board shall also take and subscribe before the said board such oath of secrecy, and for the execution of the duties of their respective stations, as the said board shall direct.

In 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 24, this section is modified, the commissioners being empowered to administer such oath only in case of its being necessary.

§ VIII.—Appointments of commissioner or chief secretary not to disqualify from being elected to parliament.

By 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 23, the board was to appoint two secretaries, each of whom was to have the same powers, rights, and privileges as were previously vested in the chief secretary; but by 16 & 17 Victoria, cap. 95, sec. 33, one only of the said secretaries is to be capable of sitting in parliament.

§ IX.—Board to superintend all concerns relating to the civil or military government or revenues in the East Indies.

By 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 6, the power of control is extended to all acts connected with the sale of the company's commercial property.

§ X.—Commissioners, or their officers, to have access to the books of the company.

This provision was subsequently enlarged, for by 53 George III., cap. 155, sec. 78, the board may direct the preparation of such accounts, statements, and abstracts, as they may think fit.

§ XI.—Court of Directors to deliver to the board copies of all proceedings, and of despatches relating to the civil or military government or revenues.

This provision was extended by 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 29, to all documents which shall be material, or which the board may require.

§ XII.—Orders relating to the civil or military government or revenues to be submitted to the consideration of the board, who may alter the same, but must return such documents to the court of directors within fourteen days.

By later enactments the power of control is extended to all official communications, except those with the home establishment, and the law advisers of the company. 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, secs. 30 and 34. By 53 George III., cap. 155, sec. 71, and by 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 30, the time for returning drafts of despatches, &c., from the board is extended to two months.

§ XIII.—Provided always, and be it further enacted, that nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to restrict or prohibit the said directors from expressing by representation in writing to the said

board, such remarks, or observations, or explanations as shall occur, or they shall think fit, touching or concerning any letters, orders, or instructions, which shall have been varied in substance, or disapproved by the said board; and that the said board shall, and they are hereby required, to take every such representation, and the several matters therein contained or alleged, into their consideration, and to give such further orders or instructions thereupon as they shall think fit and expedient; which orders or instructions shall be final and conclusive upon the said directors.

By 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 32, the time for making such representation is limited to fourteen days; subject, in cases where the legality of the order is disputed, to a reference to three or more judges of the court of the Queen's Bench.

§ XIV.—Provided also, and be it further enacted and declared, that nothing in this act contained shall extend to give to the board of commissioners the power of nominating or appointing any of the servants of the said united company, anything herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

By 16 & 17 Victoria, cap. 95, sec. 29, the approbation of the board is made necessary to the validity of the appointment of any advocate-general.

§ XV.—If the directors neglect to frame despatches beyond fourteen days after requisition, the board may prepare instructions, and the directors shall forward them to India.

This provision was extended to all official communications by 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 31.

Section 16 restricted the interference of the board to matters of civil or military government and revenue; and where the right should be disputed, authorised an application to the king in council. Neither of these provisions is now in force.

§ XVII.—The board not to direct the increase of established salaries, unless proposed by the directors, and laid before parliament.

This provision is taken from 28 George III., cap. 8, sec. 3, and in 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 110. An exception was made for servants employed in winding up the commercial business of the company.

§ XVIII.—The board not to direct any gratuity but such as shall be proposed by the directors.

In 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 110, the same exception as in the previous section of this act is made.

§ XIX.—The board may send orders to secret committee of directors, who shall transmit the same to India.

§ XX.—And be it further enacted, that the said court of directors shall from time to time appoint a secret committee, to consist of any number not exceeding three of the said directors, for the particular purposes in this act specified; which said directors so appointed shall, before they or any of them shall act in the execution of the powers and trusts hereby reposed in them, take an oath of the tenor following. . . . . Which said oath shall and may be administered by the several and respective members of the said secret committee to each other; and, being so by them taken and subscribed, the same shall be recorded by the secretary of the said court of directors for the time being amongst the acts of the said court.

The prescribed oath is here omitted, having been replaced by others in 53 George III., cap. 155, sec. 74, and 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 84, sec. 35. The latter is merely an abbreviation of the former, and thus runs:

> "I, *A. B.*, do swear that I will, according to my "best skill and judgment, faithfully execute the seve- "ral trusts and powers reposed in me as a member "of the secret committee of the India Company; I "will not disclose or make known any of the secret "orders, instructions, despatches, official letters, or "communications, which shall be sent or given to "me by the commissioners for the affairs of India, "save only to the other members of the said secret "committee, or to the person or persons who shall "be duly nominated or employed in transcribing or "preparing the same respectively, unless I shall be "authorised by the said commissioners to make "known the same."

The directions for the appointment of a secret committee, and the administration of an oath to its members, are repeated in 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 35, where also it is provided that the record may be made either by the secretary or the deputy-secretary.

§ XXI.—Despatches of the secret committee to be prepared only by the secretary or examiner of Indian correspondence, who shall take an oath of secrecy.

§ XXII.—Presidencies in India may send despatches to the secret committee, who shall deliver them to the board.

By 53 George III., cap. 155, sec. 73, the rule of secrecy with respect to despatches addressed by order of the board *to* the governments of India is applied to the contents of despatches received by the secret committee *from* those governments.

§ XXIII.—And be it further enacted, that no order or resolution of the court of directors of the said company, touching or concerning the civil or military government or revenues of the said territories and acquisitions in India, after the same shall have received the approbation of the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, shall be liable to be rescinded, suspended, revoked, or varied, by any general court of proprietors of the said company.

Section 24 contains provisions for the constitution of the governments of the three presidencies, which are superseded by the later provisions contained in 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85. These will be noticed on another page.

§ XXV.—And be it further enacted, that all vacancies happening in the office of governor-general of Fort

William, in Bengal, or of any members of the council there, or of governor of either of the company's presidencies or settlements of Fort St. George or Bombay, or of any of the members of the council of the same respectively, or of governor of the forts and garrisons at Fort William, Fort St. George, or Bombay, or of commander-in-chief of all the forces in India, or of any provincial commander-in-chief of the forces there, all and every of such vacancies shall be filled up and supplied by the court of directors of the said united company, the vacancies of any of the said members of council being always supplied from amongst the list of senior merchants of the said company, who shall have respectively resided twelve years in India in their service, and not otherwise, except as is hereinafter otherwise provided.

The approbation of the crown is now necessary to the appointment of governor-general, governors of subordinate presidencies, members of council, whether of the council of India, or of any subordinate presidency. Changes to this effect were made by 53 George III., cap. 155, sec. 80, and 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, secs. 42, 58, and 61, in reference to governor-generals and governors. As to the appointment of the fourth ordinary member of the council of India, by 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 40; as to members of council generally, by 16 & 17 Victoria, cap. 95, sec. 20. By 16 & 17 Victoria, cap. 95, sec. 30, any person appointed commander-in-chief of the forces of the crown in India is, by virtue of such appointment, to be commander-in-chief of all the company's forces in India, and the commander-in-chief of the royal forces in any presidency is to be commander-in-chief of the company's forces in such presidency. By 53 George III., cap. 155, sec. 82, and 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 40, the twelve years' residence required as a qualification for councillor is reduced to ten. Under the same section of the act last mentioned, military officers having completed the required period of service are eligible for appointment to the council of India, and the *fourth* ordinary member of that council is to be a person not previously in the service of the company. In the above section, and in numerous acts antecedent to 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, the functionary holding the chief place of authority in India is named Governor-general of Fort William, in Bengal. By section 39 of the act last mentioned, the office of governor-general of India was created, and by section 52 all powers given to the governor-general of Fort William, in Bengal, in council or alone, by former acts then in force, and not repugnant to 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, were to apply to the governor-general of India in council, and to the governor-general of India alone, respectively.

§ XXVI.—If the directors neglect to fill up vacancies, his majesty may supply them.

In 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 60, this provision is repeated.

§ XXVII.—And be it further enacted, that it shall be lawful for the said court of directors to appoint any person or persons provisionally to succeed to any of the offices aforesaid, for supplying any vacancy or vacancies therein, when the same shall happen by the death or resignation of the person or persons holding the same office or offices respectively, or on his or their departure from India, or on any event or contingency expressed in any such provisional appointment or appointments to the same respectively, and such appointments again to revoke; but that no person so appointed to succeed provisionally to any of the said offices shall be entitled to any authority, salary, or emolument appertaining thereto, until he shall be in the actual possession of such office, any act or statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 61, repeats this provision. In 16 & 17 Victoria, cap. 95, sec. 20, the appointment of ordinary members of council, whether of India or of the subordinate presidencies, is made subject to the approbation of the crown.

Section 28 provides that nothing in this act shall extend to vacate or disturb any previous appointment, lawfully made.

§ XXIX.—How vacancies are to be supplied when no successors are on the spot.

§ XXX.—The next member of council to the commander-in-chief to succeed to the temporary government of a presidency, unless the commander-in-chief shall have been provisionally appointed.

§ XXXI.—Vacancy of counsellors, when no successors are on the spot, to be supplied by the governor in council from the senior merchants.

§ XXXII.—The commander-in-chief, when not the governor at the presidency, may, by the authority of the directors, be the second member of the council.

This provision was repeated in 45 George III., cap. 36, and 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 40.

§ XXXIII.—The commander-in-chief in India, not being governor-general, while resident at Fort St. George or Bombay, shall be a member of the council.

§ XXXIV.—If any member shall be incapable of attending, the governor of the presidency may call to the council a provisional successor, &c.

§ XXXV.—His majesty, by sign-manual, countersigned by the president of the board, may remove any officer or servant of the company in India.

This enactment was confirmed by 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 74.

§ XXXVI.—The act not to preclude the directors from recalling their officers or servants.

The right of the directors in this respect is more fully recognised in 53 George III., cap. 155, sec. 80; 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 75; and sec. 60 of 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85.

§ XXXVII.—Departure from India of any governor-general, &c., with intent to return to Europe, to be

deemed a resignation of employment, &c. While at the presidency, no resignation of a governor-general, &c., to be valid, except delivered in writing to the secretary. Regulation respecting salaries.

This provision was amended and extended in the acts of 1813 and 1853.

§ XXXVIII.—Councils, in the first place, to consider matters proposed by the governor, who may postpone any matters proposed by councillors.

§ XXXIX.—Proceedings to be expressed to be made by the governor and council, and signed by the secretary.

Repeated in 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 57.

§ XL.—The governor-general in council at Fort William empowered to superintend the other presidencies.

This provision was repeated in 13 George III., cap. 63, sec. 9. By 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 39, the superintendence, direction, and control of the whole civil and military government of India is vested in the governor-general in council; by section 59 of that act the subordinate governments are not to make or suspend laws excepting under urgent necessity, and then only provisionally; nor to create any new office, nor to grant any salary, allowance, or gratuity, without the sanction of the governor-general in council; by section 65 they are bound to obey the instructions and orders of the governor-general in council in all cases whatsoever.

§ XLI.—The other presidencies to obey the orders of the governor-general in council at Fort William, if not repugnant to instructions from England. Governor-general to send dates, &c., of despatches from England, on points contained in instructions to presidencies, &c., who shall transmit to him copies of any orders they deem repugnant thereto.

The next section discloses the policy of the East India Company in the days of Pitt, and this policy was recognised by every board of control and every board of direction since. It was in the personal dispositions of governors-general, and the necessities of the case, that the causes of war in India, issuing in the increase of territory, are to be sought.

§ XLII.—And forasmuch as to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour, and policy of this nation, be it further enacted, that it shall not be lawful for the governor-general in council of Fort William, without the express command and authority of the court of directors, or of the secret committee by the authority of the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, in any case (except where hostilities have actually been commenced, or preparations actually made for the commencement of hostilities, against the British nation in India, or against some of the princes or states dependent thereon, or whose territories the said united company shall be at such time engaged by any subsisting treaty to defend or guarantee), either to declare war or commence hostilities, or enter into any treaty for making war against any of the country princes or states in India, or any treaty for guaranteeing the possessions of any country princes or states; and that in any such case it shall not be lawful for the governor-general and council to declare war or to commence hostilities, or to enter into any treaty for making war against any other prince or state, than such as shall be actually committing hostilities, or making preparations, or to make such treaty for guaranteeing the possessions of any prince or state, but upon the consideration of such prince or state actually engaging to assist the company against such hostilities commenced, or preparations made as aforesaid; and in all cases where hostilities shall be commenced, or treaty made, the governor-general and council shall, by the most expeditious means they can devise, communicate the same unto the said court of directors, or to the said secret committee, together with a full state of the information and intelligence upon which they shall have commenced such hostilities, or made such treaties, and their motives and reasons for the same at large.

§ XLIII.—The governments of Fort St. George or Bombay not to declare war, &c., but by orders from Fort William or the directors, &c. The penalty on the governors, &c., of Fort St. George and Bombay for neglect of orders from Fort William to be suspension or dismissal from their posts.

§ XLIV.—The Presidencies of Fort St. George, &c., to send to Fort William copies of all their orders, &c.

This enactment was renewed in 13 George III., cap. 63, sec. 9, and 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 68.

§ XLV.—The governor-general of Fort William may issue warrants for securing suspected persons as to any treasonable acts or correspondence. Proceedings to be had where reasonable grounds for the charge shall appear against such persons, or they shall be held in custody until convenient opportunity is found for sending them to India.

§ XLVI.—The governors of Fort St. George and Bombay to have the like powers with respect to suspected persons as the governor-general.

§ XLVII.—The governor-general or governors may order measures proposed in council about which they differ from the other members to be adopted or suspended, &c.

3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 49. This measure was ostensibly passed to give "energy, vigour, and despatch to the measures and proceedings of the executive government."

§ XLVIII.—The governor-general, &c., making any order without the council, reponsible for the same.

§ XLIX.—The governor-general, &c., not to make any order which could not have been made with the consent of the council.

§ L.—No person to act without the concurrence of the council, on whom the office of governor-general or governor shall devolve by death, unless provisionally appointed.

Renewed by 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 62.

§ LI.—Provided also, and be it further enacted, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to give power or authority to the governor-general of Fort William, in Bengal, or either of the governors of Fort St. George or Bombay respectively, to make or carry into execution any order or resolution against the opinion or concurrence of

the counsellors of their respective governments, in any matter which shall come under the consideration of the said governor-general, and governors in council respectively, in their judicial capacity; or to make, repeal, or suspend any general rule, order, or regulation for the good order and civil government of the said united company's settlements; or to impose, of his own authority, any tax or duty within the said respective governments or presidencies.

With regard to the subordinate presidencies, it must be recollected that the governments of those presidencies have no longer the power of legislation.

Section 52 provided that when the governor-general should visit either of the subordinate presidencies, the powers of the governor of such subordinate presidency should for the time be suspended. But by 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 67, it is enacted that those powers should not, by reason of such visit, be suspended.

Section 53 provides that, when the governor-general should be absent from his own government of Bengal, a member of the council of that presidency, nominated by the governor-general, should be vice-president and deputy-governor of Fort William. This it has been thought unnecessary to insert, inasmuch as by 3 & 4 William IV.; cap. 85, sec. 70, the governor-general of India in council may nominate some member of the council of India to exercise the powers of the governor-general in assemblies of the said council during his absence, under the title of president; and by 16 & 17 Victoria, cap. 95, sec. 16, power is given to the court of directors to declare that the governor-general of India shall not be governor of Fort William, and thereupon a governor of that presidency is to be appointed in the usual way; or authority may be given to the governor-general in council to appoint a servant of ten years' standing to be lieutenant-governor of such part of the presidency of Fort William as may not at the time be under the lieutenant-governor of the north-western provinces. The latter measure has been carried out.

§ LIV.—The governor-general, while absent, may issue orders to the officers and servants of the other presidencies, &c.

§ LV.—The directors, with the approbation of the board, may suspend the powers of the governor-general to act upon his own authority.

§ LVI.—No civil servants under the rank of member of council to be promoted but by seniority.

§ LVII.—If the salary of a vacant post exceeds five hundred pounds per annum, the candidate cannot be promoted unless he has resided three years in India.

The period of qualification for the higher salaries has been varied by more recent legislation. By 53 George III., cap. 155, sec. 82, it is fixed at four years for a salary exceeding £1500; at seven years for a salary exceeding £3000; at ten years for a salary exceeding £4000; which last term (ten years) in service, either civil or military, also forms the qualification for a seat in council, by 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 40; for the appointment of lieutenant-governor of the north-west provinces, by 5 & 6 William IV., cap. 52; for that of lieutenant-governor of Fort William, by 16 & 17 Victoria, cap. 95, sec. 16; and by section 22 of the act last quoted for the office of legislative councillor, thereby created. By 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 40, no previous service is required from the fourth ordinary member of the council of India, but it is expressly required that he shall be selected from persons not servants of the company. By 47 George III., cap. 68, sec. 7, and 10 George IV., cap. 16, sec. 2, the time spent at Haileybury is, under certain circumstances, to be reckoned as time spent in India with reference to eligibility to office or salary.

§ LVIII.—No person to hold two offices, the salaries of which amount to more than the prescribed sum.

§ LIX.—The directors not to send out more persons than necessary to supply the complement of the establishment.

Also 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 103.

§ LX.—No person shall be capable of acting, or being appointed or sent to India, in the capacity of writer or cadet, whose age shall be under fifteen years, or shall exceed twenty-two years, nor until the person proposed, or intended to be so appointed, shall have delivered to the said court of directors a certificate of his age, under the hand of the minister of the parish in which he was baptised, or keeper of the registry of baptism of such parish; and if no such registry can be found, an affidavit of that circumstance shall be made by the party himself, with his information and belief that his age is not under fifteen years, and doth not exceed twenty-two years; provided, nevertheless, that the said restriction shall not extend to prevent the said court of directors from appointing any person to be a cadet who shall have been for the space of one year at least a commissioned officer in his majesty's service, or in the militia or fencible men when embodied, and hath been called into actual service, or from the company of cadets in the royal regiment of artillery, and whose age shall not exceed twenty-five years.

The age has been extended, as to writers, to twenty-three years, by 7 William IV. and 1 Victoria, cap. 70, secs. 4 and 5.

§ LXI.—British-born subjects appointed to receive rents, &c., to take an oath.

The object of this section was to prevent servants of the company receiving bribes.

§ LXII.—Receiving gifts to be deemed a misdemeanour.

Repeated in 13 George III., cap. 63, secs. 23 and 24, and 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 76.

§ LXIII.—The court may order gifts to be restored, and fines to be given to the prosecutor.

§ LXIV.—Counsellors at law, &c., may take fees in their professions.

Renewed by 13 George III., cap. 63, sec. 25.

§ LXV.—Neglect to execute the orders of the directors, &c., to be deemed a misdemeanour.

Recited in 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 80.

§ LXVI.—Making any corrupt bargain for giving up or obtaining any employment also to be deemed a misdemeanour.

§ LXVII.—His majesty's subjects amenable to courts of justice in India and Great Britain for offences in the territories of native princes.

§ LXVIII.—No action to be stayed without the approbation of the board.

§ LXIX.—The company not to release sentences, or restore servants dismissed by sentences.

By 51 George III., cap. 75, secs. 4 and 5, it is declared that the above does not extend to the case of military officers dismissed or suspended from the service by sentence of court-martial, but that such may, with the approbation of the board, be restored.

§ LXX.—No person under the degree of a member of council or commander-in-chief, who shall not return to India within five years from his leave to depart, shall be entitled to rank, unless in the case of any civil servant of the company it shall be proved to the satisfaction of the court of directors that such absence was occasioned by sickness or infirmity, or unless such person be permitted to return with his rank to India by a vote or resolution passed by way of ballot by three parts in four of the proprietors assembled in general court, especially convened for that purpose, whereof eight days' previous notice of the time and purpose of such meeting shall be given in the *London Gazette*, or unless in the case of any military officer, it shall be proved to the satisfaction of the said court of directors, and the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, that such absence was occasioned by sickness or infirmity, or by some inevitable accident.

Section 71 secures to the company the exclusive trade, subject to a subsequent proviso for its determination.

Section 72 provided that the company should at all times thereafter, subject as above, enjoy all the benefits of previous acts and charters, except as by this act repealed, varied, and altered.

Section 73 contains a proviso for the termination of the exclusive trade, upon three years' notice.

Section 74 provided that after the termination of the exclusive trade the corporation should have the right to trade in common with other subjects of the crown; but the exercise of its trade is suspended by 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85. Section 75 regulates the mode of parliamentary notice to the company. Sections 76 to 106 relate to trade; sections 107 to 122 to financial matters of temporary interest. Section 123 provides that the appropriations made by this act (33 George III., cap. 52) shall not affect the rights of the company or the public as to the territory or the revenue beyond the term of the exclusive trade granted by the act. Section 124 relates to the appropriation of certain monies, and has at this time no interest or importance. It may here be observed that the latest enactments for the disposition of the revenues of India will be found in the 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, to be noticed on another page.

§ CXXV.—No grant of salaries, &c., above two hundred pounds to be good, unless confirmed by the board.

This provision depended upon the continuance of the company's right to exclusive trade. The exclusive trade with India terminated in 1814; that with China in 1834; but the 53 George III., cap. 155 (sec. 2), continued for the term thereby granted, all enactments, provisions, matters, and things, contained in the 33 George III., cap. 52, and in any other acts limited to the term granted by the said act of the 33 George III., so far as they were in force, and not repealed by or repugnant to the act 53 George III., cap. 155; and by the 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 2, all enactments, &c., of former acts limited to the term granted by 53 George III., cap. 155, are continued, so far as they were in force at the time of passing the new act (3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85), and were not repealed thereby or repugnant thereto. By 53 George III., cap. 155, sec. 88, and 55 George III., cap. 64, the approval of the board is required to give effect to gratuities exceeding £600. By 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 37, it is enacted that an estimate is to be submitted to the board of the sum required for the home establishment, and incidental expenses of the East India Company, which sum, when approved in the gross, is to be applied at the discretion of the court of directors, free from any interference of the board. All expenditure beyond this sum, including salaries, gratuities, and allowances, is subject to the general rule of superintendence by the board. See section 25 of the above act, 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85.

§ CXXVI.—The directors to lay revenue accounts before parliament within the first fourteen sitting days of March in every year.

By 54 George III., cap. 36, sec. 55, the accounts were to be made up to the 1st of May, and presented to parliament within the first fourteen sitting days after that period. By 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 116, the accounts are to be presented within the first fourteen sitting days after the 1st of May, and to be made up according to the latest advices. By that act also some changes are made in the particulars of the required accounts, adapting them to the altered circumstances of the company, all relating to trade being omitted. Section 127 provides for the reciprocal discharge of the crown and the company in respect of certain accounts between them, up to the 24th of December, 1792. A similar arrangement to a later date was effected by 3 George IV., cap. 93.

Among other matters in the settlement above referred to was that of military charges. The subsequent provision for these is the subject of the following section:—

§ CXXVIII.—From the twenty-fourth day of December, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two, the expenses of troops to be repaid by the company.

Sections 129 to 136 contained penal enactments against persons trading, and provisions for the confiscation of their ships and goods.

§ CXXXVII.—No governor-general, &c., to trade, except on account of the company. No judge to be concerned in any trade. No person whatever to be concerned in the inland trade in salt, &c., except with the company's permission.

By act of government of India, No. 15 of 1848, no officer of any court established by royal charter within the territories of the East India Company is to be concerned in any dealings as a banker, trader, agent, factor, or broker, except such as may be part of the duty of his office.

Sections 138 and 139 relate to trade.

Section 140 relates to the prosecution of offences against this act.

Section 141 enacts how actions shall be laid, and states the limitation of actions, and process.

Sections 142 to 145 referred to legal proceedings against clandestine traders. By section 146 the following enactments of earlier date are repealed:—So much of 9 & 10 William III., cap. 44, as inflicts penalty or forfeiture for illegally trading to the East Indies; the whole of the 5 George I., cap. 21, intended for the protection of the company's trade, and all enactments continuing the same; so much of the 7 George I., cap. 21, as relates to the punishment of persons illegally trading to the East Indies; the whole of the 9 George I., cap. 26, for preventing a subscription for an East India Company in the Austrian Netherlands, and for protection of the lawful trade of his majesty's subjects; so much of the 3 George II., cap. 14, and so much of 27 George II., cap. 17, as creates any penalty with reference to 7 George I., cap. 21, for the mode of suing, distributing, and recovering such penalty; so much of 10 George III., cap. 47, as subjects persons concerned in illicit trade to penalties; so much of 13 George III., cap. 53, as provides for delivery by the company of letters of advice to the secretaries of state, makes it unlawful for the governor-general, the members of council of Bengal, the chief justice or judges of the supreme court there, or revenue officers, to carry on trade, or prohibits dealing in salt, betel-nut, tobacco, or rice, or restrains from trading free merchants, free mariners, or others whose covenant shall be expired; and so much of 21 George III., cap. 65, as prohibits lending money to foreign companies, or restrains the court of directors from stopping suits for penalties thereby incurred; the whole of the 24 George III., sess. 2, cap. 25, excepting so much as relates to the debts of the Nabob of Arcot, redress to native landholders, and such parts as remained in force for the establishment of a court of judicature; the whole of 26 George III., cap. 16, excepting the repealing clauses; and so much of 26 George III., cap. 57, as makes offences against the law for securing the exclusive trade of the company enforceable in the East Indies. It will be observed that the subjects of several of the repealed enactments form the matter of new enactments in this act—as the interdiction of trade to the governor-general, governors, members of council, judges of the supreme court, and revenue officers, and the limitation of the trade in salt, betel-nut, tobacco, &c. See section 137. Section 147 provides that the repeal shall not extend to offences committed before the passing of this act; section 148, that it should not affect the powers of the board previously in existence till a new board should be appointed; section 149, that it should not affect the powers given by 28 George III., cap. 8, and 31 George III., cap. 10, concerning expenses of additional forces in the East Indies; section 150, that should not bar actions.

§ CLI.—Power given to the governor-general in council of Fort William, &c., to appoint justices of the peace, which said justices not to sit in courts of Oyer and Terminer unless called upon.

The 47 George III., sess. 2, cap. 68, sec. 6, repeals so much of the above as authorizes the governor-general in council to appoint justices of the peace for Fort St. George or Bombay, that authority being given by section 5 to the governor in council of the

respective presidencies. The 2 & 3 William IV., cap. 117, sec. 1, removes the restriction as to British inhabitants, and renders eligible all persons not subjects of a foreign state. By act of government of India, No. 6 of 1845, the power of issuing separate commissions is given.

§ CLII.—No person capable of acting as a justice of the peace till he has taken the requisite oaths.

The remaining sections, up to 160, are of limited interest, referring to rights and prerogatives of justice and civic regulations of the presidential capitals, and acts of the government of India unnecessary to introduce here.

§ CLX.—And be it further enacted, that every person who shall hereafter be elected a director of the said company shall, within ten days next after his election, and before he shall take that office upon him (save only the administering the oath hereinafter mentioned, instead of the oath now prescribed to be taken by persons elected directors of the said company), take the following oath (that is say); . . . . which said oath shall be signed by the person or persons taking the same, and shall be administered by any two of the directors of the said company, who also shall sign and attest the same; and in case any person so to be elected a director of the said company shall refuse or neglect to take the said oath within the time aforesaid, his office or place as a director of the said company shall become void.

By 53 George III., cap. 155, sec. 76, the year and title of *that* act were to be inserted instead of the year and title of the act by which the oath is prescribed; but the 16 & 17 Victoria, cap. 95, sec. 13, directs another form of oath *instead* of that previously taken; and the form given in this act is consequently omitted. That in the act of Victoria is as follows:—

"I, *A. B.*, do swear that I will be faithful to her "majesty Queen Victoria, and will, to the best of "my ability, perform the duty assigned to me as a "director of the East India Company, in the admin-"istration of the government of India in trust for "the crown."

Section 161 related to deposits on teas bought at the company's sales; section 162 limited the time for the commencement of proceedings under this act; and section 163 fixed the date of the commencement of the act.

Having given a general outline of the acts which have regulated the constitution of the East India Company, the Board of Control, the governor-general and council in India, and all of these in relation to each other, it remains to show the actual working of the system. In doing so the provisions of the statutes not necessarily brought into notice in the review just given, will be referred to as occasion arises.

### THE HOME GOVERNMENT.

The constitution of the board of directors has been shown in the foregoing pages. The practice, as to the chairman and deputy-chairman, is for the directors to elect such annually from their own body, but the deputy-chairman of one year is generally the chairman of the next, in which capacity he also serves for one year. The directors, until 1853, had the power vested in them of all ecclesiastical, legal, naval, and military appointments. In that year, by the act 16 & 17 Victoria, the appointments to the civil service were thrown open to public competition. The directors still have authority to originate all measures for the government of India, all grants of money at home and in India, also the patronage of all ecclesiastical, naval, and military appointments. The mode of distributing the patronage, is for each director to have an equal share, except the chairman and deputy-chairman, whose proportions are greater. The Board of Control has unconstitutionally intruded into this department, and what was originally asked as a courtesy, has for some time been looked upon as a right. The directors nominate general officers, as the staff of the company's army; the superintendent of the Indian navy, the master attendant in Bengal and in Madras, and volunteers (who are appointed in rotation by the directors) for the pilot service; officers of the mint, such as assay masters; the law officers of the presidencies, and the members of the general and presidential councils, except the fourth member of the general council, who must have the sanction of the Board of Control. The patronage of appointment to the great offices has been shown in the abstracts of the different acts relating to Indian government already given. The court of directors meet weekly (usually on the Wednesday) for the transaction of business, the details of which are conducted by committees. There are four of these committees,—the secret; the finance and home; the political and military; the revenue, judicial, and legislative.

The functions of the secret committee have been indicated in the abstracts already given of the different acts legislating for India. It is the medium of communication with the government in India, and with the Board of Control, especially in relation to peace or war, the acquisition of territory, and transactions with native princes. The committee consists of three members, who are supposed to be elected by the rest of the directors, but are generally taken *ex officio*, the chairman, deputy-chairman, and senior director, being the persons to whom the important trust is committed. It is questionable whether this

plan is wise, for although the chairman and deputy-chairman have the general confidence of the committee, and the senior director will be, of course, a man of very great experience, yet the nomination to such an important trust by any routine process has its dangers, when election by ballot, on the ground of capacity alone, ought to determine who should hold a charge so responsible. The papers of the secret committee are in charge of the examiner at the India-house, who is also clerk to the committee. The other committees superintend the departments of government to which they are specifically designated.

The general court, or court of proprietors, consists of holders of East India stock. All holders of £500 stock are entitled to attend the court and speak; all who hold £1000 stock have the additional right of voting. The latter class now number about eighteen hundred persons. The general court assembles quarterly. Its powers were once equal to those now held by the court of directors, but at present they are limited to the following:—

1. The election of twelve persons out of the eighteen who constitute the court of directors.
2. Of making bye-laws.
3. Of making money grants, and of controlling those proposed by the directors if exceeding £600 in one sum to one person, or £200 per annum.
4. Of calling for the production of all despatches which are not in the custody of the secret committee.

The East India-house is situated in Leadenhall Street, in the city of London, a building inferior in architectural pretension, and calculated by its long and gloomy corridors to give a mean idea of a place eminent in its associations, and as the seat of a power which has decided the destinies of so many oriental nations, and bid defiance to the greatest states of Europe. The company's establishment in the East India-house consists of four departments: the secretary's, the examiner's, the military, and the statistical. These are maintained at what must appear to be a very small cost compared with the vast amount of duties performed, and efficient agencies employed. The sum thus expended, exclusive of charities, pensioners, and annuities, in connection with them, does not exceed £120,000 per annum.

The Board of Control has its office in Cannon Row: its constitution has been already shown. None of the officers of the board ever attend except "the president," who presides over nothing, the real purport of his appointment being to secure to the party holding the reins of government for the the time being a portion of the rich patronage connected with India. One of the members of the board is expected to sign papers along with "the president." The real work belongs to the directors of the East India Company, and the effective hindrance to their measures has been in "the president" or in the governor-general of India, appointed for the most part for the purpose of gratifying a titled and powerful partizan of the existing cabinet. Any business done at the board is performed by the secretaries, one of whom is necessarily a member of parliament, and loses his office with the retirement from power of the cabinet which confers his appointment. The other is a permanent government official, who does whatever real work may have to be performed, which chiefly consists in routine records and letters. Each secretary, however, professes to attend to three departments of the control, and each has a staff of clerks at his disposal. The president conducts the "secret" business in person or by letter with the secret committee of the board of directors. The cost of the inefficient Board of Control has been at least one fourth that of the conduct of the vast transactions at the India-house. The system of check and counter-check in the business transacted between the two boards is most complicated, and the general mode of conducting business is rendered, by the spirit of routine pervading the Board of Control, tedious and injurious to the public service.

### GOVERNMENT IN INDIA.

The synopsis already given of the different statutes contained in Pitt's bill, or since, in acts of George III., William IV., and Victoria, based upon it, have already made the reader acquainted with the principles of local government in India. In 16 & 17 Victoria cap. 95, sec. 22, the governor-general was empowered to add two additional members of council to the four already composing that council, according to the statute, but the right has never been exercised. The patronage of the governor-general of India is exceedingly extensive, important, and valuable. He appoints the lieutenant-governor of Bengal and of the north-western provinces; all the military nominations in Bengal and the north-western provinces; the judges of the "sudder" courts; the commissioners in the non-regulation provinces; and the political residents in native states. The official staff of the governor-general consists of a political secretary to conduct business with native and foreign states; a home secretary, who manages judicial and revenue affairs; a financial secretary for the conduct of government finance; and a military secretary. The secretaries for politics and finance constitute a secret committee, to which all despatches are trans-

mitted, and in whose custody all despatches remain of a secret nature. The council meets at the government-house at Calcutta at least once a week. The governor and council send a quarterly general letter to the court of directors in London, but when important business requires, special letters are transmitted. Correspondence between the presidential governments and the court of directors is to be forwarded to the governor-general in council, but not *in extenso*—abstracts only are necessary. No new office can be established without the permission of the court of directors in London. Military expenditure can only be incurred in case of emergency, without the consent of the committee of the India-house. The governor-general, if not recalled, holds office for five years, and receives £25,000 per annum. Each member of the council receives £10,000 per annum. The presidencies of Madras and Bombay are each under governors and councils of three members. These derive their authority from the court of directors; but the lieutenant-governors of Bengal and of the north-west provinces, derive theirs from the governor-general of India. This may be seen in previous pages, but is here stated to keep before the reader a clear and general view of Indian government.

The provisions shown in the acts of parliament referred to for the government of the presidencies prohibit their governors and councils appointing any officers. This law was found impracticable. Reference could not be made from Madras and Bombay for every appointment to offices of customs or excise, and various other services of necessity arising from time to time. It became necessary to make an arrangement in India which would practically relax the stringency of the law. Periodical returns are made to Calcutta from Madras and Bombay of all appointments made in the interim, and these receive formal sanction at government-house. The governors and councils of the presidencies usually meet weekly, and have secretaries corresponding to those of the general government at Calcutta. The mode of transacting business at the chief seat of authority is more uniform than at Bombay or Madras. The lieutenant-governor of the north-west provinces exercises a patronage similar to that of the governors and councils in Bombay and Madras. If a servant is suspended or dismissed by the presidential governments, such dismission is subject to appeal to the directors. A certain amount of military patronage in India is also divided between the governor and the commander-in-chief. The former appoints to such offices as are connected with finance and have civil relations—such as the military auditor-general, the military accountant, the paymasters and commissaries; the commander-in-chief appoints the adjutant-general, the quarter-master-general, and minor officers of a strictly military nature. The presidential governors and commanders-in-chief exercise their patronage respectively and relatively upon the model of that of the governor-general and general commanding-in-chief.

### THE CIVIL SERVICE.

The collection of the revenue, and the administration of justice, are committed to the civil servants. Sometimes judicial and fiscal functions are united in the duties of the same official. The covenant made by the civil servants has been given in a former page; also the class from which the covenanted servants are selected. These civil servants—who may be either European or native, who have undergone no previous training, and who form no covenant with the company, but are employed as ordinary officials are usually employed by all public bodies—are called "uncovenanted servants." Public competition determines who shall be in the company's covenanted service since the act* passed for the dissolution of the company's civil college at Haileybury. The examiners of candidates for the covenanted department of the civil service are appointed by the Board of Control, under the act 16 & 17 Victoria, cap. 95. In 1855 regulations were promulgated by the board to the effect that two examinations of candidates should take place. The first in ancient and modern languages, mathematics, Arabic, and Sanscrit; the second in law, Indian history, and political economy. An interval of a year to take place between the two examinations. Various causes have contributed to prevent the operations of these regulations so far as the second examination is concerned. The following regulations are issued by the board:—

#### REGULATIONS FOR THE EXAMINATION OF CANDIDATES FOR THE CIVIL SERVICE.

1. Any natural-born subject of her majesty who shall be desirous of entering the civil service of the company, will be entitled to be examined at such examination, provided he shall, on or before the 1st of May, 1855, have transmitted to the board of commissioners:—

(*a*) A certificate of his age being above eighteen years and under twenty-three years.

(*b*) A certificate, signed by a physician or surgeon, of his having no disease, constitutional affection, or bodily infirmity, unfitting him for the civil service of the company.

(*c*) A certificate of good moral character, signed by the head of the school or college at which he has last received his education; or, if he has not received

* 18 & 19 Victoria, cap. 53.

education at any school or college since the year 1852, then such proof of good moral character as may be satisfactory to the board of commissioners.

(*d*) A statement of those branches of knowledge hereinafter enumerated, in which he desires to be examined.

2. The examination will take place in the following branches of knowledge:—

| | MARKS. |
|---|---|
| English Language and Literature:— | |
| Composition | 500 |
| English Literature and History, including that of the Laws and Constitution | 1000 |
| | 1500 |
| Language, Literature, and History of Greece | 750 |
| " " " Rome | 750 |
| " " " France | 375 |
| " " " Germany | 375 |
| " " " Italy | 375 |
| Mathematics, pure and mixed | 1000 |
| Natural Science, that is, Chemistry, Electricity, and Magnetism, Natural History, Geology, and Mineralogy | 500 |
| Moral Sciences, that is, Logic, Mental, Moral, and Political Philosophy | 500 |
| Sanscrit Language and Literature | 375 |
| Arabic Language and Literature | 375 |
| | 6875 |

3. The merit of the persons examined will be estimated by marks, according to the ordinary system in use at several of the universities, and the numbers set opposite to each branch in the preceding paragraph denote the greatest number of marks that can be obtained in respect of it.

4. No candidate will be allowed any marks in respect of any subject of examination unless he shall, in the opinion of the examiners, possess a competent knowledge of that subject.

5. The examination will be conducted by means of printed questions and written answers, and by *viva voce* examination, as the examiners may deem necessary.

6. After the examination shall have been completed, the examiners shall add up the marks obtained by each candidate in respect of each of the subjects in which he shall have been examined, and shall set forth, in order of merit, the names of the twenty candidates who shall have obtained a greater number of marks than any of the remaining candidates; and such twenty candidates shall be deemed to be selected candidates for the civil service of the East India Company. Their choice of the presidency in India to which they shall be appointed shall be determined by the order in which they stand on such list.

7. In August, 1856, and August, 1857, further examinations of the selected candidates will take place by examiners appointed by the board of commissioners for the affairs of India in the following subjects:—

| | MARKS. |
|---|---|
| Law, including the ordinary rules of taking Evidence, and the Mode of conducting civil and criminal trials | 1000 |
| The History of India | 400 |
| Political Economy | 400 |
| Any Language of India in which the selected candidate shall have given notice of his desire to be examined | 200 |

and such further examinations will be conducted in the same manner as that above described. (The numbers set opposite to each subject denote the greatest number of marks which can be obtained in respect of such subjects.)

8. Each selected candidate, desirous of being examined at either of the further examinations of 1856 and 1857, shall, two months previously to such examination, transmit to the board of commissioners for the affairs of India a statement mentioning the language or languages of India in which he is desirous of being examined.

9. Any selected candidate who, having been examined at the further examination of 1856, shall not have passed, may, nevertheless, be again examined at the further examination of 1857.

10. Any selected candidate who shall not have passed at one or the other of the further examinations of 1856 and 1857, shall be struck off the list of selected candidates.

11. The selected candidates, who, at either of such further examinations shall be deemed by the examiners to have a competent knowledge of law, the history of India, political economy, and at least one language of India, shall be adjudged to have passed, and to be entitled to be appointed to the civil service of the East India Company; and the names of the selected candidates who shall have so passed shall be placed in a list in the order of their merit in such examinations, estimated as above by the total number of marks which they shall have obtained in respect of all the subjects in which they shall have been examined at such examination.

12. The seniority in the civil service of the East India Company of the selected candidates, shall be determined by the date of the further examination at which they shall be judged to have passed; and so between those who have passed at the same further examination, their security in such civil service shall be determined according to the order in which they stand on the list, resulting from such examinations.

13. No person will ever after such examinations be allowed to proceed to India until he shall comply with the regulations in force at the time for the civil service of the East India Company, and shall be of sound bodily health, and good moral character.

INDIA BOARD,
*26th January*, 1855.

When the single examination (now made to suffice, contrary to the promulgated regulations) has taken place, the young men are sent out, as fast as they are required, to the respective governments for which it is presumed they are best adapted, or which is in the greatest need of their services. Those intended for Bengal, the north-west provinces, and other districts under the general government, are sent to Calcutta, where they are subjected to a further course of study, after which an examination takes place as to their progress in the native languages. The college at Fort William is the place where these additional preparations for official life are made. At Bombay and Madras there are no colleges for preparing the civil servants in the native languages. There are, however, certain teachers appointed for the purpose. Every successful candidate is entitled to some office, although not immediately nominated. After they arrive in India, and while pursuing the preparatory studies which are conducted there, the candidates receive a certain stipend, called "out-of-employ allowance," amounting to £400 a-year. When the examinations have terminated at Calcutta, the

candidates are nominated as assistants to magistrates and collectors, and are sent into "the Mofussil." * Before the assistants can enter the regular grades of the service, they must submit to two examinations: the first in the vernacular languages, or chiefly in those; the second in criminal and fiscal law, superadded to which is another examination in the vernacular tongues. When recognised as having entered the regular service, the civil officer is engaged in fiscal and magisterial duties, in a subordinate manner, and in such cases as superior officers may prescribe.

The regulations of the company's college at Calcutta have been unsparingly censured by various writers—such as Capper, in his work entitled *The Three Presidencies of India*, and Campbell, in his *Modern British India*. According to these and other authors who have written with less impartiality than zeal against the government of India, the students spend several years of idleness at Calcutta, spending at a rate far beyond their incomes, and burdening themselves for many subsequent years with the payment of heavy instalments of their debts. It is alleged that these young men bear themselves haughtily to their superiors, relying on their interest at home to uphold their position. The amount of testimony against the proficiency of the young men at Calcutta, and indeed at Bombay and Madras, is too extensive and respectable to be overlooked. It is alleged, on the other hand, that men of great attainments themselves, expect too much from these young men, and that while stricter regulations and examinations ought to ensure proficiency before the student receives the office of "writer," yet, on the whole, the attainments made are respectable, and the general career of those who serve the company is creditable.

After several years, during which every facility is afforded to the civilian to become experienced in office, and well acquainted with the people, he is recognised as a candidate for promotion. A fresh examination must be passed in the languages and institutions of the country. If this issue in a satisfactory manner, he is qualified for the offices of magistrate or collector.

The magistrates attend to police and the cognizance of whatever relates to criminals. Appeals from their decisions may be made to the judges of sessions. The collector takes charge of the district treasury, and collects the revenue, having large powers for enforcing his legal demands. Certain magisterial and judicial powers are entrusted to the collector; he settles by summary process disputes about rent and landed property among the agricultural community. The different presidencies have different rules of procedure, as well as different regulations of official rank and functions. In Bengal the office of judge, magistrate, and collector, are held by three distinct persons. In the north-west provinces, Bombay, and Madras, officers of one class are both magistrates and collectors; those of another class are judges. In the non-regulation provinces civil officers of one class hold all three offices.

Promotion goes generally by seniority; but when the secretary reports that a vacant office requires peculiar fitness in the occupant, he also names those among the legal claimants whom he considers in possession of the qualifications, and the governor usually selects that person, but may of his own knowledge fix upon some one else more adapted in his opinion to the post. This plan is calculated to ensure the promotion of talent, but it also opens up the way to interest and favouritism. Selection, in contradistinction to seniority, does not often prevail, except in the very highest offices.

Lord Cornwallis introduced a practice which is radically at variance with the constitution of the civil service, but which has prevailed ever since the governor-generalship of that nobleman. This practice is the employment of military men in civil offices. They are especially selected for their real or ostensible adaptation to the discharge of particular duties. They are chiefly employed as political agents in foreign courts, or the administration of police and magisterial affairs in unsettled districts. When civil servants properly qualified could not be obtained, military men have been appointed to the ordinary civil offices even in the regulation provinces. The proportion of military to civil officers employed in diplomatic situations is as one to two; but taking all classes of situations and all parts of our Indian empire into account, the proportion of military to civilians is probably three to two. This fashion of employing military men in civil offices has been of great detriment to the military service, although probably of no disadvantage generally, and of great advantage in many cases to the civil administration. It is not improbable that the mutiny of 1857 would not have been attempted had not this predominating influence of the military over the civilians grown to such a head in the civil department. The regiments were denuded of experienced and efficient officers. The "pick and cull" of the army was withdrawn for civil services. Knowledge of the native languages constitnting one of the chief qualifications for the office of a civilian, officers

* The country as distinct from the capital.

thus endowed were withdrawn from their regiments, leaving those behind them least qualified to communicate with the men. Besides, the number of officers generally in regiments was extremely deficient from this cause. The covenanted civil officers receive salaries varying from £40 per month to more than twenty times that amount, paid in rupees.

The duties of a collector are very numerous, and the sphere of his supervision very extensive. An area equal to two average English counties may be considered the ordinary "beat" of a collector. Over this during many months of the year he passes on his duties, in which he superintends the work performed by his assistants, the uncovenanted servants. Business in the early part of the day is often very severe upon the collector, as the crafty natives then press upon him with their claims, complaints, and references, in the hope that he will be more placable just as he begins his day than when his wearied mind and body have passed through the greater portion of his diurnal toil. The salary of a collector is about £233 per month.

At the end of ten years the civilian is entitled to a three years' furlough; but if he makes this available, he will, on his return, find his post filled, and he must await his turn to procure another. During his absence in Europe he is allowed £500 a year. He may obtain leave to Ceylon, the Cape, Australia, the Mauritius, and some other places, and retain one-third of his pay, and without resigning his appointment. At the end of twenty-two years' service he may retire upon £1000 a year, having subscribed four per cent. upon his income in the meantime to the annuity fund, and a further small per-centage to the widow and orphan fund.

By very many writers the average ability of the collector and magistrates is represented as below mediocrity; and that although men of great ability have been numbered among them, yet the vast majority lose in their isolated positions that stimulus for the acquisition of knowledge which competition in the crowd of European life supplies. It is alleged that the zeal at first shown to master the details of their own duties gradually passes away, and the collector does little, leaving to his subordinates all real labour, until he becomes unacquainted with the state of his district, and imperfectly versed in the application of the principles of administration. There can, however, be no doubt that within the last few years a more general tone of efficiency has sprung up, and that in the north-west, and throughout the non-regulation provinces, a vigorous administration has been carried out.

The uncovenanted civil servants are composed of both Europeans and natives. The Europeans are chiefly selected from those who have gone out to India in some other calling, and the sons of commissioned officers. They do not generally attain to the higher offices, and are not entitled to the furlough after ten years' service; but sometimes high interest, or peculiar qualifications, lead to their advancement, and furloughs have been granted as an especial mark of favour. They are not, according to the rule, entitled to pensions, but have sometimes received them. There are many half-caste men among the uncovenanted servants. These, with the Europeans employed, according to Capper, amounted, in 1853, to nearly three thousand persons.

Lord William Bentinck conceived the idea of employing the natives as uncovenanted servants; and his lordship contemplated it on a scale of magnitude and liberality that would have introduced great numbers of this class to the offices for which they might be deemed eligible. So far as his scheme has been carried out, it has promoted the convenience of magistrates and collectors, but has not conduced to the better government of India, the better administration of local affairs, the impartial administration of justice, or the welfare of the people. Abuses, which have furnished a theme for agitation against the company, have grown up under this system. The native is ever ready to wrong the native. He will do so to please his employer, to exact a bribe, to gratify his personal animosity, or to show his distaste to a rival religion or race. The hardships inflicted by native agents of all classes everywhere in India, but more especially in Madras, are numerous, often appalling, and generally beyond the correction or prevention of the European officers. The system of torture practised in Madras by these native officers has brought much opprobrium on the government, which never countenanced the crime, and did its best to prevent it. Frequently where the European officer supposed the evil suppressed it was still continued. The native officers will lie, commit perjury, cheat, accept bribes, inflict the grossest injustice, and the most brutal cruelties, in the name of the company. The scheme of Lord William Bentinck, however, met the approbation of the government and parliament at home, and their sanction was given to it by 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 85. The result of this statute has been that nearly all the inferior offices of justice are in the hands of the natives. There

are seven hundred native judges in India.* The decisions of many of these inflict great injury upon the cause of justice and discredit upon the company. The collectors in several departments of the revenue are frequently natives, numbering altogether twelve hundred persons.†

It may surprise most readers of this History to learn that the most useful class of native *employés* is that of medical assistants. The sub-assistant surgeon of districts, and the "native doctor" in regiments, are very useful persons, showing a practical aptitude for detecting diseases, which experience supplies where scientific diagnosis is not possible. As *helpers* to the British medical officers they are invaluable; but the directors claim for them a higher position, as appears from the following statement of the court, laid before parliament:—"In addition to the institutions for giving a general education to the different classes of the community, either through English or the vernacular, colleges or schools for several branches of professional education are maintained at the different presidencies (of the engineering colleges mention has already been made). Medical schools had from an early period been maintained at all the presidencies, to train persons for employment in the subordinate branches of the medical service—as compounders, dressers, native doctors, &c. These institutions were gradually raised in character, and for many years past have held the rank of colleges, in which medical education of a first-class character is afforded. They have, in consequence, received the 'recognition' of the College of Surgeons in London; and the graduates of these colleges are entitled to all privileges which are conferred by the College of Surgeons on the members of the colonial medical institutions recognized by them. The graduates almost invariably enter the service of government, though some few, especially at Bombay, prefer private practice. To afford encouragement to the graduates of the colleges, and meet the want of well-qualified medical officers for the service of government, a special native medical service has been created, under the title of sub-assistant surgeons, for which a degree in one of the medical colleges of India is a necessary qualification. These officers are divided into three grades, promotion being regulated by the joint consideration of length of service and professional qualification, as ascertained by special examination. The principal use which has been made of this class has been in connection with the government dispensaries; but some few have been appointed to the charge of the smaller stations. Their professional qualifications are, in many cases, of a high order; and the triumph which has been effected over the religious prejudices of the natives, in popularizing the dissection of dead bodies, is a proof that this indirect mode of correcting their superstitions, by the influence of useful knowledge, is a highly effectual one."

In humble offices—such as police agents and inferior servants of revenue—the number of natives is very great. Forty thousand, according to Arthur Mills, Esq., M.P., were thus employed in Bengal alone in 1853, their average pay being the small sum of twenty rupees per month, which, however, is, in the esteem of a native, a considerable amount. According to the same authority, there were a hundred and seventy thousand watchmen in the lower provinces.

The salaries paid to the better classes of the uncovenanted servants range from £100 per annum up to £900. A native who lately presided in the "small-cause court" in Calcutta received £1560 per annum.* The Mohammedans are most patronised by the Indian authorities, but Hindoos also, in an inferior degree, hold important posts. A Parsee presides over the factory at Bombay, and has Europeans serving under him.† It is surprising that the Parsees are not more frequently employed; they are the most upright among the natives, have most real respect for Europeans, united with more dignity, probity, independence, loyalty, and intelligence.

It is alleged that there are now in Calcutta many natives who have risen from the meanest officers of police by money-lending, the money having been obtained by peculation and bribery, and that these persons not unfrequently have their former masters as their debtors. Extortion and oppression prevail everywhere, through the instrumentality of the native *employés*, in spite of the company and its European officers, who are gradually becoming simply the supervisors of the native officials, upon whom devolve all the labour, and who are almost solely brought into close contact with the native population.

The constitution and history of the government of India were well described by an eminent statesman as "a great empire carrying on subordinately a great commerce—a state in the disguise of a merchant."‡

While these sheets are going through the press the country is agitated by a discussion of the question—"How shall India in future be governed?" The commons of England has affirmed the extinction of the East India

* Mills. † Ibid.

* Arthur Mills, Esq., M.P. † Ibid.
‡ Edmund Burke.

Company, but has not yet agreed upon any other form of government as a substitute. Lord Palmerston, as head of the government dissolved in the beginning of this year, brought forward a measure which received a large support, and provoked an extensive opposition, especially beyond the walls of parliament. The government of the Earl of Derby, which succeeded that of Lord Palmerston, brought forward another measure, more complicated, but more popular, or, at least, more specious in a popular sense. These two measures are still before the legislature and the country, and the issue of the discussion must be reserved for another chapter.

It is impossible not to concur with a statement made by Mr. Mangles in the house, that the company have rendered great services to the country, and, on the whole, governed India well. Nor is it possible to refuse concurrence to the statement of Colonel Sykes, also made from his place in the legislature, that the company have maintained in India a better government than that of any continental power in Europe. The language of Henry Thoby Prinsep, Esq., one of the ablest of the present directors, is just:—"We have kept the country, and governed it for a hundred years, with honour to England, and benefit to India." Such facts ought not, and must not, be lost sight of in any new arrangements, nor in the estimate which the country forms of the character and history of the East India Company. The improvements demanded for India by this country have in some instances been anticipated by the directors or the local government of India, and in other cases responded to by a prompt adoption of what general opinion declared necessary. In some instances the company have yielded to the public voice what, if better instructed on Indian affairs, the people of England would not have desired. Difficulties in India, arising from concessions upon which the will of England was strongly set, but which, in themselves, were unwise or inopportune, and in some cases unjust, have undoubtedly arisen. Within the last few years great strides in the direction of improvement have been made. The settlement of the Punjaub has assumed a most satisfactory issue. Scinde presents an aspect of good government, pleasing as it is instructive. As shown on a former page, the native tribes along the whole line of the Affghan and Beloochee frontiers of the Punjaub and Scinde have been tamed down by the justice, wisdom, firmness, and administrative aptitude, happily blended in the policy and mental qualities of the men to whom the directors wisely committed the task. In the hill countries of Central India, along the ranges of ghauts, and in those wild jungles or desert districts on the frontiers of independent states, lawless hordes have been trained to industry, and hands which had been expert only in wielding the weapons of hostility, have already become skilful in the use of the implements of peace. It would be no exaggeration, and scarcely a figure of speech, to say that the spear has been turned into the pruning-hook, and the sword converted to the ploughshare. That such results have not been everywhere accomplished is not more true than that everywhere some progress is made towards their realization. The great mutiny has not at all obstructed this process over a large area of country, and it will ultimately even open up facilities for the speedier achievement of civilization, by the new instrumentalities which it will certainly call into life, and the more vivid impression of the prestige of British power which victory will create. "The general result of all these improvements in administration, combined with the security which our rule has for the first time given to property against the ravages of war and fiscal rapacity, has been a great and rapid growth of general prosperity."* Whatever be the issue of the discussion now penetrating the country, it is certain, that in any scheme for the future, "an intermediate, non-political, and perfectly independent body, in concurrence with her majesty's government, is an indispensable necessity, without which there can be no absolute security for good government."†

No circumstance in the history of the company has perhaps given so much offence to the English people as the alleged disposition to discourage native Christians, and debar them from office. During the recent parliamentary and public discussions on this subject papers were moved for in the commons in reference to a Hindoo convert to Christianity in a native regiment at Meerut, an event which occurred a considerable number of years ago. The correspondence discloses the spirit of the government at that time, and which has too much characterised it since. A Major Boye, who commanded the battalion in which the occurrence of the conversion took place, made a formal complaint that the clergyman baptised the convert *without his* (the major's) *consent!* The man was removed from the regiment *by order of the governor in council*, the event having filled the council with "consternation." The whole tone of the correspondence, with many other incidents, show that no efforts were

* *Memorandum of the Improvements in the Administration of India.*

† *Address of the Court of Directors to Lord Palmerston.*

made to accustom the soldiery to the idea that they had a right to become what they pleased as to religious profession, without fear of molestation or disfavour; there was no effort made to lead the men to regard it *as a right*, that they ought jealously to claim.

Another of the most fertile causes of dissatisfaction with the company in England has been the prohibition of Europeans from holding land on any account whatever. It is not here necessary to review this fact as a feature of policy. The company was undoubtedly jealous of the energy, enterprise, and independence which English settlers would display, and the intrusion into the government of India which a considerable British population, having a permanent interest in the country, would be sure to make. At the same time it was the belief of "the old Indians," that the settlement of foreigners would arouse the prejudices and nationality of the natives, and provoke insurrection. It is passing strange that if the natives have learned submission to Europeans as conquerors, bowing to their authority, and surrendering revenues from the land, that the people would be less willing to offer homage when the European element in the country was strengthened. The company discouraged the colonization of India, from the belief that it was impracticable, the characteristics of the climate being unfavourable. A few elevated situations would furnish opportunities for English culture, but, except as planters of indigo, sugar, and rice, by the sole instrumentality of native labour, the settlement of Europeans as agriculturists is generally impossible. Even in the hill districts "the hill fever," and other diseases, would sweep away Europeans who ventured to locate themselves.

This chapter cannot be more appropriately closed than by a list of the governors-general of India, and of the presidents of the Board of Control, brought down to the present time. These lists will be useful for reference in other portions of the History. The following are the names of those who have held office as governors-general and administrators of India, with the dates of their appointment: those prior to the act of 1773 having been styled "administrators;" those between 1773 and the act of 1833, "governors-general of Fort William;" those from 1833 to the present time, "governors-general of India in council."

Alexander Dawson, January 27, 1748.
William Fytche, January 8, 1752.
Roger Drake, August 8, 1752.
Colonel Robert Clive, March 25, 1758.
Henry Vansittart, November 23, 1759.
John Spencer, November 26, 1764.
Lord Clive (second time), June 1, 1764.
Harry Verelst, January 26, 1767.
John Cartier, December 16, 1769.
Warren Hastings, April 25, 1771.
John Macpherson (provisionally), February 1, 1785.
Lord Macartney, July, 1785 (declined office).
Lord Cornwallis, February 24, 1786.
Major-general W. Meadows, April 28, 1790.
Sir John Shore (Lord Teignmouth), September 19, 1792.
Sir Alured Clarke (provisionally), September 20, 1797.
Lord Mornington (Marquis of Wellesley), October 4, 1797.
Marquis Cornwallis (second time), January 9, 1805. Died October 6.
Sir George H. Barlow (appointment revoked by his majesty), February 19, 1806.
Lord Minto, July 9, 1806.
Earl of Moira (Marquis of Hastings), November 18, 1812.
George Canning, March 27, 1822 (declined office).
William, Lord Amherst, October 23, 1822.
W. B. Bayley (provisionally), March 23, 1828.
Lord William Bentinck, March 13, 1828.
William, Lord Heytesbury (appointment revoked by his majesty), January 28, 1835.
Sir Charles Metcalfe (provisionally), March 20, 1835.
George, Lord Auckland, August 12, 1836.
Edward, Lord Ellenborough (revoked by court of directors, May 1, 1844), October 20, 1841.
W. W. Bird (provisionally), 1844.
Sir Henry Hardinge (Viscount Hardinge), May 6, 1844.
James Andrew, Marquis of Dalhousie, August 4, 1847.
Charles John, Viscount Canning, July, 1855.

The following are the names of those who have held the office of president of the board of commissioners for the affairs of India since its constitution in 1784:—

Thomas, Lord Sydney, September 3, 1784.
Right Hon. W. Wyndham Grenville, March 12, 1790.
Right Hon. Henry Dundas, June 28, 1793.
George, Viscount Lewisham, May 19, 1801.
Robert, Viscount Castlereagh, July 12, 1802.
Gilbert, Lord Minto, February 12, 1806.
Right Hon. Thomas Grenville, July 16, 1806.
Right Hon. George Tierney, October 1, 1806.
Right Hon. Robert Dundas, April 6, 1807.
Dudley, Earl of Harrowby, July 16, 1807.
Right Hon. Robert Dundas (second time), November 13, 1809.
Robert, Earl of Buckinghamshire, April 7, 1812.
Right Hon. George Canning, June 20, 1816.
Right Hon. Charles Bathurst, July 16, 1821.
Right Hon. C. Watkin Williams Wynn, July 8, 1822.
Robert Dundas, Viscount Melville, February 7, 1828.
Edward, Lord Ellenborough, April 24, 1828.
Right Hon. Charles Grant, December 6, 1830.
Edward, Lord Ellenborough (second time), December 20, 1834.
Right Hon. Sir John Cam Hobhouse, Bart., April 29, 1835.
Edward, Lord Ellenborough (third time), April 9, 1841.
W. F. Fitzgerald, Lord Fitzgerald and Vesci, October 28, 1841.
Frederic J., Earl of Ripon, May 23, 1843.
Sir John Cam Hobhouse, Lord Broughton (second time), July 10, 1846.
Right Hon. Fox Maule, February 5, 1852.
Right Hon. J. C. Herries, February 27, 1852.
Right Hon. Sir Charles Wood, Bart., December 28, 1852.
Right Hon. R. Vernon Smith, 1855.
Edward, Lord Ellenborough (fourth time), February, 1858.

# CHAPTER XIV.

## THE GOVERNMENT OF THE BRITISH INDIAN EMPIRE (*Continued*).

### REVENUE.

ONE of the most important subjects connected with government must of course be revenue; it is not only "the sinews of war," but the sinews of peace. The mode in which the revenue of a government is obtained is a test of its civilization.

The principles of taxation adopted in India are of Hindoo origin, although most writers attribute them to the Mohammedan conquerors. They systematized, but nearly all their schemes were based on the ancient customs which they found in existence. Various modifications have been introduced by the British, as circumstances arose to require them, and the result is the existing systems of the Honourable East India Company.

The taxation of the people of British India is computed at about five shillings per head, while in the British Isles more than ten times that amount is paid. In India about seventy per cent. of the entire taxation falls upon the agricultural portion of the community.

There are three chief boards of revenue—those of Bengal, the north-western provinces, and Madras. In Bombay there is a revenue commission. The country is divided into revenue divisions, which are under the charge of officers, whose chief, and sometimes exclusive, functions, are the collection and regulation of the revenue.

The revenue year ends on the 30th of April, and therefore the amount received in 1857–8 is not yet reported in detail. For 1856–7 it was as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Land revenue | £16,682,908 |
| Opium | 4,487,269 |
| Salt | 2,362,308 |
| Customs | 2,029,270 |
| All other sources of revenue, comprising stamps, post-office, sayer, abkaree, mint, marine, pilotage, judicial electric telegraph receipts, subsidies from native states, and miscellaneous | 3,605,702 |
| Total | £29,167,457 |

When the vast area of territory, and the great resources of the country, are considered, this sum is beneath what ought to be derived, without hardship to the population, if the scheme adopted was in harmony with economical science.

A comparative view of the revenue of the past fiscal year with that of 1852–3 will throw additional light on the subject.

| Source of revenue. | Gross revenue. | Net revenue. | Cost of collecting per cent. | Per-centage on total revenue. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | £ | £ | | |
| Land revenue | 15,178,676 | 13,551,752 | 10¼ | 58¼ |
| Excise and moturpha | 1,088,254 | | | |
| Opium | 4,562,586 | 3,358,684 | 26¼ | 14¼ |
| Salt | 3,189,214 | 2,703,752 | 15 | 11½ |
| Customs | 946,561 | 816,074 | 13½ | 3½ |
| Stamps, fees, and fines. | 593,982 | 590,169 | 4 | 2½ |
| Tobacco | 115,000 | 88,448 | 23 | ½ |
| Post-office, mint, and other sources | 1,979,041* | 1,979,041 | † | 8½ |
| Total | 27,753,314 | 23,967,920 | | |

The three principal sources of finance upon which the government draws are land, opium, and salt. Land is the greatest of all, and shall therefore receive notice first.

Before giving a general view of the system of land revenue, it is necessary to explain the meaning of some terms.

The word *zemindar* is Persian, and means "landholder." It was originally given to the Hindoo chiefs, who held hereditary possession. The Moguls applied the name to officers appointed to collect revenue, and to receive for themselves a certain per-centage. When land in British India is said to be held under the *zemindar system*, it is intended to be understood that tenants cultivate it under a landlord who stands between them and the government. The landlord may be a hereditary chief, or a village corporation, or a district officer, but he is a middleman between the people and the government.

The *ryot system* expresses the fact that the cultivator is the proprietor; he is immediately the tenant of the government.

The middlemen of India are found under various designations—*polygars* and *mootadars* of Madras; the *dessayes* and *mozumdars* of Gujerat; the *deshmooks* of the Deccan and Bombay; the *talookdars* of the Moguls, &c.

Proprietors and headmen are variously called—*zemindars* in Bengal and the north-western provinces; *bhumyas* in Rajpootana; *potails* in Malwa, Gujerat, and the Deccan; *merrassidars* in the Carnatic; *vellalers* in

* Of this sum £566,694 are receipts from native states towards the support of British troops for their protection.

† Cost of collection charged against general revenues, and said to be equal to the gross amount collected; actual net revenue from these would therefore be *nil*.

the southern peninsula; and *patteedars* in the Punjaub.

The security and contentment of the people of India mainly depend upon the administration of justice and the regulation of the revenue. "The manner in which the entire economical condition of nearly the whole population is determined by the management of the revenue department cannot, by persons unacquainted with India, be understood without especial explanation." * Throughout the greater part of India there is no intermediate landlord between the cultivator and the government. The rent is not paid to a landlord who has no claim upon the taxes. The rent and taxes are identical, or at all events the assessment of the one regulates the other, the government being the possessor of the estate in its fee simple. "The history of the revenue administration of India is the history of landed property, and of the economical condition of the whole agricultural population." † It is computed that on an average of the cultivated lands throughout India a tax of 3*s.* 6*d.* per acre is levied. This is alleged to be equal to one-fourth of the gross produce.

In 1765, when the Mogul granted Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa to the company, the subject of revenue necessarily arose for consideration. During the first four years of the English possession the native officers previously engaged in collecting the revenue were retained in their offices, and the system previously in existence continued to be worked. The system was then termed *pattendaree*, the zemindars and district registrars contracting for the revenues with the company.

The history of the English revenue since then has been condensed and summed up by Arthur Mills, Esq., M.P., in the following form:—

In 1769 supervisors, being covenanted servants of the company, were appointed in each district to report on the existing revenue system, with a view to its amendment.

In 1772, by proclamation, dated the 11th of May, the company asserted their authority under the Mogul's grant to the *dewannee*, or civil government, and, by regulations dated the 14th of May, a system of lease for five years to the highest bidder was inaugurated.

In 1776 instructions were issued by the directors, authorizing the sale of lands in default of payment on the part of the zemindars or landholders with whom the government contracts were made.

* *Memorial of the Honourable East India Company.*
† Ibid.

In 1781 regulations were framed and passed by the governor in council, establishing a plan of annual leases; preference to be given in all cases to the zemindars.

In 1789, by a minute of the governor-general (Lord Cornwallis), a settlement, involving a fixed payment of revenue for ten years, was announced.

In 1793, by proclamation, dated the 22nd of March, the decennial settlement was declared to be permanent and irrevocable for ever, and regulations were framed for carrying it out.

In 1799 an act was passed relaxing the stringent power of sale given theretofore to the government over the estates of defaulting zemindars.

In 1802 the permanent revenue system of Bengal was extended to a portion of the Madras presidency, in which, under the auspices of Munro, a system had been established of direct dealing with individual cultivators, on yearly agreements, with allowances for irrigation or other improvements, and providing also for the liability of villages for individual defaults.

In 1803—5 the district called the Barahmal, in Madras, was mapped out into zemindarries, and disposed of on fixed permanent terms.* After many changes and modifications of system, we find—

In 1817 three different systems existing in different parts of Madras:—1. The Cornwallis, or zemindarry system; 2. The ryotwar, or Munro system, above described; and 3. The village system of leases for years of all the lands comprised in the village, together with all the profits; the liability for rent, and the duty of internal management, being committed to the leaseholders collectively.†

In 1820 the ryotwar system was made general through all parts of the Madras presidency not already permanently assessed.

In 1821 a commission was appointed to investigate and report upon alleged abuses in the revenue system of the north-west provinces, and in 1822, by Regulation VII., a system, of which Mr. Holt Mackenzie was the author, was promulgated, the leading object of which was to combine the advantages

* A full account of the land revenue system, as it existed in 1812, will be found in the fifth report of the House of Commons of that year.

† The first of these systems, the zemindarry, prevailed in Ganjam, Vizagapatam, Rajahmundry, Masulipatam, Guntore, Salem, Chingleput, Cuddalore, and the Pollams.

The second, or ryotwar—in Malabar, Canara, Coimbatore, Madura, and Dindigul.

The third, or village system—in the ceded districts, Nellore, Arcot, Palnaud, Trichinopoly, Tinnevelly, and Tanjore.

of the ryotwar system with that of village leases.

In 1827, by the Bombay code of regulations, the work of Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone, a system was established, which, with subsequent modifications, still exists.

In 1833, by Regulation IX. (under Lord William Bentinck), the settlement of the north-west provinces was further carried out, and in 1842 it was completed. In the working of this system native functionaries were largely employed. In the north-west provinces, Madras, and Bombay, the offices of collector and magistrate were at this time united in the same person. In Bengal they were kept distinct.

In 1844 Scinde (in which territory a plan of collecting land revenue under military superintendence had been attempted by Sir Charles Napier) was annexed to Bombay, and partly subjected to the same system with that presidency.

In 1847 a system of thirty years' leases of "fields" (the name given to so much land as one man and a pair of bullocks could cultivate) was established in part of the Bombay presidency—the boundaries of the fields to be marked by stones—portions of the territory being also annually let for grazing grounds. Under this system the dealings of the government were (on the ryotwar plan) with the individual cultivators. The fields were to be sold in default of payment.

In 1849 the Punjaub system of decennial contracts with the village communities was established, at the suggestion of the Lawrences, by Lord Dalhousie.

A paper, "showing under what tenures, and subject to what land-tax, lands are held in the several presidencies of India," was lately returned to parliament. "Returns," illustrating the surveys and assessments in the north-west provinces, Bombay, and Madras, have also been laid before the legislature, and disclose the following condition of revenue affairs.

LAND REVENUE SYSTEM IN BENGAL.—The land is held by zemindars, who pay an annual fixed sum in perpetuity, the estates being liable to be sold on default of payment. The land-tax is supposed to be half the rental. Between the landlords or zemindars, and the cultivators, there are nearly always middlemen, and sometimes several renters between them. This system was instituted by the Marquis Cornwallis, in 1793, with the object of creating a native landed aristocracy: the project was unfortunately approved of in England, so as to blind men to the necessary results of such a scheme. It has issued most mischievously, both for the government and the people. It is known by the designation of "the permanent settlement." The representations made of this scheme by persons competent to judge of its operations give a picture of oppression and injustice truly terrible. In order to carry out his plan of creating a native aristocracy, it was necessary for Lord Cornwallis to sweep away the rights of the ryots. Multitudes, who from time immemorial had an inheritance in the land, were suddenly dispossessed in favour of Lord Cornwallis's zemindars. These soon made their newly-acquired privileges felt by the victims whom the conceit and ignorance of the governor-general had placed in their power. The ryots were subjected to a series of grinding exactions so utterly merciless, that it is extraordinary how the stereotyped phrases of "the mild and gentle Hindoo" could have ever obtained amongst Europeans, who witnessed the cruel despotism of these avaricious and remorseless tyrants. The cultivators of Bengal are ground down into misery by a horde of merciless native rack-renters, unrighteously created, partly as a better medium of revenue, partly from a weak, vain, and criminal sympathy with aristocratic institutions. "They (the zemindars) take from them (the ryots or cultivators) all they can get; in short, they exact whatever they please. The ryots have no defence whatever but that of removal; they may decline to pay what is exacted, and quit the land."* The "permanent settlement" has produced more distress and beggary, and a greater change in the landed property of Bengal, than has happened in the same space of time in any age or country by the mere effect of internal regulations. Mr. Piddington, a civilian, in his replies to the queries of the board of revenue, says, in reference to these extortions —"I fear to be discredited when I state, that from twenty to forty per cent. on the actual *jummabundi* (legal rent) is yearly extorted from the poor ryot." It has been the custom to launch angry impeachments against the company for this state of things, both in parliament and throughout the country; and whenever any disappointed person returned from India, the relation of the zemindars and ryots was a fruitful theme of discourse in opposition to the committee in Leadenhall Street.

In a defence of their conduct and policy lately put forth by the East India Company, the evil of this system has been frankly acknowledged, the error of Lord Cornwallis

* Mill; *Fifth Report of the Finance Committee in Bengal.*

described as such, and the company urges that it had no more power to change the relation of the zemindar or landlord of Bengal with the ryot, than the English government has had the power of altering the relation of the owners and occupiers of the soil in those provinces of Ireland where such has been least satisfactory. It cannot be denied, however, that a long period has elapsed since the government of Cornwallis without adequate endeavours to apply a corrective in Bengal. The company takes credit to itself for not having imitated the Cornwallis system in other portions of India, and for having, by its recent surveys and magisterial regulations, done much to prevent litigation, always in India unfavourable to the poor man, and for defining his rights. The tenacity, however, of old impressions which characterises the Hindoos, has kept alive the idea of a right still existing in the actual cultivator to hold his land at a rent fixed by custom, not by arbitrary will; and this traditionary feeling, from which the landlords themselves are not exempt, must form the basis of anything that can be hereafter done to improve the tenure of the Bengal ryot.*

SYSTEM OF LAND REVENUE IN THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES.—The mode of assessing land in these provinces is much superior to that pursued in Bengal. The plan adopted by Lord Cornwallis was happily avoided in "the settlement" of the territory within the limits of the lieutenant-governorship, when the wars conducted under the government of the Marquis Wellesley led to the acquirement of these districts. At first the arrangements for land taxes were provisional, and this state of things was allowed to continue many years, the company wishing to gain experience, and being warned against precipitancy by the working of the "permanent settlement" in Bengal. After thirty years, during which the company's officers made themselves acquainted with the capabilities of the country, the settlement of the provinces began, and was completed in 1844. The ancient tenure of those districts was that of "village communities." The descendants of those who originally conquered or reclaimed the land held it as a community. There were inhabitants of "the village" (or district of territory so called), renting plots from those who descended from the ancient possessors; such tenants were generally removable, but sometimes fixity of tenure had been in particular cases granted. The East India Company determined upon recognising the rights of the village communes. In order to ensure certainty as to the proper boundaries of properties, and the most equitable assessment, a detailed survey was made of an area of seventy-two thousand square miles, inhabited by a population of nearly twenty-four millions of persons. Settlements were made for twenty and some for thirty years; some of those made in the earlier years of the adjustment are now nearly run out, and the occupancy has been satisfactory alike to the government and the tenant. A revenue of four millions sterling is obtained from the north-west government, the collection being easy, and the people contented. The following account of the survey and assessment of the north-western provinces, issued by the India-house, will explain the whole process of these operations, and enable the student of these pages to enter intelligently into the discussions which are now conducted, not only among politicians and political economists, but by many who have not qualified themselves to pronounce any opinion upon the subject:—

The objects of the survey were, first, to fix on each *mehal* or estate an assessment "calculated so as to leave a fair surplus profit;" and "for the punctual payment of that sum, the land is held to be perpetually hypothecated to the government;" secondly, to determine who are the "person or persons entitled to receive this surplus profit. The right thus determined is declared to be heritable and transferable, and the persons entitled to it are considered the proprietors of the land, from whom the engagements for the annual payment of the sum assessed by government on the mehal are takén." The proprietors, when there are more than one, being jointly and severally responsible for the sum assessed on each mehal, it also became necessary to determine the rule according to which they should share the profits, or make good the losses on the estate. When the proprietors were numerous, as was generally the case, engagements were taken only from a few of the body (*lumberdars*) who, for themselves and their co-proprietors, undertook to manage the mehal, and pay the sum assessed on it.

The first step in the process was to adjust the boundaries of each *mouzah*,* or village, and to prepare a map showing each field comprised in the mouzah. This being completed, the settlement officer proceeded to determine the assessment to be fixed on the land, by estimating, with as near an approach to accuracy as the means at his disposal would

* *Memorandum of the Improvements in the Administration of India.*

* *Mouzah* does not mean a village in the English sense of the term, but rather a compactly inhabited agricultural district.

permit, what might be expected to be the net produce * to the proprietor during the period of settlement; and of this amount about two-thirds was fixed as the demand of government. The village was then offered on these terms to the proprietors, and if they considered them too high, and declined to engage, the government either leased the estate to a farmer, or collected the rents direct from the cultivators; the excluded proprietors being entitled to a per-centage (called *malikana*) at not less than five per cent. on the revenue, and also having the right, at the expiration of twelve years, of claiming to be re-admitted to the management.

The fiscal operation of fixing the amount of revenue to be paid by the village being completed, the next process was to ascertain and record the rights possessed by all parties, whether called proprietors or not. When discordant claims were put forward, the question at issue was determined judicially on the spot. Provision is also made for maintaining the "record of rights" in a correct condition, by causing registers of all changes in the village to be kept by the *putwarree*, or village accountant, copies of which are annually forwarded to the collector's office.

A portion of the Bengal province itself has been lately settled on the principles just stated as carried out under the Agra government, adjusted to what is called the ryotwar (the system of the ryot tenure) already explained. The district referred to is Cuttack, to which "the permanent settlement" of Lord Cornwallis was not, from some cause, extended. The assessment is made on the holding of each ryot or tenant, but the collection is committed to a delegation of the ryots upon the village plan, or as close an approximation to it as can be made where the land is held by ryot tenure. So well has this scheme operated in Cuttack, that it has been applied also to the territory lately acquired from the nizam. It is now only in course of introduction, but, so far, with the same satisfactory results which have been realized in Cuttack. The plan has been much discussed in the India-house, and the directors have already recommended the Madras government, under which the ryotwar is prevalent, to take into consideration its eventual adoption in that presidency.

LAND REVENUE SYSTEM IN THE NON-REGULATION PROVINCES.—The settlement of the various non-regulation provinces has proceeded upon plans satisfactory to the people, and which bear an affinity in their general principles to those described as adopted in the government of the north-west. The last experiment of the kind has been the only failure, where, doubtless it would have also succeeded if time for its working had been obtained. This experiment was made in Oude, and was among the circumstances which contributed to the revolt. The editor of a metropolitan journal thus writes:—"Throughout a great portion of Oude we found superior holders—some say proprietors, some say merely hereditary farmers, but at any rate, hereditary middlemen—holding large tracts between government and the cultivating communities, and responsible for the revenue. In Bengal they were generally recognised as proprietors, and the rights of the sub-holders were reduced to *nil*. In the north-west provinces they were generally set aside, but even to the present day there has been no more fertile source of argument and litigation than the rights of the most prominent of these *talookdars*, as we call them. Some have obtained decrees against government in the civil courts, and many receive a per-centage in compromise of their rights, or alleged rights. Now, in Oude this talookdaree system was particularly strong. Almost the whole country was parcelled out amongst great talookdars or zemindars, and, though under a Mohammedan government, these men were almost universally Hindoos—in fact, native chiefs; certainly more than mere farmers—and they had obtained great prescription, exercised great power and authority, and were, in fact, the feudatories (and very often the rebellious feudatories) of the government. They had their own forts, and troops, and guns. Under this system, the village proprietary rights, no doubt, became much more undefined, weak, and uncertain, than where the villagers hold direct of government; and, disused and precarious, those rights were sometimes little remembered or valued. Here, then, when we took possession, was a very puzzling question. With whom was the settlement to be made? The talookdars were strong and in possession the communities dormant, broken, ill-defined. It must take some time to suppress the one, and resuscitate the other. But revenue opinion in the north-west provinces has long run very strongly in favour of village proprietors; still stronger must it be in the Punjaub, where there is no doubt about the matter, and Oude was principally managed by officers from those provinces. The general result of the settlement has been to oust the talookdars, and make direct village settlements. Then immediately followed the rebellion. At first the talookdars behaved well to us personally. They are men of honour in their way; with

* By net produce is meant the surplus which the estate may yield after deducting the expenses of cultivation, including the profits of stock and wages of labour.

the butchery of the rabble they have no sympathy; to protect all who seek their protection is with them a point of honour. By none have so many European lives been saved as by these men. But our government was altogether upset; no time had yet elapsed sufficient to destroy the strength of the talookdars, or to enable the village proprietors to acquire strength in, or probably even any sufficient appreciation of their rights; the talookdars almost universally resumed what they considered to be their own again, and seem to have met with popular support. Thus they became committed against government, and, being committed, our severities at Allahabad and at Cawnpore led them to fear the worst." *

The Punjaub affords the company gratulation and triumph in the adjustment of its land revenue. When, in 1849, the Sikh territory was acquired, the "settlement" of it was committed to officers who had gained experience under the lieutenant-governorship of Agra. In many respects the government of the Punjaub has been more successfully administered than that of Agra,—the departments of education and public works will exemplify this,—and in revenue a claim to superiority is also well founded. The settlement made more rapid, and, so far at least, more satisfactory progress, than in the north-west. This, however, would naturally arise from the tentative character of the proceedings in the one case, and the assured and bold procedure of experience in a well-proved system in the other. The lettings in the Punjaub are on terms more favourable to the cultivators by twenty-five per cent. The result is universal contentment on the part of the people, and an easily collected and flourishing revenue for the government.† The Punjaub system is in fact the village and ryot systems combined, as in Cuttack. There is, however, diversity. The zemindar system—with some qualification in favour of the tenants, and the ryots, with but little intermixture of the village system—exists in the hills and in some places in the doabs. As far as circumstances and actual proprietary rights allow, the Agra system is introduced in all the non-regulation provinces.

THE LAND REVENUE SYSTEM IN BOMBAY.—In all southern India the ryot tenure is predominant, although in many directions other tenures were found in existence by the British when conquest placed the territory under their control. The Bombay ryot holds his land at a fixed rate, and as long as he pays it he cannot be dispossessed, but he is at liberty to give up the whole, or a part, whenever he may be so disposed. Until lately the assessments were too heavy, but the company made a considerable sacrifice of revenue to reduce the rate, and the improvement which has followed, both in the personal comfort of the ryot, and the state of the land which he cultivates, is very observable. Here, as in the north-west, the survey has been productive of the greatest benefit. The details of the process by which a better state of things is being produced in the tenures of land in Bombay cannot be so briefly, and at the same time completely, detailed, as in the following extract from a paper, issued by the court of directors, on the survey and assessment of the Bombay territory:—

The first step in the process is to determine the boundaries of the village. The area is then measured and mapped off into survey-fields. If the land is unoccupied, no division of a field is afterwards permitted. When a survey-field actually occupied is owned by several proprietors or sharers, no joint responsibility is admitted, but the sharers of each are separately shown in the map, and the separate proprietorship continues until one of the sharers dies without heirs, or otherwise vacates his share; on which event the vacated share must be taken up by the remaining sharers, or, on their refusal, the whole field must be relinquished. The object of these rules is to consolidate the small holdings, and set limits to the minute subdivision of landed property naturally arising from the Hindoo law of inheritance. But it is believed that, in practice, no difficulty has in such cases been found in inducing the remaining sharers to undertake the responsibility.

The fields of the village being thus measured and mapped, the next process is that of classification, for the purpose of determining the relative value of the fields into which the land is divided. After a minute examination of the physical characters of the soil, its depth, composition, &c., the following considerations are taken into account as regards the fields of the same village—viz., "their natural productive capabilities; their position with respect to the village, as affording facilities or otherwise for agricultural operations; and, in the case of garden or rice-lands, the supply of water for irrigation."

The measurement of the fields having been completed, and their classification determined, the amount of the assessment is next to be fixed. This operation is not performed by inquiring into the actual produce of the fields,

* The *Sunday Times*, a paper which contains intelligence on the subject of Indian government and policy, showing an extensive acquaintance with the subject.

† *Reports of the Commissioners of the Punjaub*; Parliamentary Blue Books.

but rather by an examination into the previous fiscal history of such groups of villages as are distinguished by similar physical characteristics. The statements of former collections, remissions, and balances, are collated with the existing rates of assessment. The climate, position with respect to markets, agricultural skill, and the actual condition of the cultivators, are taken into account; and from a consideration of these combined circumstances, rates are determined for each class of land; the object being to keep these rates within the limits of the natural rent. The rates being thus fixed, have only to be applied to the surveyed fields. The assessment is not liable to increase for thirty years. No extra levy is made in consequence of improvement raising the value of the tenure.

Scinde is a non-regulation province in connection with the government of Bombay, but the mode of assessment there has been peculiar. Until lately it was collected throughout the province in grain, by division of the crop. The proceeds in the hands of government were afterwards sold by reserve auction at what sometimes amounted to famine prices. Cash assessments are now rapidly superseding such an objectionable levy. Before long Scinde will share with the presidency to which it is attached the advantage of a more equitably measured and distributed rate of taxation.

LAND REVENUE IN MADRAS.—In Madras the three systems already noticed are all found, and a fourth which is peculiar to the presidency, and called *oolungoo*. This last exists only in Tanjore and Tinnevelly. It is peculiar in two respects: the rent is dependant upon the price of grain, and a special arrangement, as to profit and loss, exists between the government and the renter. The proportionate grain assessment needs no explanation. The arrangement as to profit and loss provides that if current prices in any year rise more than ten per cent., the government should have all the profit thus accruing; whereas, if prices fall more than five per cent., the government sustains all that loss.

The zemindar system in Madras has a sort of offshoot called *mootahdarry*, from "Mootah," a name given to a subdivision in the Northern Circars, where the custom prevails which receives its name.

The name of zemindarry is applied to all ancestral estates, while mootahdarry is given to the settlements of 1802.

Ryotwar is, however, the predominating scheme for land arrangements. The general settlements of the presidency have resulted from the labours of Colonel Reade, and Sir Thomas Munro, whose arrangements received the most marked approval of the company. The assessments were, however, excessive, and the ryots of Southern India were discontented and distressed until the late alterations for the melioration of their condition. The "annual settlement" operates, not as an annual lease, but as a recurring adjustment of the proportion of revenue to be levied.

In a work published a few years ago * by a gentleman well acquainted with both the Bombay and Madras systems, the ryotwar of the whole Deccan was discussed, and afforded a fair exhibition of the state of things both at Bombay and Madras. The condition of this class of tenants is thus set forth:—"The old plan was, we believe, substantially this:—the government demand was pitched so high, that even in the most favourable seasons a large portion of it always remained unrealized. The cultivator, with an assessment hanging over him which he never could hope to pay, was of course entirely in the hands of the revenue officers. These latter, at the proper season, surveyed his crops, and, from the judgment they formed of them, assessed him for the year. Even this assessment was usually higher than it was found possible to collect, so that large remissions had frequently to be made, and considerable balances were left unrecovered. The faults of such a system as this scarcely need to be pointed out. The constant meddling on the part of government officials—the large number of these which the system rendered it necessary to employ—the slavish dependance in which the ryot was retained—the corruption and petty tyranny on the one hand, and the absence of manly and independent feeling, and, therefore, of energetic and enterprising industry on the other,—were all necessary results of such arrangements. But, in addition to these, the revenue actually taken appears to have been on an average (although the rates in themselves were so small that an English farmer would laugh to hear them announced) decidedly greater than native tenants, with such knowledge, skill, materials, means, and industrial habits as they possessed, were able to pay without slowly diminishing their means for future cultivation." The new system by which that just described is being displaced is thus described by Mr. Green:—

The principal operations in the Deccan survey and assessment appear to be the following:

I. The surface survey; to determine, and mark permanently, the boundaries of each village and of each field.

* *The Deccan Ryots and their Land Tenure.* By H. Green, Professor of Literature at Poonah College.

II. A survey and estimate of the quality of the soil in each field; and the assignment of a technical value to it per acre in an artificial scale of relative values ranging from an anna and a half to sixteen annas.

III. The division of the districts into groups of villages, such that those of each group may be supposed to possess nearly equal advantages of climate, markets, and convenience of carriage.

IV. The imposition on each group of villages of a total assessment, such as, from the past history of the group, it may fairly be expected to pay, and yet leave a considerable margin for the increase of the peasant's stock, and the consequent extension of cultivation.

V. A merely arithmetical operation—to wit, the assignment to each field of its share of the assessment in proportion to its size and its place in the scale of relative values.

At a time when the grossest misrepresentations of the land tenure of India, and of the exactions of the East India Company are being made for political and party purposes, and for the still more censurable objects of private resentment, by persons who have returned from India disappointed in various ways, it is important to draw attention to the following statement of the easy terms in which land is held in Southern India, and the disinterested and generous treatment the ryots receive from the company under the new system:—"The four Poonah talooks, with all the advantage of the largest market for agricultural produce in the Deccan, pay an average rent, it will be seen, of only seven annas and seven pies, or something less than a shilling an acre! In the Indapore talook the average is 8*d.* an acre! In Dharwar the land of the best class, the famous black soil of India, that on which cotton is grown, pays on an average but 14 annas (1*s.* 9*d.*)—the rate for the most eligible portion of this again being but 1 rupee, 7 annas, and 9 pies, or something less than three shillings! What would an English, or even an Irish, farmer say to such rates as 8*d.* an acre for a whole district, or three shillings per acre for the best land to be had? The bold reduction of their demands to such rates as these reflects certainly the highest credit on the liberality of the government; and one cannot but rejoice to see such a policy rewarded by an extension of agricultural industry, and the gradual restoration of the gross revenue to its former amount. But what volumes does the necessity for such rates tell of the wretched industrial character of the people, and their extreme unproductiveness!"

It is probable that the cultivators of the Deccan, however liberally dealt with as to taxation and rent (which are synonymous with them), will pay very little revenue, and remain miserably poor so long as mere coarse agricultural products are alone the result of their labour. The soil, the climate, the liberal terms on which land is held, the almost nominal amount of taxation, all favour a more enlightened, enlarged, and enterprising use of the land than appears at present likely. If the ryot of the Deccan had land for nothing, he would be ordinarily wretchedly poor, and in adverse seasons destitute. For the sake of the improvement of the people, the attainment of a larger revenue, and the promotion of civilization, means must be tried under the auspices of government for promoting a superior cultivation, the application of capital to husbandry, and a spirit of bolder enterprise in matters connected with the tenure of land.

So far as the revenue derived from the soil in India is concerned, the great majority of the people may be described as almost untaxed. The original right of the state to the land is recognised in India by the natives, and was reserved by the British when they obtained the sovereignty of the country. Wherever the land is let at its fair value,—and we have shown that in many places it is let beneath its fair value,—the people pay no taxes except such as is derived from salt, opium, the post-office, and a few minor sources. The rent they pay to the landlord—the government—is used for the general protection of the country, the administration of justice, and public works. They are, so far as the amount of the rent goes, spared from taxes; and when it is remembered that nearly two-thirds of the whole revenue consists in the rent of land, the people of India are, as a whole, the most lightly taxed in the world. The oppressed state of the Bengal cultivators, as has been shown, is the work of native zemindars, not of the government; but it is sad to reflect that the arrangement which has consigned them to such terrible exaction and injustice was the work of a British governor-general. It cannot be doubted that even in that case Lord Cornwallis intended that the rights of the cultivators should be secured, but they were too poor and too feebl to maintain these rights before unprincipled native judges, in the face of the powerful zemindars; and, as the board of directors admit, little by little, *sub silentio*, their rights as a class have passed away. For this some remedy must be provided, both for the credit of the government and the condition of the people of Bengal.

REVENUE FROM SALT.—This may be considered the only tax which the ryot of India really feels. So far as the presidency of Madras is concerned the revenue from salt is obtained by means of a monopoly. The following paper, published by the revenue department of the East India Company, will show at a glance the present condition of the salt duties throughout India:—

*Lower Provinces of Bengal.*—Rate of duty $2\frac{1}{2}$ rupees per maund of $82\frac{2}{7}$ lbs. avoirdupois; government salt sold to the people at cost price added to the duty; importation unrestricted, and facilities given to persons willing to manufacture salt under excise regulations.

*North-western Provinces.*— Manufacture (from saliferous earths) prohibited. Duty on passing the frontier line, 2 rupees per maund, and 8 annas additional on crossing the Allahabad special line of chokeys.

*Punjaub.*—Salt-mines worked by the government, and the salt sold at the mines at 2 rupees per maund.

*Fort St. George.*—The manufacture of salt a government monopoly, the price charged to purchasers being a rupee per maund. Importation permitted, on payment of a duty of 14 annas (seven-eighths of a rupee) per maund, supposed to be equivalent to the profit obtained on the monopoly of salt.

*Bombay.*—No manufacture on the part of government. An excise duty of 12 annas per maund levied on home-made salt, and a customs duty of equal amount on imported salt.

In some instances this tax has been levied instead of others which were more likely to be burthensome, and the amount of remission on the whole in consequence of the salt duties has, according to the statements of the government, been greater than the tax thus imposed.

Although the salt tax was in some cases levied by the company where it did not previously exist, yet generally the imposition was one handed down from previous governments. Salt was an ancient source of revenue with most Asiatic sovereigns. At present it is calculated that the government is receiving a revenue from the tax in this commodity amounting to about two and a half millions sterling.

THE OPIUM REVENUE.—This is derived in two forms: first, by a monopoly in the cultivation and sale by the government of Bengal, and by opium farms in the Straits' settlements; secondly, by an export duty levied in Bombay on the article grown in the native states of Malwa, and shipped from the former place. It is grown in Bengal and in the settlements of the Straits entirely on government account, and sold by the company's officers to merchants, British or native. Merchants from Bombay purchase it in the native states in Malwa, and the government of that presidency exacts a transit duty. The effect of this monopoly on the one hand, and heavy transit duty on the other, is greatly to raise the price of the commodity, so that it has been sometimes sold for its weight in silver. The revenue at present being raised from this source is between four and five millions sterling.

Objections have been strongly urged, both on ethical and economical grounds, against this source of revenue. The defence of the company is, that if the government did not take the cultivation under its own control, and tax highly its transit from the native states into their territories, the poppy would be extensively grown on private account, and the drug become so cheap, as to be made an article of commerce by the people of India, to their injury morally and physically. As to selling it to the Chinese, who purchase nearly all that is produced, it is urged, that it is as impossible in commerce to take into account the uses made of articles for which there is an export market, as it would be, in the case of imported commodities, to institute an inquiry as to how they were produced. Such a principle was never established in morals, and would be impracticable if applied to trade. Considered in a fiscal point of view, the company regards it as an advantageous and equitable source of revenue, inasmuch as foreigners voluntarily pay the tax.

Some of these arguments, if good in the case of the opium monopoly, would also have been valid in the instance of the tobacco monopoly, which, nevertheless, was abolished without an equivalent in 1852, although yielding a revenue of £60,000 a year in Malabar. Tobacco seems to be a source of revenue as just as opium, and the company might fairly impose the duty.

REVENUE FROM CUSTOMS.—The income of the government from this source is derived in two ways—inland dues and external commerce. The system of transit duties has for some years been gradually waning, except so far as the opium from Malwa is concerned. That source of revenue is likely to increase so long as the Chinese continue to import, and there is a possibility of much larger imports there. The company has removed restrictions from trade, abolished local taxes of all kinds, and influenced the native states

to imitate this example to some extent. All those states promise greater conformity to British example in this matter, but the promises of some are insincere. In the Punjaub there are town dues, which are voluntarily submitted to by the people for local purposes, and great advantages have followed this voluntary corporate taxation. In some other places imposts have been laid for the exclusive purpose of local improvement. The government encourages the disposition to self-taxation for civic and local improvement in every possible way. The duties on external commerce have also been undergoing a process of gradual reduction. The import duties levied on British goods is five per cent. *ad valorem*. The total abolition of import duties on British goods has been urged on the government; it would be a boon to commerce, and not seriously affect the revenue. There is an export tax of three per cent. on the manufactures of India. In a despatch from the home government of 1846 this was represented as an impost, to be abolished as soon as the general state of the revenue would allow. It ought at once to be abrogated; it is impolitic, as well as opposed to political economy. It has also been in contemplation to abolish the import duty on British goods—at least, so it is alleged by the friends of the Honourable East India Company.

POST-OFFICE REVENUE.—The object of the tax is rather for public convenience than for revenue. The rates should be reduced, and the arrangements much improved, but in both respects the grand difficulties are the peculiarities of the country and the people who inhabit it. A comparatively low rate of uniform postage has been adopted with so much success, as to encourage bolder experiments in the same direction.

STAMP DUTIES.—In India stamped paper is required in all judicial proceedings, as well as for bills of exchange, agreements, receipts, and deeds; also for petitions and papers filed in court. About half a million sterling is thus realized, and it is probable that a much larger revenue will be raised in this manner.

ABKAREE.—This word signifies a tax on waters ("strong waters" being understood); and the revenue so called is derived from licenses to sell spirits. This tax is much more willingly paid in India than similar imposts in Europe.

SAYER.—This word signifies the remainder, and, used in revenue vocabulary, refers to unclassified taxes. It is levied on drugs of all kinds, except opium, which, as we have already seen, contributes to the revenue in other forms. There is a want of definiteness in the way in which this tax is imposed, and the range of articles subject to it, which gives rise to many complaints.

The abkaree and sayer, taken together, yield £1,000,000. These taxes are likely to be more productive. Peace and security would soon double the revenue thus derived.

The miscellaneous taxes contribute about £1,000,000.

The total revenue of India, exclusive of subsidies from native states, amounted in 1857 to nearly twenty-nine millions sterling. There can be no doubt that, as soon as order is established after the present revolt, taxation in India, wisely distributed, and keeping in view the principles of political economy, will yield many millions sterling more than it at present affords the government.

SUBSIDIES FROM NATIVE STATES.—For 1857 the sum of £510,166 is understood to have been collected from the tributaries. They are thus classed:—

| | £. | £. |
|---|---|---|
| **BENGAL.** | | |
| Tributes from the under-mentioned states:— | | |
| Kotah | 7,056 | |
| Odeypore | 18,516 | |
| Mundy | 9,375 | |
| Jhalwar | 7,500 | |
| Banswarra | 2,568 | |
| Doongerpore | 2,568 | |
| Jeypore | 37,500 | |
| Serohee | 1,269 | |
| Various petty states | 4,320 | |
| Nizams's government on account of Mahratta Choute | 10,183 | |
| | | 100,805 |
| **MADRAS.** | | |
| Peishcush and subsidy:— | | |
| Mysore government | 229,687 | |
| Travancore government | 74,666 | |
| Cochin government | 18,750 | |
| | | 323,103 |
| **BOMBAY.** | | |
| Subsidy from the Cutch government | 15,795 | |
| Kattywar tribute | 56,105 | |
| Various petty states | 3,096 | |
| | | 74,996 |
| | | 498,904 |

This description of tribute is likely to increase. The tendency of events is to bring the quasi-independent states more and more into reliance upon the government for security, and this will of course involve proportionate increase in tribute.

The detailed items of principal expenditure, on an average of the four years preceding the mutiny of 1857 (which has, of course, considerably increased them), were stated in round numbers as follows :—

| | £. |
|---|---|
| Charges incident to the collection of the revenue | 6,000,000 |
| Military and naval charges | 11,000,000 |
| Civil, judicial, and police | 5,000,000 |
| Public works | 1,500,000 |
| Interest on bond debt in India | 2,000,000 |
| Charges defrayed in England (including interest on home bond debt, payments on account of her majesty's troops and establishment). Charges of the East India-house and Board of Control | 2,872,107 |
| Allowances and assignments to native princes under treaties and other engagements | 1,000,000 |
| Dividends to proprietors of East India stock | 627,893 |
| Total | 30,000,000 |

The expenditure, it will be seen, exceeds the income. To meet that excess money has been raised on bond in England. About a fifth part of the existing debt has been incurred in this manner.

In India money is raised in the following way :—The company advertises that it is ready to receive loans at specified rates, and on specified conditions. "Loan-notes" are given in acknowledgment of the moneys paid into the treasury.

The amount of debt in England and India is now nearly sixty millions sterling.

In the year ending April 30th, 1857, the excess of expenditure over income amounted to £1,981,062.

The accounts for the presidency of Bengal during the last four years have shown a uniform deficit; those for the north-west provinces a uniform surplus.

The returns of the other presidencies as to surplus and deficit varied during that time.

## CHAPTER XV.

### THE GOVERNMENT OF THE BRITISH INDIAN EMPIRE (*Continued*).

#### LAW AND ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

THE state of the law in India must be regarded in two points of view—as it relates to the native population, and in reference to English residents.

It may be laid down as a general principle in the legal government of British India, that the laws and general systems of jurisprudence which the company found in existence upon the acquisition of any province were preserved in force until otherwise determined by new regulations by the new government. These were sometimes instituted by orders in council, and sometimes by act of parliament.

The imperial legislature and the governor-general in council both legislate for India at present, but no act of the latter must contravene or supersede the acts of the former.

The acts passed by the governor-general in council extend to the British as well as to the natives in India, a circumstance which has proved a fruitful source of discontent to independent English residents, although that dissatisfaction was not always founded in justice and reason. The discontent of English residents was formerly sometimes occasioned by the precipitancy with which acts of the governor and council were passed, by which they considered their interests unfavourably affected. The directors accordingly ordered that before any act was so passed notice should appear in the leading journals of the presidencies for some time (generally a few months) before the measure was passed into a law, so as to give opportunity for such classes as might deem themselves aggrieved by it to state their objections.

When an act is passed, it is always published in the language of the district to which it is intended to apply, and also in English and in Ordoo, a dialect of the Hindoostanee supposed to be known by the better informed natives.

The acts of the governor-general in council may be enforced as soon as published, but copies must be laid before the imperial parliament, by which they may be altered or abolished. All acts of the governor-general in council are laws, on the assumption that the imperial government does not disapprove of them.

#### PROVINCE OF THE SUPREME COURTS.

LAW APPLICABLE TO BRITISH-BORN RESIDENTS OF INDIA.—The supreme courts are established in the capitals of the three presidencies. There is a local jurisdiction besides, which the supreme court at Calcutta exercises in that city. This local jurisdiction is civil and criminal, and refers to all persons,

English or natives, within the limits, but its ecclesiastical authority does not extend to Hindoos or Mohammedans, except for granting probates of wills.

The court also exercises authority over all British-born subjects and their descendants, born in India, who are resident in Bengal and the north-west provinces, with the exception of the queen's troops and their families.

It also extends to natives of India, who are under any contract or special legal obligation to any British-born subject, where the cause of action exceeds the sum of five hundred rupees (£50), and so far as the contract is concerned.

All persons who avail themselves of the court's jurisdiction in any matter are held liable to its authority in all other matters affected by the particular case in which they have made it available.

"All persons who, at the time of action brought or cause of action accrued, are or have been employed by, or directly or indirectly in the service of, the East India Company, or any British subject, are liable to the civil jurisdiction of the court in actions for wrongs or trespasses, and also in any civil suit by agreement of parties in writing to submit to the jurisdiction of the said court; and all persons who, at the time of committing any crime, misdemeanour, or oppression, are or have been employed, or directly or indirectly in service as aforesaid, are liable to the criminal jurisdiction of the court."

"The supreme courts at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, have criminal jurisdiction over all British subjects for crimes committed at any place within the limits of the company's charter—that is, any part of Asia, Africa, or America, beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Magellan, or for crimes committed in any of the lands or territories of any native prince or state, in the same way as if the same had been committed within the territories subject to the British government in India."

The admiralty jurisdiction of the court extends over the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and all the adjacent territories and islands; and the criminal authority connected with this jurisdiction extends to all crimes committed on the high seas, in as full a manner as that of any other court of admiralty.

The law administered is as follows:—

First. The common law as it prevailed in England in the year 1726, and which has not subsequently been altered by statutes especially extending to India, or by acts of the legislative council of India.

Secondly The statute law which prevailed in England in 1726, and which has not subsequently been altered by statute especially extending to India, or by the acts of the legislative council of India.

Thirdly. The statute law expressly extending to India, which has been enacted since 1726, and has not been since repealed, and the statutes which have been extended to India by the acts of the legislative council of India.

Fourthly. The civil law as it obtains in the ecclesiastical and admiralty courts.

Fifthly. Regulations made by the governor-general in council, previously to the 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, and registered in the supreme court, and the acts of the legislative council of India made under the 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85.

The exceptions are Hindoos and Mohammedans in the following cases:—

First. Actions regarding inheritance and succession to lands, rents, and goods, and all matters of contract and dealing between party and party in which both parties are Hindoos. Such cases are to be determined by the laws and usages of Hindoos.

Secondly. Actions of the same kind where both parties are Mohammedans; and in these the case is to be determined by the laws and usages of Mohammedans.

Thirdly. Actions of the same kind where only one of the parties is a Mohammedan or Hindoo; and these are to be determined by the laws and usages of the defendant.

The procedure on the different sides of court is similar to the procedure of the corresponding courts in England, with this difference—that, as directed by the charter, the *vivâ voce* examinations of witnesses, are taken down in writing, and the depositions are signed by the witnesses themselves. The new rules in law and equity passed from time to time in this country are quickly adopted by the judges in India, as far as circumstances will admit, and applied with the requisite modifications to their own practice.

In all suits where the property in dispute is above the value of ten thousand rupees (£1000) there is a right of appeal to her majesty in council.

The supreme court consists of a chief justice and two other judges. It appoints its own ministerial officers, who are paid by salaries. The court admits and enrols as many advocates and attorneys as it thinks proper, and none other can plead or in any way act for parties in suits. The qualification of advocates is having been called to the English or Irish bar, or having been entitled to practise as an advocate in Scotland. The

court has, however, the power to admit persons who have not this general qualification. The qualification for admission as an attorney is, that the applicant has been admitted an attorney of one of her majesty's principal courts of record in England or Ireland, or a writer to the signet in Scotland, or a member of the society of solicitors practising before the court of session there, or that he has served a regular clerkship before the court of session there, or that he has served a regular clerkship of five years, under a contract in writing to some attorney practising in the court, or that he is or has been a principal clerk to one of the judges. The advocates and attorneys practise under the same names as in England.

The annual expense of the supreme court is nearly half a million of rupees. Nearly half of this sum is appropriated to the salaries of the judges. The salaries of the officers and general expenses consume the remainder. There is, in addition to this expenditure, the emolument of the registrar, which is supplied by fees on the estates of persons dying intestate.

The supreme court of judicature at Madras consists of a chief-justice and two other judges, who must have previously been barristers of five years' standing at the English or Irish bar. The powers and jurisdictions of the court within the presidency are generally the same as those in Bengal,—under the supreme court at Fort William.

The supreme court of judicature at Bombay is constituted in a similar manner to that of Madras.

The laws and judicial proceedings in reference to the native population are founded in the native systems of jurisprudence which existed before the advent of English power. The modifications of these systems latterly adopted have, however, been important. The object is to administer the law to every man according to his religion or nationality; and when the parties at variance do not possess a common religion or nationality, the custom of the place regulates the decision; and if there be no established custom in connection with the matter in question, the law to which the defendant has ostensibly held himself amenable is that which measures the administration of justice.

In the Bombay presidency Mohammedan law is but little known. There the Elphinstone code, compiled by Mr. Elphinstone when governor of that presidency, generally prevails. It only has effect where natives are concerned; and although both civil and criminal, it operates chiefly on civil disputes.

CIVIL COURTS.—The principles of these courts are generally the same, but differences exist in different parts of India in the practice and the designations of the officers.

The lowest class of civil courts are presided over by natives. The *moonsif* (a name of Arabic derivation, signifying judge) has a district allotted to him, and is empowered to decide upon questions of property, whether "real or personal." In Bombay this right extends to disputes concerning property of £500 in value; in Madras of £100 in value; elsewhere the property cannot exceed a valuation of £30. This class of judge is generally nominated from *vakeels* (Arabic for agent or attorney), after they have undergone a general examination. The salaries of £15 and £10 per mensem are given to the moonsifs, according to their grade.

The sudder aumeens (the word *aumeen* is Arabic, and means chief trustee) constitute a higher class of judges, and receive £25 per mensem. There are also principal sudder aumeens, who receive from £40 to £60 per mensem respectively, according to their rank, which depends upon their capacity.

The zillah judges are Europeans (a *zillah* is a large section of territory), and always belong to the covenanted service of the company. Appeals from the native judges may be made to the zillah. He tries all original suits above £500, but has power to refer them to the principal sudder aumeens, which it is the practice very generally to do. The zillah courts are assisted by natives in various capacities—such as jurors, assessors, and arbitrators. The arbitrators are generally five in number, and are collectively, from that circumstance, called a *punchayet*.

In proceedings the plaint must be lodged on a stamp proportioned to the amount of claim. The pleadings are in writing. Witnesses are not subject to cross-examination. An appeal lies from the zillah to the court of *sudder dewaung adawlut* (the chief civil justice). There are four of these courts in the four governments—viz., one in the chief city of each presidency, and one in the capital of the lieutenant-governancy of the north-west. The judges are members of the covenanted civil service, and men of much experience. These courts entertain no original cases; they are courts of appeal, and their decision is final. The courts sit daily, except during such native festivals as render the transaction of business impossible. The salary of the judges is £4200 per annum. Although the decisions in these courts are considered final, as the highest courts of law, there is, nevertheless, an appeal from thence to her majesty in council.

CRIMINAL LAW.—There is some diversity in the criminal administration. It is generally grounded upon the Mohammedan law: the diversities are, for the most part, English modifications.

In Bengal, beyond the capital, each district is committed to a magistrate, and contains fifteen or twenty subdivisions or *thanahs*, each of which is placed under a subordinate officer, called a *thanadar* or *darogah*. Each of these last-named functionaries has under him the following establishment:—a clerk or writer, a *jemadar* or sergeant, and twenty or thirty policemen. The darogahs are generally Mohammedans or Hindoos. Besides this machinery for the apprehension of criminals, there are also a large number of village police or watchmen, appointed by the village committees, or by the zemindars. These functionaries, who are not generally supposed to be very efficient, amount, in Bengal proper, to the large number of one hundred and seventy thousand. The darogahs, or inspectors of police, are invested with a certain measure of summary authority in cases of affrays, disturbances of the peace, &c., but are bound to bring all other matters under the previous cognizance of the magistrate, who has the power of punishment to the extent of imprisonment for two years in certain cases, in some others for three years; but ordinarily his power extends to imprisonment for six months, and a fine of two hundred rupees, and if the fine be not paid, to a further imprisonment of six months. Corporal punishment was abolished by Lord William Bentinck, but has since been revived in case of theft, where the property stolen does not exceed fifty rupees in value, and for juvenile offenders, as well as in certain crimes committed by convicts.

The sessions judge is the officer next in the ascending scale of rank, and appeals lie to him in certain cases from the magistrate. He is the same individual who acts in a civil capacity, before mentioned, as zillah judge. In Bengal his original jurisdiction is limited to offenders committed by the magistrate to take their trial at the sessions.

In Madras, the sessions judge is aided by a subordinate judge, who acts as committing officer instead of magistrate. In Bombay the sessions judge is aided by an officer called the "assistant sessions judge."

The sessions judge has the power of punishment to the extent of nine years' imprisonment, and, in certain aggravated cases, of sixteen years. All cases involving punishments above those limits are referred to the sudder court, which is composed of the same judges as the supreme court of civil appeal, called the *sudder nizamut* adawlut*, in Bengal, and the *foujdary† adawlut* in Madras and Bombay. This court decides on the record and report of the sessions judge. It never hears oral evidence; but if the case requires more elucidation, sends it back to the sessions judge, with orders to take further evidence on particular points; and its ultimate decision is final.

If the judges of the nizamut concur in the verdict of the lower court, and the prisoner be considered deserving of a higher degree of punishment than could be awarded by the sessions judge, he may be sentenced to suffer death, or to undergo imprisonment for twenty-one years; but if sentenced to imprisonment for life, then transportation for life, either to the penal settlements of Singapore, Penang, or Malacca, the Tenesserim provinces, Arracan, or Aden, would be substituted; but no native of India can be transported beyond the company's territories. If the case be not capital, it is decided by the sentence of a single judge. Sentences of death require the concurrence of two judges. The government has the power of pardon or mitigation, but it is seldom exercised.

There are in Bengal two modes of trial, in one of which a Mohammedan law officer, or assessor, expounds the law; but if the prisoner is not a Mohammedan, he may refuse to be so tried, and for such cases there is a system of juries, or assessors, or punchayet. The sessions judge may reject the opinion of the Mohammedan law officer, on points expressly provided for by the regulations, and that opinion may be overridden altogether by the sudder court. When the case is tried with a jury, or *punchayet*, the decision may be overruled, and sentence awarded to the extent of the judge's competence. Cases tried by the magistrate are generally prosecuted by the party injured.

With respect to Madras and other parts of British India, except Bombay, it may be stated generally that the system of criminal administration, though differing in some particulars, is based on the same general principles as that existing in Bengal. The police, who are in Bengal and Bombay placed under the command in chief of a superintendent, specially charged with that duty, are in Madras placed under the governor in council, and in the north-west provinces under

* *Nizamut* is an Arabic word, which means "arrangement, or reducing to order;" and governors of provinces under the Mohammedan government were sometimes designated by names derived from the same root, as the *nazim* and the *nizam*.

† From *foujdar*, the general, or holder of a *fouj* or army.

the commissioners of revenue. In the Punjaub there is a military preventive police of foot and horse, who furnish guards for jails, treasuries, frontier-posts, and escort of treasure.

It may also be noticed that, with respect to the professional criminals peculiar to India, called Thugs and Dacoits, a special police, invested with summary powers, is organized under one superintendent for all India.*

Law reform in India has been for a considerable time engaging the attention of government. Under the statute 3 & 4 William IV., a commission for this purpose was appointed, and "the Indian law commissioners" reported elaborately, recommending various reforms. By section 28 of 16 & 17 Victoria, chapter 95, her majesty was empowered to appoint commissioners in England to consider and report upon these proposed reforms. Accordingly, at the close of 1853, a commission was appointed, consisting of very able persons—viz., Sir John Romilly, Sir John Jervis, Sir Richard Ryan, C. H. Cameron, J. M. Macleod, I. A. F. Hawkins, T. F. Ellis, and R. Lowe. Subsequently Mr. Hawkins accepted the post of secretary to the committee, and the name of W. Millet was substituted, March 17, 1854. A quorum of three of the commissioners had power to call for persons and papers according to their discretion, for the purposes of their investigation. Four reports were presented by these commissioners—the last bearing date May 20, 1856. The reports thus prepared were sent out to India, but the occurrence of the mutiny rendered it impossible that they could receive from the authorities there the necessary consideration. In England men acquainted with Indian affairs have not acquiesced in all the recommendations of the commissioners; nor were they unanimous—two of their number especially dissenting from some of the reports, and finally retiring from the commission. These gentlemen were Lord-chief-justice Jervis and Mr. Lowe. This circumstance caused much discussion as to the reports, especially the second and fourth, which these gentlemen refused to sign.

That a sweeping reform is necessary, all who know India will admit. The native courts are very imperfect, so far as the *modus operandi* is concerned, and very generally deficient as to the essence of justice itself. The native witnesses, juries, and police, are utterly corrupt and perjurious. Whether the interests or feelings of the native officials be for or against the government, they are rapacious, unjust, and cruel. Some of the most barefaced robberies and barbarous outrages committed in India are perpetrated by native officials in the name of the government, and without the knowledge (in the individual cases) of the European officers.

Much advantage has been taken, upon the continent of Europe, of these facts to spread abroad a feeling throughout the world that the government of India is unjust and oppressive. In the celebrated French pamphlet lately published at Paris, and alleged to have been written by a Crimean general, such use is made of a fact morally injurious to the government of India, yet which never received its countenance, and against which its strenuous efforts have been put forth. In the presidency of Madras native agents have employed torture upon native tenants to extort revenue, and the writer of the pamphlet might have known the truth had he chosen to make inquiry at the proper source, instead of catching up such a version of the fact as implicates the government of India in acts which it abhors. "For forty-six years the East India Company has ignored the facts, or rather allowed them to be committed. The company has its agents, who employ torture to wring their last farthing from poor peasants, and that money, wet with blood and tears, is not employed either in the material well-being of the people or in the improvement of their intelligence; it enters the coffers of the company, or those of the English government, and gives high salaries to the *employés*, and good dividends to the shareholders. The Indians—those tigers with human faces, as the *Times* calls them—at last revolt; those 'capricious and violent animals,' treated with contempt, and oppressed beyond measure, rise on their oppressors; they desire to shake off the English yoke and English oppression, and to free themselves from English contempt; they desire to oppose the return of torture; they have forty-six years of torture to pay back on England, and they take up arms." After describing the manner in which the Hindoos are tortured by the company, he exclaims:—"Certainly, never did the imagination of the executioners of the middle ages, nor that of the most ferocious planters of America, devise more atrocious means to torture human creatures; and if any one, and the least cruel, of those means, had ever been applied by order of the Emperor of Austria or the King of Naples, England would have sent forth shouts of indignation, and the names of those two sovereigns would be to this day affixed to the pillory of public indignation. These tor-

* Compiled by Arthur Mills, Esq., M.P., from the acts relating to India.

tures are inflicted in the nineteenth century on the unfortunate Indians, and their object is the collection of the imposts which are applied to pay the huge salaries of the English functionaries, younger sons of great English families, and the dividends of the company's shareholders. English philanthropy does not think it necessary to stir itself." False as this malevolent allegation of modern French hatred to England is, so far as it reflects upon either the government of India, the provocatives of the Indian mutiny, or the feelings of English philanthropists, yet it discloses how the actual evils of administration and misdeeds of native officers have involved the government and the name of England in odium. It is essential to the future prosperity of India, to the cause of justice, and to the renown of England, that the native courts should be literally ransacked by the hand of a stern investigation, and such means adopted as are possible to rid the government of the dishonour of those classes of native functionaries who are amongst the most corrupt, perjurious, and cruel of mankind. Justice demands the admission that the company has been for some time putting in force its powers to effect administrative reform in all descriptions of courts and offices, and in the new governments the measures taken have been in consonance with British sense of justice, and with native rights.

The late Sir Henry Lawrence, in one of his early reports of the commission in the Sikh territory, thus describes the policy pursued in reference to local and native institutions, showing that a wise superintendence may turn them to account, notwithstanding the danger of intrusting to native hands alone the dispensing of justice:—"Each city in the Punjaub is managed by a body of men called *punches*; they answer to our corporations in England. The office is chiefly hereditary, but not always so. If the hereditary talent is weak, an infusion of able and intelligent men, by common consent, is permitted. The government of the day sometimes, but very rarely, deposed an obnoxious member of the corporation. On the death of one of the members, the government presented a *khillut* to his heir, thus recognising his succession to the office. The district officer who obtains the co-operation of this body can do anything; without it he is helpless. The governor-general last year conferred the title of *raie* and *rai bahadoor* on the members and leaders of the Umritsur punch, which distinguished honour gratified them much, and had the most happy effect."

The directors, in their late appeal, have reasonably maintained that the expense of administering justice by European agency over so vast a field, and to so many millions of people, would be too great for any one to affirm its practicability. This, however, is certain, that if native agency be "not a question of expediency, but of necessity," security should be taken far more rigidly than has as yet been done for the character of the officials to whom any trust is committed. The following statement of the chairman and deputy-chairman is undoubtedly beyond controversy:—"Since the first institution of the legislative council, few years have passed in which there have not been one or two legislative measures for the improvement of the procedure of the civil courts. The object of some has been to facilitate the progress of suits through their various stages; of others, to secure the correct recording of the judgment, by prescribing that it shall be made by the judge himself; of others, to insure a more speedy and certain execution of judgments; of others, to render more efficient the systems of regular and special appeals. Legislative measures have also been taken for reforming the law of evidence; for the abolition of Persian as the language of record; and for putting the office of native pleader on a more efficient and respectable footing. The defects of the criminal courts have likewise largely engaged the attention of the legislature, and much has been done for their improvement. But notwithstanding these partial amendments, it cannot be said that the courts, in what are called the regulation provinces, have yet been freed from their radical defects. The principal impediments to a good administration of justice are, the complicated and technical system of pleading in the civil courts, and in the criminal courts the character of the police."

In the regulation provinces the administration of justice is baulked by tedious processes and endless technicalities. Justice is neither swift nor cheap; and the late Mr. Colvin admitted that even in the north-west provinces the courts of justice were regarded by the people with dislike.

In the non-regulation provinces the government has shaken off the fetters of prescription and routine, and, trusting these new states to the hands of gifted administrators, justice is dispensed without favour, and freely. The following report on this subject, by Sir John Lawrence, from the Punjaub, will be read with interest by all who wish in England as well as India, cheap and speedy justice:—"No effort has been spared to render justice cheap, quick, sure, simple, and substantial; every other consideration has been rendered subordinate to these cardinal

points. We are, indeed, without elaborate laws, but we have brief rules, explaining, in an accessible form, the main provisions of the several systems of native law on such matters as inheritance, marriage, adoption, testamentary or other disposition of property; and setting forth the chief principles to be observed in other branches of law—such as contracts, sale, mortgage, debt, commercial usage. We have the most open and liberal provisions for the admission of evidence. We have complete arrangements for reference to arbitration, and for the ascertainment of local custom. We have a procedure without any pretension to technical exactitude, but a procedure which provides for the litigants and their respective witnesses being confronted in open court, for a decision being arrived at immediately after this brief forensic controversy, and for judgment being delivered to the parties then and there. We have a method of executing decrees which, while it allows no door to be opened for evasion or delay on the part of the defendant, and thus renders a decree really valuable to the plaintiff, as being capable of ready enforcement, and gives him his right free from lien, encumbrance, or doubt, yet, on the other hand, prevents the defendant from being hastily dealt with, or from being placed at the mercy of his creditor. We have small-cause courts scattered all over the country, and several regular courts at every central station, so that everywhere justice is near. Our civil system may appear rough and ready; whether it would be suited to other provinces, in a different stage of civilization, and with a different machinery at command, may be a question, but in the Punjaub it attains the broad and plain object aimed at, and without doubt gives satisfaction to the people. But in order to regulate the administration of justice, a complete system of reporting has been established. Month by month the reports of every court are transmitted to the judicial department at head-quarters, and are there criticized. At the close of each year these reports, and the figures embodied in them, are collated, averages are struck, division is compared with division, and district with district, and the general result, with a brief critique by superior authority, indicating the defects to be avoided, and the reforms to be emulated, is published for the information of all officers concerned. It is believed that many improvements in the working of the courts are traceable to this system. Every court works under a constant sense of supervision, and with the great objects to be aimed at perpetually in view, and standing out in strong relief."

One of the greatest evils in connection with the police system in portions of the old provinces has been the union of police and revenue functions in the same persons. These persons were ill-paid natives, whose interest it was to extort for their employers, unless bribed by the tenants. This accounted for the torture at Madras, and for many of the acknowledged evils which until lately prevailed in Bombay. Since the administration of Sir George Clerk in the latter presidency, the two classes of functions have ceased to be combined in the duties of the same functionaries. In the general superintendence of the men a better order and more vigilant oversight is now maintained. Before the mutiny broke out the directors had recommended the government in India to carry out the principle of separating revenue and criminal jurisdiction on the part of the police throughout India; also to secure efficient European command over all departments of this description of force. The police system of the Punjaub is that which the directors have decided upon as their model, and empowered the government in India to adopt it in Bengal, upon its judgment of the expediency of so doing, as occasion may prove opportune. The police system of the Punjaub is as follows:—It consists of two parts—the preventive, with a military organization, and the detective, with a civil organization. The preventive police consists of foot and horse; each regiment has its own native commandant, and the whole force is superintended by four European officers. Both arms of the service are regularly armed and equipped, and are ready at a moment's notice to reinforce the civil police. The civil police consists, first, of a regular establishment, paid by the state; secondly, of the city watchmen, paid from a fund raised by the levy of town duties; and, thirdly, of the village police, nominated by the landholders, confirmed in their offices by the magistrate, and paid by the villagers. The infantry of the military preventive police furnish guards for jails, treasuries, frontier posts, and city gates, and escorts for treasure. The cavalry are posted in detachments at the civil stations; and smaller parties, stationed at convenient intervals along the grand lines of road, serve as mounted patrols. The general duties of the civil police consist in reporting crimes, tracking and arresting criminals, and procuring evidence against them.* It is impossible to doubt that if this system be carried out through India under competent European officers, and under such modifications as the different provinces require, that

* *Memorandum of Improvements in India by the Court of Directors.*

the administration of justice will be greatly aided, and the suppression of crime decisively promoted.

The East India Company has in its own civil service the machinery with which to work for the reform in civil and criminal administration, which, although in progress, requires a still more rapid and decided development. The following language of one whose experience well qualified him to give an opinion should have due weight with the English public:—"Let us hope, therefore, that whatever may be the changes to be made in the controlling authority at home, the administrative power in India may be allowed to remain in the hands of an official body, set apart from their youth for this special duty, and whose primary object it may be to administer the country for the benefit of its inhabitants, trusting thus best to promote the real interests of their own parent-land. It is immaterial whether the body into whose hands the internal government is to be intrusted shall be called the civil service, or receive any other appellation, provided the principle be maintained of employing in the territorial government of India those only who have been educated and trained expressly for that duty. If a knowledge of English law shall really prove to be a requisite for the efficient discharge of civil functions, the addition of a few years to the prescribed age of admission will probably bring what is wanted into the ranks of the civil service."*

The full extent of the contemplated police reforms in India may be seen by the reader in the return made to an order of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated the 5th of February, 1858. This return consists in a copy of India judicial despatch of the 4th of November, 1857, No. 61, and Madras judicial despatch, dated the 30th of September, 1857, No. 13, relative to police. From these returns, it appears that the board of directors called the attention of the governor-general to this subject on the 24th of September, 1856, their despatch being based upon the minutes of the lieutenant-governor of Bengal, dated the 30th of April, 1856, relative to the administration of criminal justice and police. The following passages from the despatch shows the desire of the directors to reform the existing police system, and the obstruction given to their views by the governor-general in council:—

"The leading features of the reform suggested in our despatch of the 24th of September, 1856, were the organization of a well-armed, equipped, and disciplined police force, upon a plan common for all India; the separation of the police from the administration of the land revenue; the division of the police into separate portions, as preventive and detective; the transfer of the management of the district police from the magistrates to an European officer, with no other duties, and responsible to a general superintendent of police for the whole presidency or lieutenant-governorship, and an increase to the pay of the police, in order to raise their *status*, and to secure their honest and efficient service.

"You are of opinion, that 'it is better to deal with each presidency separately, according to its own merits, subject to those leading principles which should be common to all, than to endeavour to frame a general scheme for the whole of India,' and you have begun with the lower provinces of the Bengal presidency, in which the reform is perhaps more loudly called for than any other part of India.

"As the subordinate police establishments of the regulation provinces in the territories subject to the lieutenant-governor of Bengal, are distinct from those entertained for the administration of the land revenue, the question of their separation has not come under your consideration on the present occasion.

"In regard to the Bengal police, you are of opinion that it should not be 'after a military fashion;' that the appointment of one superintendent of police for the whole of the lower provinces is not expedient; and that the existing system of dividing the country into manageable tracts, consisting of four or five districts, and placing each division under the superintendence of a commissioner, having authority in all executive departments, including the police, is the best which has yet been devised for India, and one which works well in Bengal, as well as elsewhere, wherever it has been introduced; that a movable corps of station guards, or military police, should be attached to each division employed ordinarily in station and escort duties, but ready to assist the civil police in case of need; that, to provide for the closer supervision of the subordinate police, the number of deputy-magistrates should be considerably increased, and that the pay of the police should be raised.

"The general result, then, of your recommendation is the maintenance of the police in Bengal very much upon the existing system, but paid at higher rates than is the case at present, and strengthened and assisted by divisional corps of a semi-military character."

The directors then refer to the great Indian

* Thomas Campbell Robertson, late a member of the supreme council of India, and lieutenant-governor of the north-western provinces.

authorities—such as Sir John Lawrence, Mr. Colvin, &c.—whose views favoured the adoption of the plans recommended for the consideration of the governor-general in council, which the directors still commend, but do not enforce, deferring to the wisdom and zeal of the actual government in India. It is impossible to give attention to this subject without coming to the conclusion that the Punjaub system is in the main applicable to Bengal, both in the upper and lower provinces, and that the opinion of the directors was based upon a sounder view of the requisites of the country, and the adaptations of the change proposed, than that of the governor-general and his council. The mutiny threw more light upon the question, and further, and strongly, afforded confirmation of the justice and wisdom of the scheme which the directors had approved.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### THE GOVERNMENT OF THE BRITISH INDIAN EMPIRE (*Continued*).

#### PUBLIC WORKS.

UNDER this head a considerable outlay takes place, to which it is unnecessary in this chapter to give more than a passing notice, that description of expenditure having been referred to on former pages. The votes for purposes of religion and education are of this character. When describing the religions of India, and the state of education, the part taken by the government in connection with these matters was stated and discussed. Churches are built, large sums of money expended on bishops, clergy, and chaplains, a small amount given to clergymen of the Church of Scotland, and various religious societies have aids granted to their schools for the purpose of educating the natives. The policy of this is arraigned by many, including those sects which object to the interference of government in matters of religion, and by many who approve of the endowment system, but consider it inapplicable to India. On the other hand, the directors, the Board of Control, and the government of India, are pressed exceedingly by all sorts of claimants among the religious denominations who advocate the state endowment of religion; and, under the plea of education, money is solicited and granted which virtually amounts to an endowment of the particular creed on behalf of which it is given. All classes approve of regimental chaplains, but a section of the English public would confine those appointments to ministers of the Established Church; a still larger section would extend the appointments to clergymen of the Church of Scotland, but exclude the Roman Catholic clergy, who, on their part, claim a recognition of equal rights, and a provision for the religious instruction and consolation of the Roman Catholic soldiers, as extensive as that which is admitted to be necessary for their Protestant comrades.

Large sums of money are given for native schools, mosques, and temples, against which the earnest religious public of England protest, as an identification of the British nation with idolatry and Mohammedanism. This protest is perhaps most ardently urged by those who are the chief claimants for churches and schools as instruments for propagating Christianity. These questions have exceedingly embarrassed the directors, who have generally been, on principle, opposed to all endowments of Christian sects in India, although willing to recognise such provisions for the support of temples and mosques as they found in actual existence when the territories where those structures stand became British property. It has generally been under the pressure of English public opinion, more especially exercised upon the imperial government, and at the instance of the latter irrespective of such popular pressure, that the directors have interfered with native, or instituted Christian, endowments.

It has been shown on former pages that the superior officers of the company have been generally too ready to conciliate Brahminical and Mohammedan prejudices by gifts and grants of public money for their religious purposes, some of them being of the most fanatical, cruel, and corrupt kind. The Lawrences, in the Punjaub, have been especially adduced as instances of this, at a time when it was in their power to have shown that the government was determined, upon principle, not to contribute in any way to the support of Mohammedan and idolatrous institutions, however willing to recognise endowments which it found in existence when its rule was established.

Of late the directors have gone with the tide of English opinion, and endeavoured gradually to sever their connection with all idolatrous and Moslem institutions on the one hand, while they have extended a more

liberal hand to Christian churches and schools on the other. This has been as impolitic as unrighteous. It is simply unjust to apply the public moneys gathered from the followers of Mohammed, or Buddha, or Vishnu, to purposes of a religious nature, hostile to the sincere prejudices of those who pay the taxes thus applied. The injustice of this is so obvious, that it is marvellous how men can be rendered by their prejudices so little dispassionate as not to perceive how inequitable is such a course. It is also impolitic: the religious establishments of India have affected the minds of the natives most unfavourably towards the English government and nation. It is notorious that they entertain no hostility to voluntary missions, nor is the anger of the heathen generally awakened by arguments against his creed, although the Mohammedans are in this respect intolerant. When, however, any description of missionaries adopt language which in the least implies that the authority of government is to be, or ought to be, imparted to the controversy, the people are susceptible of great alarm for their faith. They do not fear its being overturned by argument; but their terror of its being overturned by law may be aroused by the smallest deviation from the appearance of government impartiality. The natives are perfectly aware that some of the Christian sects are connected with government, while others labour, or have laboured, independently of its patronage or control, and were even objects of official jealousy. Whatever falls from the lips of the missionaries identified with the state is noted by the natives carefully, and whenever any imprudent expression escapes these good men as to the desireableness of *suppressing* caste or religious custom, however qualified the language, it is caught up, and circulated with that facility for circulating reports characteristic of Asiatics. In like manner, every Christian church, and every Christian school, supported out of the public taxation of India, is regarded by the natives as a standing memorial of subjugation, not merely of their nationality, which is comparatively little valued, but of their religion. These facts are denied by many clergymen and civilians, who allege that the people are too ignorant to understand such matters. This is a mistake. Some of course are too ignorant to comprehend any question of religion or policy, but they are all well enough informed to know that the religions of Hindoostan and of England are different, and that the former is in danger of being supplanted by the latter. They perceive that the change is taking place by the progress of opinion; they submit unmurmuringly, and call it destiny; but if they conceive that it is taking place by the action of a government which professes not to use its power or authority, as a government, for any such purpose, they deem it faithless, cease to regard it with loyalty, consider, even if they have "eaten its salt," that they are released from their allegiance by the breach of faith, and await the first opportune occasion to free their religion from the perils which beset it. The whole tone of the language used by the revolted sepoys shows that they feared, not so much open violence, as covert and indirect action on the part of the government against their religion. It is impossible to look at the facts upon which they rested such conclusions, and say that their fears were unreasonable, although every Englishman knows that the East India Company never intended to take any step, such as it *considered to be an unjust interference* with the popular religions of the native army or people. It is a delusion to suppose that the natives do not consider such questions, and it is sheer folly to deny that the whole population of India is on the *qui vive* as to what the government may next do which is substantially, although not ostensibly, an authoritative interference with their religion. Missionaries of the stamp to which a reply is here made affirm that intelligent natives, when conversed with on the subject, have expressed their approbation of the government building churches, and aiding Christian schools. No doubt they have, but the educated natives, as well as the masses, have what, in common parlance among themselves, is called "two faces"—one for the sahib, and one for their own people. After expressing in very flattering and flowery language their approval of such things, they would retire from the missionaries, and curse the faithlessness of the government which, by subterfuge and evasion, violated its faith as to its religious relation to the people.

"The more educated, the more bigoted," is an expression which of late has passed into a proverb in reference to both the Brahmins and Mussulmen, especially the former. This is true, because native education is essentially religious; its aim is to make better heathens or Mohammedans, in the sense of imbuing the pupils more thoroughly with the respective systems. Even the education of the English colleges makes them more bigoted, paradoxical as such an assertion may appear. Under the English collegiate and high school system the pupils frequently become infidel, but almost invariably affect or feel an attachment to the superstitions which they theoretically despise, resent any indignity to

them, and any apparent attempt to subvert them. It is common for these native pupils to acquire in their classic reading a violent nationality, and a longing for the liberation of India from a foreign yoke. This feeling causes them to identify themselves with native customs, and to cherish hostility to every English innovation, except it contribute to their own advancement or enjoyment. This class of men inveigh against the employment of public money for Christian purposes of any kind, and regard the churches, the schools, and even the grants of land for such foreign religious institutions as injuries to their country. Articles have appeared in the native press ably adapted to fan the flame of Mussulman or Brahminical bigotry, which were written by nominal heathens, or Mussulmen who were well known to be infidels. It would not be difficult to account for these social, religious, and political phenomena on metaphysical principles generally recognised, but a statement of the facts is alone pertinent to our purpose; and if it be correct, then so long as the government makes grants from the taxes of India, under the designation of public works, for purposes really intended to promote the Christian religion, so long will discontent be disseminated, and disloyalty nurtured, in the halls of its own public seminaries.

In what direction Indian legislation has lately proceeded in connection with such matters let the directors declare for themselves. In their memorial, published at the beginning of 1858, they say:—"An act passed in 1840 gave effect to instructions issued by the home authorities in 1833, on the subject of pilgrim taxes, and the superintendence of native festivals. The instructions directed that the interference of British functionaries in the interior management of native temples, in the customs, habits, and religious proceedings of their priests and attendants, in the arrangement of their ceremonies, rites, and festivals, and generally in the conduct of their interior economy, should cease, that the pilgrim tax should everywhere be abolished; and that in all matters relating to their temples, their worship, their festivals, their religious practices, and their ceremonial observances, our native subjects should be left entirely to themselves. Property held in trust for religious uses of course cannot be diverted from them by any act of the government; but if such trusts are infringed, redress must be sought, as in all other cases, from the tribunals. In 1841 the home authorities sent out further instructions, that no troops or military bands of music be called out, and no salutes fired, in honour of native festivals; and all such acts have since been regarded as strictly prohibited. When any case of infringement of these principles is found to have been overlooked, it is, on being brought to notice, immediately corrected." The spirit of this statement can hardly be too highly commended.

A gentleman who is known to write in the interest of the East India Company states:—"The government have of late years systematically resumed all religious endowments, an extensive inquiry has been going on into all endowments, grants, and pensions; and in almost every one in which the continuance of religious endowments has been recommended by subordinate revenue authorities, backed by the board of revenue, the fiat of confiscation has been issued by the government." * This paragraph refers to the policy of the company towards the Brahmins and Mussulmen, not towards the Christian churches, which have in one form or other been hitherto endowed, and the endowment of which has been gradually becoming a heavier burthen upon the Indian exchequer, and a more prominent feature of our Indian policy.

We learn from Mr. Arthur Mills, M.P., who has recently compiled a statistical work on India, the following as to the government support of Christian schools. The endowment of churches is too well known to require notice here, and has already been referred to in the chapter on the religions of India:—Among the schools entitled, under existing government regulations, to grants in aid, are those established at various periods by Christian missionary societies. The total number of these schools scattered throughout the various districts of India, including vernacular and English elementary schools, both for boys and girls, was, in 1853, 1657 schools, containing 64,806 scholars of both sexes. These schools have been chiefly established by the twelve following societies, placed in the order of the commencement of their respective operations in India:—

1727. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.
1793. The Baptist Missionary Society.
1805. The London Missionary Society.
1812. The American Board of Missions.
1814. The Wesleyan Missionary Society.
1815. The Church Missionary Society.
1822. The General Baptist Missions.
1830. The Established Church of Scotland.
1830. The Free Church of Scotland.
1830. The Basle Missionary Society.
1834. The American Presbyterian Mission.
1840. The American Baptist Mission.

Several of these societies receive funds only for secular purposes, as the communities they represent adopt "the voluntary prin-

* Mr. F. H. Robinson.

ciple." The natives, however, do not enter into the distinction; where money is received from the state by a religious sect for any purpose, they consider that sect as a government agency.

In their efforts to be impartial, the company has granted lands for schools built by benevolent natives, male and female, where the character of the education administered is of very doubtful advantage, either to its recipients or to the government. Colleges for general education and for medical purposes, as well as schools of primary and superior instruction have been erected at the government expense, and with the most upright and zealous desires for the mental cultivation and general welfare of the people. Hospitals and other benevolent institutions have also been built, and the cost of their support is borne by the company. This class of public works consists chiefly of churches, schools, and hospitals; their expense is not generally brought to the books of the board of works, but accounted for under other heads, such as education, &c.

Public works refer more properly according to the usages of the company's government to canals, roads, railways, telegraphs, and certain mining and agricultural experiments which are brought under that head. This department, however, has lately undergone a new organization. In January, 1850, the home authorities * expressed dissatisfaction with the progress made in the prosecution of works of public utility in India, and the government of India was requested to review the state of things with the object of reform. The absence of unity in action, and the division of responsibility, appeared to the directors to be the causes of the slow and imperfect progress of matters in this direction. Orders were issued in the despatch of the directors, which led to the appointment of presidential commissions for investigation and report. The result was the formation in each presidency of a department of public works with a uniform constitution. A secretary for the board of works was added to the secretariat of the Indian government. An activity truly wonderful sprung forth from these measures. The military engineers supplied the chief demand for professional skill, and they were assisted by staffs of civil engineers sent out from England, and by non-commissioned officers of the engineer department of the queen's and company's armies. Colleges of civil engineers have been established at Roorkee, at the head of the Ganges, and at the capitals of the presidencies.

IRRIGATION.—It is common for declaimers against the East India Company to dwell much upon the remains of ancient tanks and other appliances to irrigation, which were constructed and maintained by the Mohammedan governments, but which the company allowed to go out of repair. There is much exaggeration and untruth in these attacks. Some of these ruined tanks had never been completed. Others were in ruins when the territory where they were placed came into the possession of the British. Often, when this was not the case, such was the disturbed state of the country, through the conflicts and ambition of the native states in the neighbourhood, that it was impossible to attend to any works of peace. When these great tanks were erected, in most cases funds were set apart to keep them in repair; but during the warlike struggles which passed in blood and desolation around, those funds were lost, and the government had no means of repairing dilapidated tanks of vast magnitude, unless by heavily rating a people already impoverished by external conflict or civil war. It is also a curious fact connected with native works of this kind, and which accounts for the number of them, so eloquently descanted upon by the orators and writers who agitate Indian grievances, that native monarchs would frequently begin new works where old ones adequate for the purpose previously existed, and both be allowed at last to go into decay for want of funds. The motive of the monarchs in thus wastefully proceeding was the vanity of connecting their names with the works begun by themselves, to accomplish which the older tanks were allowed to crumble away.

The directors have turned their attention to canals for irrigation. The Ganges Canal is the principal of these. It is not yet completed in all its branches, but will ultimately be eight hundred and ninety-eight miles and a half in length, and will, it is calculated, supply with moisture four millions, five hundred thousand acres. "It presents a system of irrigation unequalled in vastness throughout the world; while the dimensions of the main channel, and the stupendous works of masonry which occur in its course, more particularly in the section between Roorkee and Hurdwar, render the work eminently one of national distinction and honour."* The cost of this great construction was £1,500,000 up to the 1st of May, 1856, and it is esti-

* It is remarkable how much more frequently Indian reforms have originated at the India-house than in India, and in either than at the Board of Control.

* The lieutenant-governor of the north-western provinces.

mated that the total cost will not be less than two millions. The irrigating utility of this stupendous work has only just been brought into operation; but it is computed by the directors that the annual value of the land at present watered by it ranges from £150,000, to £200,000, "and that when the canal is in full use, the value will reach the enormous sum of £7,000,000."* On the 30th of April, 1856, the canal had been carried so far that the water flowed continuously through four hundred and forty-nine miles and a half of the main trunk and terminal branches. The extent of main channels of distribution completed was four hundred and thirty-five and a half miles, and eight hundred and seventeen miles more were in active progress.† The canal has not yet been opened to the public for navigable purposes, but the government extensively uses it for the transport of materials. It closed its first year of operations 1855–6, with an aggregate revenue, from all sources, of rather more than sixty thousand rupees, having watered during the year, fifty-five thousand acres, and having placed beyond the risk of serious damage from drought, an area of cultivation of one hundred and sixty-six thousand acres, distributed among one thousand one hundred and thirty-four villages.‡

The Western and Eastern Jumna Canals were of ancient construction, but had fallen into disrepair and become useless to the country, until again brought into activity by the labours of the company's officers, at a sufficiently early date to admit of a full estimation of the benefits which the country has reaped from their restoration. The main line in the Western Jumna Canal is in length four hundred and forty-five miles. In the famine year, 1837–8, the gross value of crops saved by the water of this canal was estimated at £1,462,800; of which about one-tenth was paid to government as land and water rent; while the remainder supported, during a year of devastating famine in other districts, the inhabitants of nearly five hundred villages.

The works originally projected for the restoration of the Eastern Jumna Canal were completed in 1830; but considerable improvements have been effected since that date at a large expense. In 1853, the court of directors sanctioned an expenditure of £15,276 for improving this canal, so as to economize the water, facilitate its distribution, and correct the malarious state of the country on its banks. It is stated, that on the 1st of May, 1852, the clear profit to government on this canal had been £9759.*

The canal system is of great utility in the Punjaub. Canals are of two kinds, "inundative" and "permanent."† The first named are cut from the rivers which are empty in winter, but when spring comes, they are filled by the melting of the snow on the mountains, and the water as it rises, flows into the canals, and continues to supply them until far on in the autumn. Many of these have been repaired and rendered once more fit for purposes of irrigation, and estimates have been proposed by order of the commissioners of the Punjaub for the repair or reconstruction of others. The second class of canals named—the "permanent," are, however, most in favour with the commissioners, and as funds can be spared the construction of such is contemplated.

In 1849, the enlargement and extension of the Huslee Canal, stated to be capable of irrigating seventy thousand *begahs* of land, was sanctioned, and it is now in good working order. But this will ultimately be superseded by the Baree Doab Canal for irrigation and navigation. The length of this new work is about four hundred and fifty miles; the original estimate of the cost was £530,000; but more extensive works than were at first expected having been found necessary, and the rates of labour having proved much dearer than those calculated, the ultimate cost will fall little short of a million sterling. In May, 1856, more than three hundred and twenty-five miles had been excavated; and it was hoped that the canal would be opened in 1859. The expected return is twelve lacs of rupees, or £120,000 per annum.‡

The following were the opinions of Sir Henry Lawrence and his eminent colleagues, when in the commission of administration for the Punjaub, of the character of the country in reference to such works; and the passages indicate the duty of the British government in promoting irrigation:—"The capabilities of the Punjaub for canal irrigation are notorious. It is intersected by great rivers; it is bounded on two sides by hills, whence pour down countless rivulets; the general surface of the land slopes southward, with a considerable gradient. These facts at once proclaim it to be a country eminently adapted for canals. Nearly all the dynasties which have ruled over the five rivers have done something towards irrigation; nearly every district possesses flowing canals, or else the

* Colonel Baird Smith.
† Sir Proby Cautley.
‡ Colonel Baird Smith.

* *Memorial of the Court of Directors.*
† Sir Henry Lawrence.
‡ Punjaub Blue-book.

ruins of ancient water-courses. Many of the valleys and plains at the base of the Himalaya ranges are moistened by water-cuts conducted from the mountain torrents. The people, deeply sensible of the value of these works, mutually combine, with an unusual degree of harmony and public spirit, not only for the construction of reservoirs, but also for distribution of the water, and the regulation of the supply. In such cases, when the community displays so much aptitude for self-government, the board consider non-interference the best policy, while they would always be ready to afford any aid which might be solicited. The Mooltan canals are famous, and are the sole source of the fertility which surrounds that thriving mart. They were commenced by the Pathan governors. Having fallen out of repair during the interregnum of anarchy which ensued on the invasion of Runjeet Singh, they were improved and enlarged by the great Sawun Mull. All these canals are particularised in the revenue section. It will be sufficient to observe, that assistance for repairs and for other details of management is furnished when required, but that the general control is left in the hands of the farmers, who have generally shown themselves fully competent to the task. In the Pak Puttun district, which lies north of Mooltan, in the Baree Doab, an old canal, fifty-five miles long, is being re-opened by the district officer." During the administration of Sir Henry Lawrence, clumps of trees were planted at various "stations" on the navigable canals, and avenues of trees alongside them and the canals especially formed for purposes of irrigation. In the Punjaub, as well as in other parts of India, places of worship are built by the sides of rivers, or other bodies of water; these Sir Henry surrounded by groves, so as to encourage in every direction, where there was water to nourish the growth of trees, the increase of timber for firewood, and for manufacturing and building uses. This was a great want in the Punjaub, notwithstanding the existence of certain jungle districts in all the doabs. Thus the works for irrigation have subserved commerce, and promoted the domestic comfort of the people. The plans of improvement so wisely laid down, under the auspices of Sir Henry Lawrence in the first few years after the annexation of the Punjaub, were wisely followed up by his brother, Sir John, who, with equal zeal, industry, perseverance, and sagacity, pursued these projects of melioration and improvement, laying the foundation for the most prosperous fiscal and political condition which any country in Asia can exhibit, and with which few countries in Europe can compete. In Scinde careful regard has also been paid to irrigation. The fertility of that region is as dependant upon the rising of the Indus as that of Egypt is to the rising of the Nile. During the seasons of inundation the waters of the Indus are distributed over the face of the country by a network of canals. About £25,000 per annum is expended in cleansing these canals of the deposit left by the retiring waters of the river. The Begaree Canal, in Upper Scinde, is one of the most important bodies of artificial water in the province. This has lately been widened and deepened at a cost of £13,000. Expenses of this nature are nearly always sure to produce a large return in any well governed province; accordingly the outlay on the Begaree has resulted in a return of nearly £11,000 per annum, and the estimate of future proceeds exceeds that sum. The Foolalee Canal, another important artificial watercourse, has been lately improved and extended at a cost of more than £15,000; and in that case, as in those before mentioned, it is expected that the outlay will be followed by profitable results.

In connexion with irrigation, the tanks and *anicuts* of the Madras presidency deserve notice. The monsoon rains are preserved in large reservoirs against the necessities of the dry season. The anicuts are dams across the beds of rivers, by which the waters are retained at a level higher than that of the neighbouring country, so that, at the suitable time, it may be drained over the surface. The anicuts which are most notable are those on the Colaroone, Godavery, and Kistna. This description of dam and reservoir is not of British origin, for the anicut of the Colaroone is traceable to the second century of our era. About £80,000 has been expended on the Colaroone in repairing and renewing these works. Additional works for conveying irrigation over the districts of Tanjore, and portions of Trichinopoly and South Arcot, were constructed at a cost of about £100,000. The average quantity of land watered annually from the Colaroone and Cavery prior to 1836 is given at 630,613 acres. Since the improvements, the average (up to 1850) was 716,524 acres; being an increase of 85,911 acres. The annual increase of revenue has been about £44,000; and it may be assumed that the agricultural community have benefited to the extent of at least £66,000 per annum from the extension of the area of irrigation. It is further calculated that at least an equal amount is added to the value of the annual produce by the better

irrigation of the lands which the waters already reached.

An expenditure of £47,575 for the construction of the Godavery anicut was sanctioned in 1846. It was then anticipated that the total cost, with compound interest at 5 per cent, would be recovered in ten years, and that thenceforward a clear profit would be returned of at least £9000 per annum. The work has, however, proved much more costly than was expected. Up to 1852 the amount expended was £130,000, and a further outlay of £110,000 was expected to be required, which, with £24,000 allowed for annual repairs during its completion, would raise the total expenditure on the works (including a system of roads and an important line of inland navigation) to £264,000. The amount expended has, it is stated, been already repaid by the increased receipts; and the Madras public works commissioners of 1852 (to one of whom, Colonel Cotton, the merit of this important work is in a great measure due) estimate that when the works shall be in full operation, the total increase of revenue will not be less than £300,000 per annum, while the gain to the people, by enabling them to cultivate the more valuable products, such as sugar-cane, rice, &c., instead of the ordinary dry crops, will exceed £3,000,000 per annum.

The anicut across the Kistna River was commenced in 1853. The original estimate of the cost was £155,000; but it is probable that this amount will be to some extent exceeded. It is intended, by 290 miles of irrigation channels distributed on both sides of the river, to supply water sufficient for 280,000 acres of rice cultivation, or 350,000 of rice, sugar, and possibly cotton, combined. The results anticipated are, an increase of £60,000 in the revenue of government, and a gain of £90,000 per annum to the agricultural community.

In 1854 sanction was given to an expenditure of £86,611 for the construction of an anicut across the Palar River, in North Arcot, and of the works subsidiary to it. The expected increase of revenue was stated at £18,470 per annum, or, deducting 5 per cent for repairs, £16,623.

Very large sums have in the aggregate been spent in the construction of new, and still more in the repair and restoration of old, tanks and wells, both in the Madras presidency and in the other parts of India which depend on works of that description for water supply. In some hill districts, ravines have been dammed up, and a head of water obtained for the irrigation of the adjacent valleys or plains. This was the plan of Colonel Dixon's irrigation works in Mhairwarra; and a system of such works had begun to be executed in Bundelcund, when the disturbances broke out.

A disposition has been of late shown to form companies for the execution of profitable works of irrigation, on certain conditions to be granted by the state.* In September, 1857, the directors resolved upon giving a guarantee of interest, in the same way as to railway companies.

ROADS.—It is sometimes asserted that India had good roads under the Moguls, and that the government of the East India Company has neglected to keep them in repair, and has done very little to open up new ones. Both these statements are incorrect. The Mohammedan rulers of India made few roads, and none of any great magnitude. The plains of India are in the dry season so flat and smooth, that vehicles can be drawn over them, and armies, conveying their artillery, can march across them with ease. During the rainy season no commercial caravans attempt to traverse these inundated levels, and, except under rare necessities, no army attempts to march. The principal trunk roads in India now completed are as follow:—†

| | MILES. | COST. |
|---|---|---|
| From Calcutta to Peshawur | 1423‡ | £1,423,000 |
| „ Calcutta to Bombay . | 1002 | 500,000 |
| „ Madras to Bangalore . | 200 | 37,121 |
| „ Bombay to Agra . . . | 734 | 243,676 |
| „ Rangoon to Prome . . | 200 | 160,000 |

The first of these roads passes through most of the great cities in North-western India to Delhi. From Delhi it is continued to Lahore, and thence, in its most recent construction, to Peshawur. It is generally designated "the Grand Trunk Road." Generally the rivers are bridged in the direction the road takes; but the Ganges and the Soane are still crossed by ferries. The land communication between Calcutta and Western India is thus described in the memorial of improvements effected in India within the last thirty years:—"It is carried on by way of the grand trunk road to Benares, onward by Mirzapore and Jubbulpore to Nagpore, and thence to Bombay. The road beyond Mirzapore, under the name of the Great Deccan Road, was commenced thirty years ago, but was kept up only as a fair-weather road till within the last few years, when arrangements were made for its being thoroughly raised, metalled, and bridged. The distance from Mirzapore

* *Memorial of Improvements in India.*

† Arthur Mills, Esq., M.P.

‡ The directors' memorial represents the distance as fifteen hundred miles.

to Nagpore or Kamptee is nearly four hundred miles. Estimates amounting to £11,659 were sanctioned by the court of directors, in 1856, for bridging the portion of road between Mirzapore and Jubbulpore, which had been already metalled; £25,084 were also sanctioned for raising and metalling the portion between Jubbulpore and Kamptee; and measures were further authorised to bridge this portion of the road."

The Dacca and Chittagong road is not yet completed; and from Arracan into Pegu Lieutenant Furlong has undertaken to form a road across the mountains by Toungroop. A road from Calcutta to Jessore (the line of communication with Assam and Birmah) has been sanctioned, on an estimate of £41,720. A road also has been cut from Martaban to Toungoo, *viâ* Sitong. The sea has been mainly relied upon for communication between Calcutta and Madras; but roads are now being made with every prospect of speedily opening up a complete land communication.

Besides the great lines of communication above enumerated, a multitude of shorter lines have been constructed at the entire cost of government, in Bengal, the north-western provinces, and the Punjaub, while considerable sums have annually been expended in the two former divisions of territory from local funds. Among the roads either completed or under construction at the expense of government, is one from a point on the East India Railway to Darjeeling (roughly estimated at about £200,000); another from Doobee, on the grand trunk road, to Patna (cost, £115,000); numerous roads in the Saugor and Nerbuddah territories; and a road from the plains to Simla and the other hill stations, continued through the mountains to Chini in Thibet. The district roads were, until within the last few years, maintained from the profits of the ferries kept up by government; but there are now also appropriated to this purpose, in Bengal, the surplus tolls on the Nuddea rivers and the Calcutta canals, amounting altogether to £50,000, and the surplus proceeds of various local funds established for other purposes. In the north-western provinces, one per cent. on the land revenue is contributed in equal portions by the government and by the landowners, for the purpose of district roads, the landowners being thus freed from the obligation, which previously lay on them, of keeping in repair the public roads which passed through their lands. In these provinces, as in Bengal, the ferry funds are appropriated to district roads, and they amount to about £20,000.*

* *Memorandum of Improvements in the Administration of India.*

Independent of the canal communications in the Madras presidency, which are important, great efforts have been made within the last ten years to open up good roads. Besides the trunk line to Bangalore, there has been also constructed the southern road to Trichinopoly, 205 miles in length; the northern road to the Bengal frontier, with a branch to Cuddapah, 758 miles; and the Sumpajee Ghaut road, from the western frontier of Mysore to Matgalore, 105 miles.

According to statistical reports made by the directors, the made roads in the Bombay presidency, twenty-five years ago, were almost entirely limited to the presidency town and its immediate neighbourhood; the road from Bombay (or rather Panwell, on the other side of the harbour) to Poonah being the only road to a distant place on which any considerable expenditure had taken place. This road has since been greatly improved, and supplied with bridges. The Bhore Ghaut, or pass, on this road, formerly accessible only to bullocks, and coolies, or porters, had in 1830, at an expense of about £13,000, been made easy for carriages. The Thull Ghaut, on the Bombay and Agra road, has since been similarly improved; and roads over the Khoonda Ghaut, the Tulkut Ghaut, and the Koomtudee Ghaut, to the southward, have since been put under construction, to facilitate the communications between the coast and the interior of the country. The portion of the Agra and Bombay road, within the jurisdiction of the Bombay government, is two hundred and seventy miles in length. The expenditure on it had amounted, in 1848, to £75,390; and since that time a considerable outlay has taken place, especially on the improvement of the Thull Ghaut and the road below it. A system of roads for Scinde, at an estimated cost of from £20,000 to £30,000, received the sanction of the home authorities in 1854, and is in progress. In the Punjaub, where the greatest improvements in every respect have been brought to pass, roads have received the constant attention of the commissioners. Immediately upon the accession of the territory, the commissioners began the work, and have prosecuted it with the utmost zeal. The grand trunk from Lahore to Peshawur, a distance of two hundred and seventy-five miles, forms a part of the grand Indian trunk from Calcutta to Peshawur. This road is completely metalled and bridged throughout, from its entrance to the Punjaub to Peshawur, at a cost of £154,848. Roads from Jullundur to Lahore, and from Lahore to Mooltan, have been also undertaken.

The roads of the Punjaub were classified by Sir Henry Lawrence under the heads of

military and commercial, and the latter as for external and for internal commerce. In such a classification the primary object of the road was kept in view, as of course military roads could be used for commercial purposes. Thus the grand trunk road from Lahore to Peshawur is designated under the military class, because, the army being massed along that line, its primary object was for military convenience; it is, however, an important highway of commerce. In reference to roads most important in a military point of view, the following occurs in one of the recent Punjaub blue-books:—"The construction of the grand trunk road from the Beas to Lahore, and the earthen and masonry viaducts crossing the drainage courses of the Baree Doab, have been completed. A straight line of road has been carried from Umritsir to the new cantonment of Sealkote, which is further connected with the Peshawur road by a branch road to Wuzeerabad. The military and commercial roads from Lahore to Mooltan, and from Lahore to Ferozepore, have been opened. An important military line, passing through a very mountainous and rugged track, from Attock to Kalabagh, *viâ* Rawul Pindee, has also been opened, to connect the frontier force stations with the northern cantonments of the regular army. The difficult road leading through the Kohat passes into the Peshawur valley has also been improved."

Lines of road for the external commerce of the Punjaub were planned and put in progress by Sir Henry, and in some cases completed by Sir John, who, as Mr. John Lawrence, assisted his brother in the commission of the "country of the five rivers." Two great lines were planned by Sir Henry—one to connect Dera Ismail Khan with Lahore, and another to start from the same point, and to run across the Scinde Saugor Doab, and thence across the Baree Doab to Ullohur, to meet the Delhi road, the internal lines carrying the traffic down to Mooltan. The importance of these lines will be obvious, from a consideration of the commercial position of the Punjaub, which is a thoroughfare through which the commerce of Central Asia passes to the plains of India, and to Scinde and Bombay. The caravans which travel from Ghuznee to Delhi (which were once the rival and the sister capitals of the Mohammedan empire) were forced to follow a very difficult as well as circuitous route. Emerging near Dera Ismail Khan from the Submanee passes, they winded their weary way to Mooltan, through the wastes of the Scinde Saugor Doab, and then turned northward to Lahore, thence proceeding to Ferozepore or Loodiana, or else they traversed Bhawulpore and other independent territories from Mooltan, paying heavy transit duties. The plans of Sir Henry Lawrence and his officers met these difficulties, and opened up feasible ways for the "external commerce" of the country. The "internal communications" of the territory whose affairs they so judiciously administered, were also provided for by those two gifted brothers. Their plans comprehended the connection of Mooltan with Jhelum by a line along the bank of the river of that name and Wuzeerabad, and Sealkote by a line along the banks of the Chenab, passing by Jhung. These were the first improvements, and they were followed well up by others.

In territory such as the Punjaub, making roads is not the only matter to be considered when planning lines of communication. Wells and other accommodation for travellers have been provided along these commercial lines. Without them, the roads would be useless. There are scarcely any important lines which do not, during part of their course, traverse arid and desolate tracts. Literally a fleet of ferry-boats were built, to facilitate the passage of the rivers, and, with a prompt and ready forethought, mooring chains and anchors were provided to prevent accidents. These ferry-boats bridged the rivers in winter by the assistance of these chains and anchors, while in the summer they bore passengers across for a small toll. Iron pontoon bridges were recommended by the commissioners as applicable, not only to the Punjaub, but to India generally; but the home government, upon consideration, did not approve of the extensive adoption of these media of passage.

It would be unjust in a popular history which comprehends the men and the measures of our times, not to notice the names of the persons to whose talents the detail of the stupendous undertakings in the Punjaub are to be attributed, and in some cases the original suggestions. The commissioners have themselves made the following handsome acknowledgment of the services of the officers by whose assistance and personal superintendence so many important works were brought to a happy termination:—"For the energetic and able manner in which these important works have been executed, as well as for the zealous co-operation in all engineering and military questions, the board are indebted to Lieutenant-colonel Napier, who has spared neither time, health, nor convenience, in the duties entrusted to him. For these valuable services the board cannot too warmly express their thanks. Colonel Napier has brought to the favourable notice of the

board the zealous assistance he has derived from his assistants generally, and especially the valuable services of Lieutenant Taylor, in charge of the Lahore and Peshawur road; Lieutenant Dyas, in charge of the great canal; Lieutenant Anderson, of the Madras engineers, who has examined the Mooltan canals; Major Longden, her majesty's 10th regiment, in charge of the Huslee Canal; the late Lieutenant Paton and Lieutenant Crofton, both of the engineers, and employed on the new canal; and Lieutenant Oliphant, of the engineers, in charge of a division of the Peshawur road; and Lieutenant Lamb, 18th native infantry."

Looking at the general operations throughout India during the last ten years, in the completion of good roads for caravans and wheeled carriages, the results are truly wonderful; and the programme of operations of a similar nature, intended for immediate commencement, had not the mutiny deranged for a time the plans of the directors, was such as deserved the gratitude of India and of England.

RAILWAYS.—This is a subject to which the attention of the English public is especially directed. It is impossible to place the progress of railways before our readers in a more condensed form than in the report of the directors themselves. It is, however, to be observed, that the railways of India are constructed by private capital; the land, and a guarantee for interest, are given by the company. Four thousand one hundred and fifty-eight miles of railway have been sanctioned, and measures are being taken for their construction by various companies, viz.:—

By the East Indian Railway Company—from Calcutta to Delhi, with branches from Burdwan to Raneegunge, and from Mirzapore to Jubbulpore, 1400 miles.

By the Eastern Bengal Railway Company—from Calcutta to the Ganges at Koostree, near Pubnah (130 miles), being the first section of a line to Dacca, with a branch to Jessore; which, when completed, will form the basis of a system of railways for Eastern Bengal.

By the Madras Company—from Madras to the western coast at Beypore, 430 miles; and from Madras, *vid* Cuddapah and Bellary, to meet a line from Bombay at or near the river Kistna, 310 miles.

By the Great Indian Peninsula Company—from Bombay to Callian, thirty-three miles, with extensions, north-east to Jubbulpore, to meet the line from Mirzapore, with a branch to Oomrawuttee and Nagpore, 818 miles, and south-east, *vid* Poonah and Sholapore—to the Kistna River, to meet the line from Madras, 357 miles.

By the Scinde and Punjaub Company—from Kurrachee to a point in the Indus, at or near to Kotree, 120 miles; and from Mooltan to Lahore and Umritsir, in the Punjaub, 230 miles.

By the Bombay, Baroda, and Central India Company—from Bombay to Surat, Baroda, and Ahmedabad, 330 miles.

The estimated outlay required to complete the several lines sanctioned is £34,231,000; and the total amount of capital at present issued by the sanction of the East India Company is £22,814,000. In addition to this assistance by way of guarantee, the land for the railways (including compensation for all buildings thereon), and for their termini, has been given by government. The value of this may be estimated at more than £1,000,000 for the above extent of line. The lines in course of construction have been chosen for commercial quite as much as for military and political objects. In every case the existing channels of trade have been followed. The chief cotton-producing districts are provided with railway accommodation; and in some instances,—such as the railway which connects the great cotton-field of Berar with Bombay, and the railway through Surat and Gujerat,—the principal object is to develop the agricultural resources of those districts, and to bring their produce into communication with the sea. At present only a small section is open in each presidency, making about 400 miles in all; but 3600 more are being constructed almost simultaneously. The works for the trunk lines above described have been made suitable for locomotive engines, and are of a solid and permanent character, so that an uninterrupted communication will be maintained throughout the year. The mileage cost of the lines which have been completed has been:—*East Indian*—Calcutta to Raneegunge, 121 miles (including double line to Burdwan, and terminal stations), about £12,000 per mile. *Madras*—Madras to Arcot, sixty-five miles, about £5500 per mile. The data in respect to the lines now open in the Bombay presidency, constructed by the Great Indian Peninsular Railway Company, are not sufficiently complete to enable the actual mileage cost to be ascertained.

It is, perhaps, premature to judge of the success of Indian railways as commercial undertakings; but the line from Calcutta to Raneegunge is already realising a profit of nearly seven per cent., being two per cent. beyond the guaranteed rate of interest.

In addition to the lines specified above, the court have sanctioned the construction of one by the Calcutta and South Eastern Railway Company, from Calcutta to the Mutlah River, upon the same terms as to the provision of land, but without any guarantee of interest.

ELECTRIC TELEGRAPHS.—Even more important as a means of communication than railways, is the electric telegraph; the use of which, at the commencement of the late disturbances, may be said with scarcely any exaggeration to have saved our empire. Having already, in a wonderfully short space of time, connected the seats of the different governments by lines of telegraph upwards of three thousand miles in length, the government of India is now engaged in establishing additional lines of about the same extent, by which the most important places on the line of route will be brought into communication with each other. The lines established, and in course of construction, are:—

1st. From Calcutta, *vid* Benares, Cawnpore, Agra, Meerut, Delhi, Umritsir, and Lahore, to Peshawur; with a branch to Lucknow.

2nd. From Bombay to Agra, *vid* Indore and Gwalior.

3rd. From Bombay to Madras, *vid* Sattara, Bellary, and Bangalore.

4th. From Bombay, along the coast, by Vingorla and Mangalore, to Cannanore.

5th. From Bangalore to Ootacamund and Mahableshwar.

6th. From Benares, through the centre of the peninsula, by Mirzapore, Jubbulpore, Nagpore, and Hyderabad, to Bellary.

7th. From Bombay, by Surat and Baroda, to Kurrachee.

8th. From Kurrachee, by Hyderabad (Scinde) and Mooltan, to Lahore.

9th. From Calcutta, by Dacca, Akyab, and Prome, to Pegu and Rangoon.

10th. From Calcutta to Madras, by the coast; and—

11th. From Madras, along the coast, by Pondicherry, Tranquebar, and Ramnad, to Ceylon.

The lines already established have cost, upon an average, about £50 per mile. Besides their inappreciable value to the government for political and military purposes, they are freely used by the mercantile community. Though the charges are very moderate, the revenue, in the first year of working the lines, exceeded the expenses, and since then the receipts have been steadily increasing.

During the sepoy rebellion, the utility of the electric telegraph was tested; its existence at that period was of more importance than the presence in India of 10,000 additional soldiers.

HOSPITALS AND DISPENSARIES.—The government has done much to bring the instrumentalities of medical relief within reach of the people everywhere. The regulations in practice in reference to this provide an hospital or dispensary in every town where the inhabitants will bear a certain proportion of the expense.

LIBRARIES.—The establishment of public libraries in the provincial towns will appear to most Europeans as an effort to benefit the people in a manner they are not prepared to appreciate. This plan of extending civilization in India has been going forward for a considerable time, but, notwithstanding the sanguine opinions and more sanguine expectations of many of the friends of India, no great results have been procured.

In the return made to an order of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated the 7th of August, 1857, the budgets of public works in India for the years 1853-4, 1854-5, 1855-6, have been presented; also an estimate for 1856-7. This return embraces churches, public offices, jails, and miscellaneous buildings and works; embankments, roads and bridges, lighthouses, dockyards and harbours, inland navigation, irrigation works, railroads, charges for government officers, and for land supplied to the private companies working under government guarantee; electric telegraph, military, and certain unclassified works. The returns comprise the expenditure for Bengal, Madras, Bombay, the north-western provinces, the Punjaub, and the Pegu and Straits settlements.

For the year 1856-7, the amounts authorised in statement No. 1, for public works in the departments of military, public, judicial, ecclesiastical, educational, revenue (general), revenue (irrigation), marine, political, were for Bengal—rupees—7.09.492; Madras, 21.58.233; Bombay, 6.70.047; the north-west provinces, 6.30.892; the Punjaub, 7.32.644; the Straits settlements, 40.000; Pegu, 1.61.619; Tenesserim and Martaban provinces, 7.600; Hyderabad, 4.938: making a total expenditure of 51.18.665. This outlay was sanctioned by the government of India. Under statement No. 1 there is a budget of expenditure recommended to the court of directors exclusive of the foregoing, amounting to 17.54.849.

Statement No. 2, gives the expenditure on all works previously sanctioned, and on new sanctions by local governments, the amount of which is 1.64.34.334. Under statement

No. 2 for repairs the total is 52.08.257. The total amount authorised for the year 1856-7 was 2.20.15.420. Under orders of the 17th of October, 1856, all civil, military, and marine buildings intended exclusively for the use of the government and its establishments, and works not coming within the term works of public improvement, can be proceeded with without other limitation than that of the sanctioned estimates; but the expenditure on works of public improvement—such as works of irrigation, canals, roads, bridges, and harbours—is restricted to one crore of rupees, the sum allotted by the honourable the court of directors, for such works during the official year 1856-7. This sum has been divided among the several local governments and administrations in the following proportions:—To Bengal, twelve lacs; Madras, twenty-two lacs; Bombay and Scinde, fourteen lacs; the north-western provinces, fifteen lacs; the Punjaub, twenty-one lacs; Oude, five lacs; Pegu, four and a half lacs; Tenesserim and Martaban provinces, half a lac; Hyderabad, three lacs; Nagpore, two and a quarter lacs; Straits settlements three quarters of a lac. By this report, made from the India-house at the close of 1857, the most recent expenditure on public works is presented.

Under the head of public works certain expenditure is classed, which would seem more properly to be represented as bounty or encouragement to agriculture and commerce. Thus the growth of cotton has received the patronage of the company. In 1840 ten experienced cotton-planters from the United States were engaged to conduct certain experiments in the cultivation of the finer description of cotton. The climate proved unsuitable where most of the trials were made, but in parts of South-western India the experiments were successful, and a large cultivation of American cotton is now being conducted there. These districts are near the coast, and have roads. Measures are being taken to facilitate the transport of cotton from the places where its culture is most successfully carried on. The servants of the East India Company, especially their medical servants, have of late years given much attention to climatology, and more especially in its relation to vegetable productions, from which the cotton cultivation has derived much benefit. The East India Company, in 1849, offered a reward of 5000 rupees for an improved cotton-cleaning machine, and great efforts in the cleaning department have been made—an essential matter to the improvement of Indian cotton. The East India Company have also expended money upon the culture of such fibrous plants as might be made sources of profitable commerce. The results of the experiments made in this department have surprised the company, and all interested in the enterprise.

In previous chapters notice was taken of the encouragement given by the government to the cultivation of tea; it is therefore unnecessary in this place to express more upon the subject, than that considerable hill tracts, suitable to its culture, have been set apart by the company in favour of the cultivators. The government has also thought it expedient to patronise the working of iron ore. This subject seems first to have seriously engaged the attention of the court of directors so recently as 1850; but in 1854 extensive inquiries and investigations were instituted, which issued in important results. In 1855 a report was made to the public-works department by Lieutenant-colonel Godwin, chief engineer of the lower provinces of Bengal, which was highly encouraging as to the prospects of iron mines being worked, and iron extensively manufactured, in India. In 1856 experiments were made, under the company's auspices, in the manufacture of superior iron with some success.

Of course a considerable outlay in connection with public works will, by the necessities of the country, be expended on barracks and jails. The latter appear to be admirably managed and conducted, especially in the Punjaub. The barrack department is probably worse conducted than any other. The European soldiers are frequently quartered in unhealthy situations, and the barrack accommodation afforded to them is inadequate; the late Sir Charles Napier, a friend of the soldier, repeatedly expressed his disapprobation, and even indignation, at this circumstance. The vast impulse which has been given to public works in India may be judged by the facts, that one hundred thousand tons of railway materials, and a million of sleepers, were landed at Bombay alone in 1856-7. In March and April, 1857, twenty thousand tons of castings for the Vedar Water-works were landed in that port. During the same time the imports of iron were represented by the Bombay papers to be seven thousand tons. In 1856 the great Indian Peninsula Railway imported thirteen thousand tons of iron. The *Queen Victoria* steamer was announced by a publication of Bombay, in April, 1857, as arriving with eighty tons of locomotives for the great Indian Peninsula Railway, and the Vedar Water-works.

The improvement and enlargement of docks and harbours claim some especial notice. Taken in connection with the recent efforts

for cultivating the lands lying seaward, more immediately those set apart for cotton culture, and the lines of road opened up from the great seaports into the interior, this subject assumes much importance. The development of internal communications, and external outlets, have in all civilized lands kept pace. This is not only true of countries possessing a good seaboard, but of such as, like the Punjaub, are dependant upon a river navigation through other countries for communication with the sea: the remark is even applicable to nations that are completely inland, for their roads and river means of internal intercourse will always converge upon those points which are thoroughfares into neighbouring states. Bombay, notwithstanding its vastly increasing commerce and its important relative position, has been left deficient in docks or any similar provision. The number of square-rigged vessels that entered the Bombay port during the year 1855, was 311, besides 218 steamers, with an aggregate tonnage of 279,805. The trade of the port for 1854-5, is stated to have been 735,562½ tons, and to have increased in the following year to 912,140½ tons. For this large commerce no adequate accommodation has yet been provided. The officiating commissioner of customs for salt and opium gave the following evidence upon the cost of loading and unloading vessels in the port of Bombay:—"On making inquiries from the several merchants, I still experienced great difficulty in procuring the required information, as there is no uniform system or practice adopted by them. One firm, perhaps, contracts for boat hire alone; another contracts for the goods being discharged from the ship, and landed on the wharf; while another, perhaps, contracts for the removal of the goods from a ship to the depositing of them in the merchant's warehouses, including the cost of guarding them, &c. Petty pilferage and damage from wet during the monsoon, are among the casualties to which goods thus treated are said to be exposed. The petty pilferage is stated to have been proved, a few years since, to amount to 1,600,000 rupees."

The following testimony to the difficulties of transacting the enormously increasing business of the port, and the necessities for more suitable accommodation for shipping, was borne by one well competent to pronounce an opinion:—"The average expense of bringing goods from a ship's side and landing on the wharf, is one or two rupees per ton, and for heavy machinery two rupees per ton; but the latter is now a losing rate, because the quantity to be landed exceeds the capabilities of the boats, and of room for their discharge, and boat-hire has risen 75 per cent. within the last six months. The collector of customs has found it necessary to threaten a withdrawal of their licenses from all boats above sixteen tons, on account of the large space they occupy alongside the wharf."*

The attention of the government has been directed to this state of things, and on the 17th of March, 1855, a committee was appointed to determine a locality for the docks. Out of this investigation proposals arose for two schemes, one of which has the sanction of government; the other is deemed by the commercial community the more feasible, although neither is generally considered at all adequate. The whole community of Bombay is alive to the necessity; and the government was giving its most earnest attention to the subject, when the breaking out of the mutiny stopped short the progress of improvements in so many respects. In the meantime, important publications are guiding and forming public opinion.†

On a former page a description was given of the port of Kurrachee, and its importance in relation to all North-western and Western India, and in its relation to the overland route. In connection with the schemes for the Scinde and Punjaub Railway, and the improvement of the navigation of the Indus, this port is receiving such improvements as will develop all the advantages of its position. Although Calcutta possesses so many circumstances in its favour, especially in connection with the seat of government, even there it has been deemed requisite to improve the facilities afforded to commerce in the condition of the port. At Madras the unfavourable nature of the locality seems to bid defiance to any very decided improvement; but the enterprise which marks the proceedings of the board of works, inspires hope that something will be done to abate the dangers to which shipping, and passengers in landing, are now exposed. When harbours, docks, and wharves have partaken of the attention and outlay of the government, as roads, rivers, and irrigation have done, the prosperity of India will be much promoted.

* Bombay Quarterly Review.

† *Papers relating to a Project for Wet and Dry Docks in the Harbour of Bombay*, printed for Government at the Bombay Education Society's Press, 1856; *On Docks and Wharves for Bombay; Proceedings of the Bombay Mechanics' Institution*, session 1857.

# CHAPTER XVII.

## THE GOVERNMENT OF THE BRITISH INDIAN EMPIRE (*Continued*).

### THE MILITARY DEPARTMENT.

THE army by which the territory of British India is garrisoned and defended, and by which wars have been conducted against other powers, has consisted of three different elements—namely, queen's troops, company's troops, and contingents. The queen's troops are conveyed to India at the expense of the company, and when there are allowed extra pay at its cost. Their number is dependant upon circumstances, but has generally varied from eighteen to twenty-two thousand men. It has been shown in the sketch afforded of the different acts of the imperial parliament affecting the constitution of the Indian government, that the commander-in-chief of the queen's forces in India is *ex officio* commander-in-chief of the company's forces, and that each presidential commander-in-chief of the queen's forces is also commander-in-chief of the company's forces within that presidency. The officers of the company's army are appointed by the directors. The contingents are native troops, subjects of native princes, and placed at the command of the company under certain treaties. In the company's own army there are two distinct classes of troops—European and native. The total number of the East India Company's native forces of all arms, including commissioned and non-commissioned native officers and men, up to the latest period received before the recent revolt, was as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| *Engineers.*—Native commissioned and non-commissioned, rank and file | 3,158 |
| *Artillery.**—Horse | 1,073 |
| „ Foot | 7,676 |
| *Cavalry.*†—Regular and irregular | 26,129 |
| *Infantry.*‡—Regular and irregular | 189,008 |
| *Veterans.*—Native officers and men | 3,374 |
| *Native Medical Establishment* | 858 |
| Total | 231,276 |

Giving a total number of 269 native regiments of all arms, and of 231,276 native officers and men. A large portion of this force, comprising about one-half of the whole, has, by mutiny and disarmament, ceased to exist, leaving a total number of native forces of all arms practically available of about 120,000 men.

* The horse artillery consists of five brigades, and the foot of eighteen battalions.

† The cavalry is divided into fifty regiments.

‡ The infantry comprises a hundred and ninety-six regiments.

The total number of the East India Company's European forces now in India (not deducting losses arising out of the recent revolt, of which no complete authentic return has been received) is as follows, and presents a total of 22,047 European officers and men:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Engineers.*—European officers and men | 434 |
| *Artillery.*—Horse and foot, European officers and men (of which there are twelve battalions of European foot) | 6,585 |
| *Cavalry.*—European officers and men | 509 |
| *Infantry.*— „ „ | 13,032 |
| *Veterans.*— „ „ | 436 |
| *Medical Establishment.*—Europeans, including European warrant officers | 1,051 |
| Total | 22,047 |

The total number of queen's troops now (April, 1858) in India amounts to about 70,000 men.

The contingent troops of the native states commanded by British officers, and bound under treaties to serve the British government, amounted, before the mutiny of 1857, to about 32,000,* viz.:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Hyderabad (the Nizam's) auxiliary force | 8,094 |
| *Gwalior (Scindiah's contingent) | 8,401 |
| *Kotah contingent | 1,148 |
| Mysore horse (officered by natives) | 4,000 |
| Gujerat (Guicowar's) contingent | 3,756 |
| *Bhopal contingent | 829 |
| *Malwa united contingent | 1,617 |
| Malwa Bheel corps | 648 |
| *Joudpore legion | 1,246 |
| Meywar Bheel corps | 1,054 |
| Colapore local horse | 907 |
| Sawunt Waree local corps | 611 |
| Total | 32,311 |

Holkar is bound by treaty to furnish a contingent of a thousand horse, but these troops are not commanded by British officers.

Besides these regular contingents, bodies of troops have been sent in aid of the company's forces by native princes. Before Holkar was under any treaty his armies were auxiliaries. The same was the case with the kings of Oude; and now Jhung Bahadoor, the Rajah of Nepaul, is aiding the company in a form and to an extent not provided for by treaty.

The modes of admission to the company's military service are by direct appointment, and through the company's military seminary at Addiscombe, in the county of Surrey. The direct appointments are chiefly to the cavalry,

* The contingents which have mutinied are marked with an asterisk.

but such are also made to the infantry. The cadets are passed through the cadet-office of the India-house, a department under the able direction of John Hollyer, Esq., and enter the seminary, where they study for two years, keeping four terms. The age of admission is from fourteen to eighteen, but gentlemen may be candidates for direct appointments up to the age of twenty-two. The cadets at Addiscombe pay the company £100 a year each for the expenses of their education and maintenance. The additional expenses of each student are hardly met by an addition of £50 per year. The course of study is admirable. The professors are men of the highest attainments, and "apt to teach." The examinations are conducted with impartiality, and the degree of attainment developed by them is truly astonishing. The author of this History has attended examinations, and inspected, with surprise and pleasure, the military drawings and modellings of fortifications exhibited, which displayed great ability and evidence of study on the part of the pupils. Generally, on these occasions, the chairman of the court of directors presides, and of late years the Archbishop of Canterbury has frequently addressed the students. Rewards are liberally bestowed. The Pollock medal and sword are prizes eagerly contended for; and the competition is keen, victory or defeat being almost always generously and nobly borne. The friends and relatives of the pupils, and a large concourse of privileged spectators, chiefly consisting of superior officers, or civil servants of the company, are present on these occasions. The presence of men of genius, of military or legislative renown, whose names are prominent in the history of our country, is a great stimulus to the efforts of the students, although it not unfrequently represses the energy of the more shy and nervous, who may, nevertheless, be among the most highly gifted. It is an affecting sight to witness a mere youth, clad in the simple uniform of the company's cadets, retiring from the place of examination, bearing swords, medals, and other badges of honour, amidst the generous cheers of his unsuccessful competitors, and the plaudits of an auditory comprising the most famous men of the day. The author has seen more than one fine youth, who had gone through his examinations with unflinching self-possession in the face of the crowd of honoured or titled persons before him, completely subdued by his emotions in the moment of success. Whatever objections may be made to these examinations in some respects, the advantages far more than compensate them, and the scenes presented on such occasions are likely to live for ever in the memories of those young soldiers, and to prove, far off from their country, a stimulus to exertion and courage on the field of their future trials and glory. Distinguished officers of the company, whose names are known throughout all the nations of civilized man, and throughout every uncivilized nook of Southern and Central Asia, have declared to the author that they attributed to these occasions much of the stimulus which enkindled the passion for glory within them, and that these scenes remained vividly impressed upon their hearts amidst the labours, perils, and grave responsibilities of Indian warfare and Asiatic life The most proficient students are nominated to the department of engineers, and, after having left Addiscombe, proceed to Chatham for a further course of study of one year, after which they proceed to India as officers of engineers. While at Chatham, however, they draw pay from the company. The second class of proficients are nominated to the artillery, and proceed, on leaving Addiscombe, direct to India. Such as do not succeed in attaining a position in either of the first two classes, or as do not choose the engineer or artillery services, are designated to the infantry. The number of students in May, 1858, was a hundred and fifty.

The general character of the officers of the East India Company's army has equalled, if it has not surpassed, that of the officers of any other. This will especially hold good of those who have been educated at Addiscombe.

The engineers have been probably the most intelligent body of officers the world has ever seen. They all know that upon real service depends promotion, honour, and emolument, and that these advantages are sure to follow good service. A large number of this class of officers are appointed ultimately to the civil service, where, as civil administrators and civil engineers, they can be of even more use—in time of peace, at all events—than in the military department. Accustomed at Addiscombe and Chatham to habits of study, and to regard military life from an intellectual and professional point of view, rather than from one merely social, they go forth to their duties earnest and thoughtful as well as brave soldiers, and hence much of the distinction to which they have attained both as soldiers and men of science, and the reputation they have won for their country and for the particular army in which they serve. It is impossible for any one to observe the class of young men who gain at Addiscombe the appointments to the engineer service, and not predicate of them future eminence, not only in the per-

sonal distinctions to be won, but the national services to be rendered.

The artillery of the East India Company has also attained a high character for efficiency in the field. Many of its officers have studied for the engineer department, but, from health failing them, domestic troubles, slip of memory under examination, some concession to the temptations so potent with the young, or change of purpose, they have entered the artillery service instead. During the various wars in the East, when the officers of the royal artillery have served with them, they have borne a high testimony to the superior skill and soldier-like deportment and spirit of the company's artillery officers. The following extract from a letter by Sir Charles Napier to an officer of the Bengal artillery, who wrote to him from Kumaon, on the borders of Nepaul, offering certain suggestions, will show the opinion which that celebrated officer entertained of the Indian artillery service:—

*Simla, November 5th*, 1846.

I approve much your report on the state of defences in Kumaon; and though Jhung Bahadoor has told my wife in London that he loves me more than any man living, still, as lovers sometimes quarrel, I should like to be prepared for him, and your suggestions shall be pressed on the attention of government.

What you say about the deficiency and frequent change of officers with the reserve companies of artillery is but too true. I did intend, had I been able, to reform the whole system; but I am of no use—no more power have I than a lance-corporal. I believe, however, I have succeeded in moving the head-quarters of your regiment into these provinces, either to Delhi or Meerut.

I think very highly of your officers generally, but especially of the young officers. When I have found fault, I have invariably traced it to the "system," and I have vainly represented this; but pray understand that in condemning the system of the Bengal army I always say this—that the artillery I believe to be, at this moment, the first in the world.

Notwithstanding the superior education and attainments of the company's officers, defects have crept into the military system of the company which need correction, and which no doubt conduced to the unfortunate sepoy revolt of 1857. Some of those evils depend upon the general management of the army; some upon the infantry regimental system; others upon the character of the men enlisted in the native armies: and all these causes combined operate unfavourably on the efficiency of the whole service. As to the general management of the army, the chief faults appear to be the great draft of officers from the military to the civil service: not that this in itself would prove an evil, if officers, in sufficient numbers for the proper discharge of regimental service, were appointed to supply the places of those withdrawn, although even then some inconvenience would ensue, as the more intelligent and talented men are those drafted off to staff, civil, civil engineering, and political appointments. Out of this circumstance arises an incompetence on the part of regimental officers. The native officers become the instructors of their European superiors—superiors only in rank and the indomitable spirit which belongs to the British. The more intelligent officers—such as were best acquainted with the native languages—being so frequently withdrawn from regimental service, those who remained were less acquainted with the men, and with the character of the classes of natives from which the recruits were generally drawn; they were also less competent to form acquaintance with them from lingual deficiency and short residence in the country. In the Bengal army more particularly these causes operated—at all events, the relaxation of discipline was most marked in that, although, from the character of the soldiery, it required more careful attention than the armies of the other presidencies. The men were chiefly recruited in Oude, and in the upper provinces, and consisted of high caste Mohammedans and Brahmins. As a consequence, it was difficult to assign to them any duty the performance of which did not interfere with their caste; and they were far more afraid of infringing upon its obligations than upon those of the articles of war. Striking illustrations of the inconvenience of the high caste constitution of the native army, especially of Bengal, have occurred when operations at sea, or for the execution of which sea voyages were necessary, were required. On some occasions the Bengal regiments have landed in China half-starved, because the men would eat nothing cooked at sea, preferring to sustain themselves on bran and water. When, in 1858, a Bengal regiment landed in China, for service at Canton, they would not prepare their own quarters, because it was contrary to caste, and Chinese coolies had to be employed as their servants. Operations out of India were so distasteful to the native army of Bengal on this account, that there were generally symptoms of mutiny whenever they were ordered beyond the confines of India. When operating with the Bombay army in Scinde, their caste prejudices nearly created feuds between the two armies. The Bombay soldiers, being for the most part low caste men, performed various important labours assigned to them, which the Bengal soldiers considered *infra dignitate*; and not content with refusing to work themselves, they taunted the Bombay sepoys perpetually for doing so. Sometimes this had the effect of incensing the latter against their Bengal companions-in-arms, but in other

instances the Bombay men were made dissatisfied, and either grumbled as they pursued their work, which otherwise would have been cheerfully performed, or threw it up with a disposition to mutiny. In the Punjaub similar indications were offered of the general bad spirit of the Bengal sepoys, and the chronic interference of caste prejudices with the performance of their soldierly duties. In Affghanistan the cold of the country during the winter rendered impossible those ablutions which form a part of the daily religious ceremonial of the Brahmin, and by neglecting which he considered himself deprived of caste, and deprived of it by the action of the government who sent him there. When the cold became intense, some of the officers, pitying the sufferings of men inured to a warm climate, gave sheepskin jackets to them. The necessities of the occasion constrained them to wear them, but they were filled with indignation at the officers who distributed them, although of their own bounty, and regarded the government as untrue to them for placing them in a condition which tempted them to wear the skin of dead animals, and so lose caste. When these troops came back from Affghanistan they were regarded with horror by their brother soldiers and co-religionists; among civilians as men without caste—worse spiritually and temporally than if they had never known caste—men who had refused to perish rather than violate their religion; and the people considered them like certain apostates described in the New Testament—"twice dead, plucked out by the roots." This circumstance spread more or less disaffection through the whole Bengal army, and the high caste men lived in perpetual apprehension of being ordered to some new field of enterprise, where caste must be sacrificed to military duty, or they themselves become victims to military rigour. Undoubtedly the terms upon which these men enlisted were that their caste should be respected. Whether it was expedient to take men on such terms or not, these were the conditions upon which they enlisted, and they were jealous to the last degree of any infringement of them. That the government, and particular officers more especially, were not considerate of this stern bond there can be no question. The greased cartridges alone proved that. Nothing can be better known than that the Mohammedan has a conscientious scruple against the flesh of swine, and that the flesh of kine is abhorrent to the Hindoo. The cartridges for the Minié rifles were greased with preparations of fat from both. As soon as the soldiers came to know the fact, they became, in their own conscience, justified in revolt against a government which had betrayed them, violated its covenant, and inflicted upon them the greatest injury in their opinion possible—a deprivation of their ceremonial sanctity, their religious and social status, and their hope of a happy hereafter. The withdrawal of the cartridges, and the proclamations of the government, all came too late. The soldiery no longer believed in the government, and the severe means adopted to put down the first discontent fanned the flame of sedition. The imprisonment and severe treatment of the cavalry at Meerut in a cause which made them martyrs in the eyes of their fellow-soldiers precipitated an aggravated revolt. The whole course of procedure on the part of the officers of the government, civil and military, appeared to be infatuated. They were either unaware of the extent and depth of the high caste prejudice, or conscience, as one may call it, in reference to ceremonial uncleanness, or, knowingly, they adopted means most calculated to aggravate the passion which their provoking measures had excited. It was wrong to order high caste sepoys beyond Indian territory, where, in the nature of things, caste must be compromised. It was wrong to grease cartridges with cows' or pigs' fat, or in any other way wound prejudices or convictions which the government was pledged to respect. If it be said that the government was compelled to do these things by the necessities of the cases, the defence admits that the covenant ostensibly made with the high caste soldiers was *ab initio* improper; that such men were unsuited to the British Indian army; and that, however well they served in some instances, it was an error to employ them while a man could be obtained from any other quarter. Either such men ought not to have been recruited, or, having been recruited, faith should have been kept with them and their caste in all its inconveniences and its absurdities, and military incongruities should have been scrupulously and honourably respected.

Among the causes of inefficiency in the native army was that of too much confidence in native officers, whose sympathies were always with the high caste sepoys: and the Mohammedan officers were ever jealous of British ascendancy. Both to officers and men promotion has been extended too late in life. When the energies of men were gone, they were appointed to posts the duties of which they were not then able to discharge. There was too much respect for the seniority principle in the whole military administration of the company, and too much—perhaps unconsciously—of the bias of the aristocratic principle among our officers in the preference

for high castes evinced in the selection of the soldiery.

Some of the evils here stated were seen by the late Sir Charles Napier, and led to the resignation of his high officers in India. That general was very unsparing in his censures, as well as sometimes lavish in his encomiums, and much allowance must be made for his characteristic strength of expression when perusing his opinions. Sir Charles, in a letter to an artillery officer, thus expressed his opinion of the condition of the army, and the causes of whatever inefficiency he perceived in it:—"Delhi is the station where I should desire to see European battalions cantoned, but many say it is unhealthy. Men from all parts of Asia meet in Delhi, and some day or other much mischief will be hatched within those city walls, and no European troops at hand. We shall see. I have no confidence in the allegiance of your high caste mercenaries. I have seen a 'sweeper' show more bravery in battle than a Brahmin and a high-named Mussulman. A high caste man cannot be attached to a Christian government. There are many errors of system which a commander-in-chief sees, but cannot change. The governor-general takes two-thirds of the power which the commander-in-chief ought to exercise, and the military board takes the rest! I cannot change the character of this army, which is bad and faulty as regards the system of discipline, and therefore I resign. Many of the old officers of infantry have been habituated to a bad system, and get into a routine of neglect from which the devil himself could not drive them. Look at the nightly guards in the Bengal army—the sentries are alone, and all the rest go to bed! The whole Bombay army does not present such anomaly, and it arises from the 'system' being bad. Still there are several very excellent disciplinarians in the Bengal army—men who take a line for themselves. Look at Gilbert, at Wheeler, at Huish, and a score of others. In the regiment of artillery I myself know at least a dozen first-rate officers. The Bengal army has no want of good officers, but it has want of a better system of discipline; and as I cannot introduce one, coupled with other causes, I have resigned. Lord Ellenborough wisely abolished Lord Auckland's injudicious system of 'politicals.' Young officers commanding old ones, and war carried on without any plan! A happy-go-lucky mode, which ended in Cabul, and the same system revised by Lord D——." It would appear either that Sir Charles was not always consistent in practice with his opinion, or else he found the necessities of his situation strong enough to overrule them, for he is said to have preferred military men to civilians for political, and even strictly civil, employments, when his own administrative functions gave him the opportunity of making selection. Mr. Thomas Campbell Robertson, late a member of the supreme council of India, and lieutenant-governor of the north-western provinces, declares that no person so largely used the power of appointing military officers for civil purposes as Sir Charles Napier himself. On this subject Mr. Robertson, with great show of reason, remarks:—"The practice of thus draining the army of its cleverest members has certainly been carried too far, but it was the encouragement afforded by the prospect of such advancement that made Malcolm and others what they were, by stimulating them to qualify themselves for the highest political offices. The evil, too, it must be remembered, is not one inherent in the system, but might at any time have been corrected by each successive governor-general, if he had perceived the mischief now alleged to have thence resulted. But, in truth, no Indian ruler, when he wants aid in the management of a newly-acquired territory, can resist the temptation to employ the fittest available person he can find; and this will generally be a military man, because the civil service has few hands to spare from the duties of the original settled provinces of our empire. No man in this way did the thing against which he wrote more than the late Sir Charles Napier, who not only drew military men from their regiments to act in civil capacities, but drove away six of the ablest civilians who were sent to his assistance in Scinde. The practice, if it be an evil, is only one of the many attendant on the too rapid growth of our empire; and it would probably be best corrected, not by debarring young military men from all hope of political promotion, and so preventing the development of much latent talent, but by rendering the command of a battalion so lucrative and attractive, as to induce the juniors to remain with their regiments, in the hope of attaining to that post. But it is not so much on the number as on the character and capacity of the English officers present with a sepoy battalion that its efficiency depends. In former times, when the attachment between them was at its height, the officers were, we believe, fewer in proportion to the men than they are now; but then they were almost all good colloquial linguists, or in the way of becoming so; and though somewhat wanting in the graces of European society, had obtained an insight into the social system of Asiatic life, such as their more accomplished successors seem to think it beneath them to

acquire. The sepoy officer of the present day, equal to his predecessor in courage and conduct in the field, and generally his superior in book knowledge, in manners, and perhaps in morals, falls far short of him in point of real acquaintance with those under his command. This defect, though in some degree imputable to the system which makes escape from his regiment the great object of every young officer's ambition, is still mainly attributable to the increased facilities of intercourse with England. Young men who are frequently refreshing their acquaintance with their mother country cannot settle down to India as their home in the same way as was done in the bygone days, ere steam was known, and a return to England was looked forward to as a remote and barely possible contingency. Tastes acquired in Europe do not readily conform to exclusively Asiatic pursuits: the native nautch is more than insipid when the opera lives in recent recollection; and thus there is no community, even of amusement, to bring the European and the native officers into something like social intercourse with each other. It is impossible here to conceal the fact that the increased number of our fair countrywomen in the East has probably made the separation between those classes wider than it was before. It is alleged, we know not with what truth,—but it is alleged by natives, that their best friends among European functionaries are lost to them from the moment of their marriage; and they generally impute the colder reception they meet with at any but business hours to the influence of the lady of the house." *

The gentleman last quoted, although an advocate of the East India Company, has conceded that laxity of discipline had inflicted injury upon the Bengal army, and admits the full force of the statement made on a previous page—that making the sepoy liable to serve beyond India was one of the most fruitful sources of disaffection in the native army, preparing the minds of the sepoys for being more speedily and intensely acted upon by the advent of the cartridge question. "In so far, therefore, as mere discipline is concerned, there, perhaps, is some truth in the assertion that the sepoy has been over-leniently dealt with at times when there was a call for rigour; but, as regards his scruples of caste, it can only mean that the government have adhered to the conditions on which the high caste men have entered its service. One of the first of these stipulations is that of not being obliged to embark. When service beyond the sea was in prospect, volunteers were ever to be found for the duty. Certain regiments, called 'general service battalions,' were raised, upon an understanding that they were to embark when required. Of late years it has been ordered that all recruits are to be enlisted on this understanding. This order practically excludes the relations of half the men in an old regiment—men who served as much in the hope of being able to push on their kinsfolk as to advance themselves. This order, therefore, savoured of bad faith, and must have tended to add strength to the distrust of our designs, which, however engendered, was, during this period, excited by the malevolence of the native and the extravagance of the European press, until at last 'the cartridge' appeared, with its alleged pigs' and cows' fat, to cement the union of the two classes of our subjects against us." It is worthy of remark that the issue of the greased cartridges was not the order of the East India Company, but of the crown. The company's officers, civil or military, would have known too well the certain effect of such a procedure to issue any such order. It emanated, like many other orders of late years, in the disposition to act irrespective of the company, or to overrule it, which has been shown by governors-general and the Board of Control. It will illustrate the spirit with which the board has ruled India to state the exercise of its patronage in reference to cadets. The appointments by the directors have been distributed among all ranks of the middle classes in England, more particularly among the sons of professional men; but the directors have ever kept in view, as the chief objects of their patronage, the sons of those who served India or served in India. The cadetships given by the board have been chiefly to the sons of *queen's* officers, clergymen, and of persons who could easily purchase into the queen's service. No one can be acquainted with the facts without being well aware that the influence of the imperial government, as distinguished from that of the company, has been injurious to the Indian army.

Major-general John Jacob, of the Bombay army, has published a series of tractates on the deficiencies of the Bengal army before the mutiny had destroyed it. These were entitled, *Tracts on the Native Army of India.* He affirmed that the Bengal army was without order; that its officers were incapable generally of enforcing it; and that their treatment of the men rendered discipline impossible. The general is so high an authority, that his exact words will no doubt be preferred by the reader:—"The officers of the Bengal army are formed exactly of the same materials as those of the other armies of India;

* *Political Prospects of British India.*

their native soldiers of material in its raw state perhaps somewhat better than that of the others; but from the hour he enters the service, the Bengal officer *is trained to sink the European, and adopt the Asiatic.* In the Bombay army the 'feeble Hindoo' becomes half European, and adopts the feelings and ideas of Europeans, as far as they refer to his position as a soldier, till they become his own. In Bengal the European becomes half Hindoo, and thus the commanding influence of superior energy and superior moral character (I deny any superiority of intellect) is in a great measure lost. This pervades the whole society in Bengal, but its effects are most glaringly apparent in the army. In the Bengal army there is a constant studying of the men's *castes*, which the EUROPEAN APPEARS TO THINK AS MUCH OF, AND TO ESTEEM AS HIGHLY, AS DO THE NATIVES THEMSELVES; and the sepoys, instead of looking on the European officers as superior beings, are compelled to consider them as bad Hindoos! Instead of being taught to pride themselves on their *soldiership* and discipline, the sepoys are trained to pride themselves on their absurdities of caste, and think that their power and value are best shown by refusing to obey any orders which they please to say do not accord with their religious prejudices. It is a grave mistake to suppose that religious feelings have any real influence on these occasions; it is a mistake, which would be ridiculous, if its consequences were not so serious; but it is certain that the Bengal sepoy is a stickler for his imaginary *rights of caste* for the *sake of increased power;* he knows well that government never intended any insult to his creed, however absurd it may be; but he knows that by crying out about his caste, he keeps power in his hands, saves himself from many of the hardships of the service, and makes his officers afraid of him. This is proved by what takes place in the other armies of India. In the army of Bombay, even a Purwarree may, and often does, rise to the rank of subadar by his own merit; in Bengal such a man would not even be admitted into the ranks, for fear of his contaminating those fine gentlemen, the Brahmins; yet in the Bombay army the Brahmin (father, brother, or son, may be, of him of Bengal) stands shoulder to shoulder in the ranks—nay, sleeps in the same tent with his Purwarree fellow-soldier, and dreams not of any objection to the arrangement! If this subject be mentioned to a Bombay Brahmin sepoy, as it is sometimes by *Bengal* officers, who are always asking the men about their caste, the ready answer is, 'What do I care; is he not a soldier of the state?' The reply speaks volumes, and shows a state of affairs which the officers of the Bengal army *cannot conceive.* The system of promotion in the Bengal army is exactly in keeping with the principle of the immutability of caste. No individual merit can advance, no individual incapacity nor misconduct (unless actually criminal) can retard the promotion of the Bengal sepoy—seniority alone is considered. What is the consequence? The men, not feeling that their prospects of advancement in the service depend on the favourable opinions of their European officers, want the most powerful stimulus to good conduct. They are never disciplined (as I understand the word), are often mutinous, and never acquire the knowledge of their profession which may qualify them to hold commissions with advantage to the service. The Bengal native officers are always totally inefficient, and necessarily so under the present system, because they are chosen without any regard whatever to their fitness to hold commissions, and because they are almost always worn out with age before they receive them." This general statement of the inefficiency of the Bengal troops has been controverted by numerous officers of that army. Perhaps the keenest and most plausible of the general's opponents is Colonel Phipps, who has given some striking instances of the courage and discipline of Bengal regiments, not only in India, but in Egypt, the Punjaub, Affghanistan, &c. The colonel wrote early in September, 1857, declaring that only such regiments as were badly officered would revolt. It was not then known that the whole Bengal army was in mutiny, and the colonel evidently did not believe that the revolt had extended so widely as the news from India informed us. His statements, however, proved either that the Bengal army was badly commanded altogether, or that it had deteriorated since he was more conversant with it, for on his own showing events rather confirmed his opponent's allegations.

The opinion of General Jacob that no real alarm for their religion actuated the Brahminical and high Mussulman army of Bengal in revolting, but only a desire for power, is not borne out by the facts, nor the observation and testimony of those who were in the midst of the transactions themselves, and whose opportunities of knowing were the very best. Thus the late Mr. Colvin, the lieutenant-governor of the north-west provinces, in a letter dated 22nd May, after noticing his own address to the troops on parade at Agra, adds the following remarks:—"They all at the moment expressed their belief of my communications to them; and I have seen them

in a familiar way on several occasions since. They have undoubtedly been infected by a deep distrust of our purposes. The general scope of the notion by which they have been influenced may be expressed in the remarks of one of them, a Hindoo, Tewarree Brahmin, to the effect that men were created of different faiths; and that the notion attributed to us, of having but one religion, because we had now but one uninterrupted dominion throughout India, was a tyrannical and impious one."

Mr. F. H. Robinson, of the Bengal civil service, describes himself as having been obliged to communicate to an old retired officer of Gardiner's horse, and to a Mohammedan of rank, matters calculated to hurt their religious feelings, when he was startled by the manner in which his communication was received, indicating the loss of respect for the British authorities, and a sense of injury resulting from what was regarded as change of policy, and consequent breach of faith on the part of the government:—"I shall never forget the looks of mortification, anger, and, at first, of incredulity, with which this announcement was received by both, nor the bitter irony with which the old russuldar remarked, that no doubt the wisdom of the *new gentlemen* (*sahibilogue*, so they designate the English) had shown them the folly and ignorance of the gentlemen of the old time, on whom it pleased God, nevertheless, to bestow the government of India." It may be true that a love of power was the main element in the high caste disposition to mutiny some years ago, but beginning to deceive others, Brahmins and Mussulmen seem to have at last deceived themselves, for undoubtedly the feeling of the revolters has been made as plain as anything can be, and it is one of intense and desperate fanaticism. However Mohammedan princes, Brahminical priests, and all sorts of devotees, may have intensified or even created the feeling, it exists. The native press did much to call it forth, fulfilling the predictions of Sir Thomas Munro. But, whatever way accounted for, the sepoys became thoroughly convinced that their best interests for time and eternity were endangered by the zealotry of the English, and they therefore set their lives against fearful odds, revolting where there was no chance of success, and where destruction was so imminent, as to be, humanely speaking, certain. So far General Jacob is wrong, whatever may have been the circumstances which, in the constitution of the Bombay army, or of the Scinde horse, may have emboldened him to adopt the line of strong assertion upon which he has ventured. It is, however, more than probable that had the Bengal sepoys been dealt with *originally* upon the plan which the general affirms to be the only wise one, no revolt would have ever taken place. General Jacob maintains that the paucity of officers in regiments in no way relaxed the discipline of the Bengal army. He even goes so far as to maintain that native subalterns are always better, and that if companies and troops were commanded by native officers, it would be an improvement, the staff of each regiment being Europeans. Whatever be the merits of that and other matters of detail, the following picture of the Bengal army, drawn by General Jacob years ago, accounts sufficiently for the mutiny, and proves the necessity of reconstituting the army of Bengal upon different principles:—"I repeat that the ordinary state of the Bengal army is such as must appear to an officer of the royal or of the Bombay army to be a state of *mutiny*. The men are *not* taught and trained instinctively to obey orders, and even the European officers are afraid of them. This is not wholly the fault of the regimental officers of Bengal. The evil is produced and perpetuated by the false ideas formed from the first moment a young officer enters the service in the school of errors, which the native army of Bengal is at present; and by the fatal effects of taking all power from regimental officers and concentrating it at army head-quarters, thus producing an artificial sameness of dull stagnation, instead of encouraging the natural uniformity of progressive improvement. In the Bombay army, on the contrary, the native officer is invaluable, and his authority is respected, though he be the lowest of the low in caste; because the practice in Bombay is for the European officers to make the Hindoos *soldiers;* instead of, as in Bengal, the sepoys making the European officers half Hindoos. There is more danger to our Indian empire from the state of the Bengal army, from the feeling which there exists between the native and the European, and thence spreads throughout the length and breadth of the land, than from all other causes combined. Let government look to this; it is a serious and most important truth. The commanding officer of a regiment, with increased power and respectability of position, would feel increased pride in the service; he would do his own duty and make all under him do theirs. At present he has so little power to do good, that in the Bengal army he too often becomes careless of doing evil. The prospects of all under him depending on their own individual merit, a healthy state of mutual support and assistance would soon be established, and no further complaints of the want of a cordial good feeling between the officers and men would

be heard. A discipline founded on mutual respect and advantage cannot fail of success. Without it no number of European officers would suffice to make decent soldiers of the sepoys of Bengal." These are indeed remarkable words, and as they were written long before the breaking out of the Bengal mutiny, they were the expression of no afterthought. It is astonishing how the authorities of the Bengal military service, the governor-general in council, and the directors at home can be indifferent to facts like these. It would, however, be absurd to throw the entire responsibility upon the directors, seeing that the Bengal system was petted by the representatives of her majesty in India—high caste sepoys were the vogue with high caste Europeans, and with none more than those whose duty it was most of all to correct these evils. The late Lord Hardinge had much to answer for in this respect; as governor-general of India, and subsequently as commander-in-chief of the forces in England, his opportunities of promoting amendments were great, and he saw and admitted all the evils. He was not, however, the man who, for the sake of the justice of a cause, would incur the odium of measures unwelcome to those in power; while for good or ill, he stood, with all the tenacity of an inveterate conservative, obstinately in the old ways. But he fell in with the general spirit of governors-general, whose motto has been always in things civil, and to a great extent in things military, "Assimilate with the practice in Bengal." That standard is not likely to be again held up for conformity, and it is yet too early to affirm what will be the new organization of the army of Bengal—perhaps of the army of all India. Dr. Buist, one of the most distinguished scholars and public men in Bombay, has made the following remarks upon this subject, which have been much noticed both in India and in England:—"We never can again have a military force in India in which we cannot confide, which we cannot bring ourselves to trust, or teach our enemies to fear. The extent to which our regular troops were in former days employed in police and escort duties was in the last degree injurious to discipline, while the very rigidness of the discipline and rigours of the forms required for a regular army, unfitted its components for those light and irregular duties where self-reliance, prompt and independent action, are so much more important than the formalities of the line, which not unfrequently stand in their way. The duties of defending our frontiers, of chastising our enemies, and of maintaining order and suppressing or detecting crime among the people, have no more connexion with each other than this,—that in both cases physical force must be resorted to; in both cases men must have arms committed to their hands, with authority to use them. Yet, for all the great purposes of external defence, half the army until now entertained by us would have sufficed, had the deficiency been made up by police. For this last branch of service the native must always be fallen back upon. He may be made much more useful even than the European, and quite as safe. The sepoy mutiny could never have ripened into insurrection but for the acquaintance of the various corps with each other, the community of their feelings and interests, the identity of their discipline, and the frequency with which they had served together. A police corps is necessarily a local and an isolated thing. Were the ghaut-rangers to fly to arms, there is no reason whatever why any of the adjoining local corps should sympathize, co-operate with, or join them—very many reasons why it should be the opposite. The knowledge of the fact is quite sufficient to prevent a rising. Were it otherwise, we should just have lost the services of a single insubordinate body, which would be at once exterminated, and there at an end. With sufficient abundance of police corps there seems no difficulty whatever of our keeping India in perpetuity with an army exclusively English, or of maintaining English troops in reasonable good health, fit at all times for service, and without any inordinate amount of casualties, everywhere throughout the country." *

However much disposed to place confidence in the opinions of such a man as the editor of the *Overland Standard*, it is impossible to believe that any arrangements in respect to recruiting in England, or systems of European reliefs, can remove the necessity of trusting in a great measure to native troops. If the government enlist only such men as will serve without any stipulations as to caste, they will be found in sufficient numbers.

The high praise of low caste men written by Sir Charles Napier has been qualified by General Jacob, who admits that the raw material of the recruits from Oude and the north-western provinces is superior to that of which the Bombay army is composed. Colonel Phipps describes the Bombay regiments sent to Egypt as incapable of serving, because of their physical inferiority. The high commendations passed upon that army were not borne out in the revolt of 1857, for several regiments revolted when brought into temptation, so that the authorities could not venture to make very efficient use of that army

* Dr. Buist's *Overland Bombay Standard*.

until towards the close of the revolt. The Madras army, upon which the eccentric panegyrist passed no encomiums, bore the test better than that of Bombay.

In the future military system of India, all these circumstances must be taken into consideration. In the case of Madras it will be best to "let well alone," and, by leaving the constitution of that army untouched, it will be an instructive lesson to the sepoys in the other presidencies, and to the natives of India generally, showing them that there is no disposition on the part of the government either to needless retaliation or unreasonable distrust.

The Bombay army should be modified. It is easy to enlist recruits from the Belochee, Huzzara, and Affghan hill frontiers, from the doabs of the Punjaub, and from Scinde. A few Rajpoots might also be employed, and also a few native Christians, provided they are not taken from the wretched half-caste Portuguese. In the Island of Ceylon recruits could be found, and, provided they were not taken from the Cingalese who inhabit the low country, but from the inhabitants of the higher inland regions, and especially the neighbourhood of the ancient capital, they would be found good soldiers. The Moormen of Ceylon, although bigoted Mohammedans, would also serve well as soldiers; but they are such a money-loving and trading race, that there would be no likelihood of their enlisting in any considerable numbers. Arabs might also be employed in Bombay.

The Bengal native army should be reorganized chiefly from Sikhs; a few Malays, Dyaks, Peguans, Arracanese, Martabanese, and even Siamese and Birmese, might be numbered among them. Separate companies of these nationalities could be easily attached to the infantry battalions, and would make good soldiers; as cavalry they would be useless. The Bengal artillery might also receive recruits from some of these races. There is no deficiency of material for an army in Bengal composed of orientals who have soldierly qualities, and would be faithful. A better army could be organized from the heterogeneous materials here named than ever existed in the homogeneous high caste troops of the Bengal service. Considerable attention has been paid to the question whether our Cape Colony would not furnish suitable recruits. The Caffres certainly appear well adapted to the service; the Ceylon rifle regiment is composed of them. They perform garrison duty in that island admirably; and when they served in Madras they displayed spirit and soldierhood. An Indian journal of influence advocates this measure in the following forcible terms:—"The recent proposition to raise Caffre regiments for service in India is, without doubt, a most excellent one. The men of the Cape—brave, acute, and the best light infantry soldiers in the world—appear to us likely to supersede the untrustworthy sepoy to the greatest advantage. Their manner of warfare, their being equally at home in the dodging of bush or jungle-fighting, in which the keen sight and the unerring rifle decide the fate of the day, and in the deadly hand-to-hand struggle, in which personal strength and courage are of the greatest value; their sagacity, endurance, and habitude to the extremes of heat and cold,—all combine to render them the fitter for our purpose. The Caffre is a barbarian, it is true, but he is in that primitive state of barbarism in which mankind, together with the natural vices inseparable from a wild state, combine all the manly virtues; and we look upon him as far higher in the scale of humanity than the besotted and degraded Hindoo, sunk in effeminacy, cowardly and cruel as the tiger of his jungles, and clinging pertinaciously to the most horrible superstitions that were ever imposed upon the credulity of an ignorant nation by a designing priesthood. Think, too, of the moral effect which the introduction of this new race would produce throughout India;—a race as black as ebony, laughing to scorn the very name of caste (that bugbear of our government), and in all probability anointing their sinewy bodies with the fat of sacred bulls in front of the temples of Vishnu. The power of the natives of India has always lain in the fact of our depending upon native soldiers to garrison the country. Let every sepoy be disarmed and dismissed; let a native soldier become completely one of the things that were and are not, and we can do what we please without reference to caste or any foolery of that description. To effect this, the Caffre must be well treated, well fed, and well paid, but, above all, taught to consider himself far superior to the crouching slaves over whom he is to be the guard. But it will be urged, 'Suppose the Caffres mutiny; what then?' This is easily obviated: make the return to his own country, a wealthy and prosperous man, the clear prospect of the Caffre at the end of his term of service, and we warrant he will serve you faithfully. Avarice is one of their ruling passions; frugality a national characteristic. Give our savage auxiliary his fill of beef, together with a constant supply of tobacco for his pipe, and he is content. Of course they must be officered by Europeans, and reduced to a state of discipline; but this

is easy to effect. It is our province to point out the advantage of the measure, and the benefits to result from its adoption, not to enter into details as to how it is to be effected." *

The employment of Caffres, or any other aliens, in Madras would be impolitic after the loyalty evinced by the Madras army; and if the armies of the sister presidencies be well constituted, modified by the introduction of new elements, and aided by a sufficient force of Europeans, especially in Bengal, there can be nothing to fear from Madras, flanked as she will be by newly constituted armies on her eastern and western confines, skirted by the waters of the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea, and the apex of her peninsula confronted by Ceylon, where a reserve of Caffre troops might always be held available. Independent of these grounds for rejecting apprehensions as to the future peace of Madras, the conduct of the army of that presidency during the revolt gives such promise of future loyalty as to deserve confidence. Officers of that army—men of high culture and extensive military experience—assured the author at the beginning of the great mutiny, that distrust pervaded the minds of officers who before had the most implicit confidence in their troops. The proportion of Mohammedans among the Madras sepoys, and the state of fanaticism in which the Mohammedan sepoys at that time appeared, very reasonably impaired the faith of these gentlemen in the fidelity of soldiers they had so long relied on. Events have shown that the organization of that force, and the relation of officers and men, have been such as to preserve the attachment of the troops to their commanders, and their fealty to the government. The following sketch of the spirit of that army was published in February, 1858, ostensibly by the Sheik Kirdawund, Madras army:—"From the 10th of May until the 10th of November, 1857, a period of upwards of six months, the Madras army passed through the terrible crisis which shipwrecked one army, and sorely tried, and in some measure overcame, the fidelity of another; and out of nearly fifty thousand of native troops not one man was punished for mutiny. On the contrary, wherever called upon to act against the mutineers, they did so faithfully and courageously. Nearly half the infantry regiments, and of the sappers and artillery, volunteered to cross the *kale pane* to act against the rebels, and the other half are ready to go there, or to China, Singapore, Birmah, or wherever else the necessities of the state require their services. Indeed, portions of the 12th, 38th, and 29th regiments are now with the China force. The Straits settlements and China have been entirely confided to the safe keeping of Madras regiments, with only a wing of a European corps to aid them at Rangoon. The 17th and 27th, with native artillery and sappers, are by this time with Sir Colin at Oude, whilst the Madras Rifles are being pushed up towards the same destination. Nagpore, Ramptree, Jubbulpore, and Hoosungabad, in Central India, have been saved by the 26th, 28th, 32nd, and 33rd regiments, nobly aided by the 4th light cavalry, to aid whom, and re-establish order round Saugor, &c., the 6th and 7th light cavalry regiments have been pushed forward in the height of the monsoon, and have by this time reached their destination. Nor is this all: to the eternal honour of the men be it recorded, that, although poor, from their frequent marches and changes of quarters, they repeatedly volunteered a day's pay for the assistance of 'their masters,' the 'sahibs' of Bengal. Whenever Bengal sepoys have been found in the bazaars or public thoroughfares of the presidency our men have instantly brought them before their officers or the civil power, and in several instances where Brahmins or religious fanatics have tampered with sepoys they have been denounced. . . . . What is the cause of the coast army remaining so entirely faithful during a crisis which no one out of India, during the period it lasted, can ever appreciate or fully understand—when the empire was shaken to its foundations—when emissaries from Delhi, Lucknow, and every discontented chief throughout the length and breadth of the land, were entering our cities and cantonments, and preaching a crusade against the 'infidel Feringhee,' and promising rewards, titles, jagheers, &c., to all who should assist in the holy cause? It is a matter for deep reflection, and the conclusion to be arrived at cannot vary much from what I now attribute it to—viz., the strict discipline, coupled with the lowness of caste generally, among our Hindoo sepoys: I say Hindoo, for all Mohammedans in our army are alike. We have none of those distinctions so common in the irregulars before Delhi and in the Punjaub, where one Mussulman with great pleasure cuts the throat of another for a monthly consideration of twelve shillings! Affreedees, Persians, Affghans, Beloochees, and Pathans. Our Mussulmen, such as they are, in the infantry branch of the service are in the proportion of one in three, whilst in the Bengal army they number only one in seven. We have Syuds, Sheiks, Pathans—the two latter much mixed up now-a-days; and whilst this revolt is called a Mohammedan one, not one Mohammedan out of our twenty thousand

* *Bombay Telegraph and Courier.*

in the infantry, cavalry, and artillery, has shown a symptom of disaffection. I do not believe either that the Mohammedans of Bengal would, even if they could, have organized this conspiracy in the army. They were greatly in the minority, especially in the infantry, and they had but little influence at any time. The mischief lay with the Brahmins, and them only, until they had gained over the Mohammedans, Chuttrees, and Sikhs, the latter, however, in very few numbers. In my own regiment we rejoiced in only one Brahmin (some few years ago), a Mr. Caseram Pandy, who was certainly the greatest blackguard in the corps, and enjoyed more knapsack drill than was good for him, I fear, for he was always going into hospital with pain in the chest! Since that time I find we have admitted another. With reference to the published returns of castes, I may mention that the figures under the head of 'Brahmins and Rajpoots' represent almost entirely the latter class of men in the Madras army. It has been stated repeatedly that each Bengal corps had from five to six hundred Brahmins and Chuttrees in it. An average taken in three of the Bombay regiments is three hundred and fourteen; whilst two of the Madras corps number only forty-eight and twenty-eight of these castes respectively. Herein, then, lies the secret of our success; to this, principally, we are indebted for tranquillity. There never has been any undue respect paid to 'caste' in recruiting for our army; if Brahmins and Chuttrees chose to enlist, they met with the same treatment as the Pariah, the Telinga, or the Tamiel sepoy; they have invariably given themselves airs, and; going on foreign service, have talked much about their caste, but my invariable practice was to take no notice of their absurd pretensions. . . . . When on duty the men neglect the usual ablutions before a meal. Not so in Bengal; off comes not only belts but uniform, and in a state as nearly approaching to nakedness as possible, and generally far away from the guard, the meal is cooked by themselves, and disposed of. If the shadow of an officer or low caste man falls on their food, they throw it away! When I called on General Godwin, in Rangoon, a havildar of my corps came up to me, and reported that the general, seeing him lying down on his carpet in uniform (our invariable rule for orderlies), had asked him why he did not take off his regimentals, and make himself more comfortable! I simply asked, 'Well! what was your reply?' He said, 'I told the general I belonged to the Madras — regiment, that it was not our custom, and that I should be punished if seen by any of the officers.' To which he added, 'The general bade me do as I liked.' When my corps was ordered to embark for ——, the subadar-major was deputed by the men to inquire of me whether I was certain that good water was on board for their use, and they were perfectly satisfied when I assured them I had tasted it, and that it was much better than what they usually drank on the march. When we arrived at our destination a Bengal corps had to be embarked, and the men insisted on the captain's starting the water out of his tanks, and allowing them to refill them with their own immaculate hands! This was done: the ships were delayed for the purpose! The sepoys filled large casks, rolled them down to the boats upwards of a mile, when they were towed astern of the boats to the steamers, and put on board; but when the men, out at sea, came to drink this pure and undefiled element, great was their consternation to find it horribly brackish! The casks in transit had let in the salt water! During another trip on board the *Oriental*, our men, towards the end of the voyage, were served out water which was quite hot. They told me it made them sick unless they kept it in their tins until it became cold! I inquired, and sure enough it was so. The steam was condensed, and the supply barely kept up with the demand! I explained the matter to the sepoys, showing them, with the aid of a good-natured officer of the vessel, how fresh water was being made out of salt! They were thunderstruck, and declared the *hickmut* (invention) was worth going a voyage to see, and that there was no knowing where the English people's cleverness would end: it was their private opinion for some time after that we might, if we tried, dry up the sea. 'Allah only can tell.' The Madras troops, to a man, on the line of march, drink water from leathern bags. The high caste Bengalese would not condescend to wash their feet in it! Sir Charles Napier tells us that the Bengal sepoys are two inches taller than British soldiers of the line. What their average may be I know not, but I believe our corps are very much the same height as the line. We average from five feet seven inches to five feet eight inches in different regiments of which I possess size rolls; and some companies of sappers average only five feet six inches, and of these little fellows Lord Gough in China, Napier in Scinde, Godwin in Birmah, and, lastly and very recently, Outram in Persia, have formed the most gratifying opinion. Some of them are now in Oude, others with the Malwa field force, and I shall be surprised if they do not again win golden opinions from those they serve under. They are generally considered to be very low caste, but this is not quite

correct; there may be a sprinkling of Pariah cook-boys, but the generality of them differ in no way from the infantry, save in greater muscle, the result of their daily labour as sappers. So long ago as the first China war Lord Gough exclaimed, 'These Bengal volunteers give more trouble than all the rest of the army!' (in those days the fleet was carrying a large force, including five Madras native regiments). And why was this? Because their caste required that they should land, perform their ablutions, and then eat, whilst the rest could cook on board ship, and enjoy their fish curry there as much as if they were on land. In Birmah Madras sepoys were employed in draining forts; and one occasion Lieutenant W——, the executive engineer, begged me to come with him to set the men of my regiment at work, 'as he was afraid they might refuse him.' The work required was really that of scavengers—viz., clearing out a choked up culvert under the fort walls. The stench was fearful, but the work was as necessary for the health of the troops themselves as it was for that of the Europeans, and, with nothing worse than a wry face and much laughter, these fellows did the work in two days. I was greatly gratified to hear sometime afterwards, from an officer of the Bengal engineers, that Lieutenant W—— had reported to him the good conduct of the sepoys, adding 'that they worked every bit as well as Europeans!' To make the Madras army still more efficient and attached to their officers but one thing is required—viz., the bestowal of greater powers on the commanding officers of corps, and less interference at head-quarters, to which may be added, perhaps, a small quantity of red tape! I will give only one instance of undue interference, which, if continued in, would ruin any native army. A Mohammedan sepoy was tried by a native court-martial, convicted, and sentenced to dismissal for gross insolence and insubordination in the orderly room. He was dismissed; the proceedings were quite formal,—approved and countersigned from head-quarters,—and the man was expelled the regiment. He happened some time afterwards to be at Bangalore, where the commander-in-chief was staying, and, I suppose, by perpetual annoyance and petitions to the gallant old soldier, he succeeded in creating a feeling of pity. However that may be, it resulted in an order for his restoration! He was restored, and a more ill-conditioned brute never handled a musket. Cunning enough to keep himself clear of further courts, he succeeded in ridiculing, with others, his commanding officer."

Whatever confidence may be placed in the Madras army as it is, or in the Bombay army modified both as to its constitution and composition, it is evident that a considerably increased European force will be necessary for the occupation of Bengal and the north-west provinces, although much of the duty of these territories may be committed to Sikhs, Goorkhas, Beloochees, and that mixed class which may be so readily raised along the Scinde frontier and the country of the Indus. Amongst the various plans put forth as likely to prove effective, there has been none so feasible as that of sending European regiments by the overland route to Kurrachee, whence, by the steam flotilla on the Indus, or the new railway, they could proceed at once to Shikapore, Hydrabad, Lahore, Umritsir, Peshawur, and other posts in the north and north-west of India. Becoming there gradually acclimated, they could descend to the north-west provinces, and, by way of the lower provinces, to Calcutta, sailing thence for the Cape of Good Hope and other colonies, or returning home by the overland journey, having served *en route* at Madras, Ceylon, and Bombay. By this means regiments need not remain too long in India, which has been one of the chief objections to service there, not only because of the difficulty of furloughs from such distant parts, and the expense attending them, but also because long residence in the lower provinces produces disease, incapacitating the soldier for vigorous duty; frequently a few years' service in the lower provinces, or the capitals of Southern and Western India, destroys life, or leaves the seeds of disease or debility, which impair usefulness, if they do not abridge the term of existence. Formerly it would have been impossible to accomplish a scheme like this, but the railway system now in progress in India, and the completion of the line connecting the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, will render it perfectly practicable.

A very remarkable address was delivered at the United Service Institution in April, 1858, by Lieutenant-colonel Kennedy, of the royal engineers, on the influence of railways in India upon the efficiency of the army there, and the economy to the government of adopting a thorough system upon military grounds. If the statements of Colonel Kennedy be correct, then the future military system of India must depend upon the actual amount of railways intersecting the country, and the plan upon which they are constructed. The report of the colonel's address is of such deep interest to the subject of this chapter, and to the general direction of military affairs in our Indian empire, that it does not admit of being abbreviated, its details bear-

ing so directly upon the whole question discussed:—

"Taking the proportion of railways as existing in the United States of America for railways in India of 1 mile of railway to 112 square miles of country, which he considered was the lowest scale that should be applied to any inhabited country even where the general industry was limited to agriculture, if the railways were uniformly laid down in that proportion, the most distant points would be 60 miles from a railway. The proportion of railways in the United Kingdom was 1 mile to about 13½ square miles, and would make the most distant points on the average about 6¾ miles from any railway. The population of America averaged 9 to the square mile; the population of India, 124 to the square mile; and of the United Kingdom, 226 to the square mile. The density of the population in India was 14 times greater than in America, and therefore as many times greater was the necessity for railways in India. According to the American scale, about 12,493 miles of railway were absolutely required for India. So urgent did the considerations of railway communication in India appear to him, both as regarded its industrial progress and military protection and defence, that on his return from that country in 1852, after having held the appointment of military secretary to the commander-in-chief, as well as that of consulting engineer to the supreme government in the railway department, he felt bound to address a report, dated the 15th of September, 1852, on the subject of railway to the home government of India, in which he fully explained the advantages of railway communication for military purposes, and stated that in India marching or campaigning in summer was out of the question, except at a fearful expense of life and health to European troops. It was shown in that report that a proper system of railways (while increasing the efficiency of the army) would enable a reduction to be made in the military establishment of India equal to £2,332,482 per annum. This would represent a capital of £58,312,000, if raised at 4 per cent., and if invested in railways, at an average cost of £6000 per mile, would furnish 9718 miles of railway. The report was sent by government to India, and circulated to the authorities there, and it was likewise laid before parliament. Had the principles therein urged been adopted with the energy exemplified in the United States of America, 2000 miles of railway per annum might have been opened during the last three years in India, which would have placed the authorities in a condition to deal effectually with the mutiny of the Bengal army, if it would not have altogether prevented the occurrence of that mutiny. In 1857 the force of the British government in India was 246,872 men of all arms, of whom 42,500 were Europeans, and 204,372 natives, distributed at 228 stations, giving a ratio of native troops to European troops of nearly 5 to 1. By another return made to the House of Commons in April, 1852, the queen's and company's European troops amounted to 49,408 men, the company's native troops, including contingents, to 276,432 men, making a total of 325,840 men, and giving a ratio of above 5½ natives to 1 European. The same return stated the military resources of native princes at 398,918 men, making the gross ratio of company's and native princes' troops to European troops 13½ to 1. It likewise stated the European artillery at 7436 men, the company's native artillery at 9004 men, and native princes' artillery at 12,962 men, making the company's and native princes' artillery together compared to European artillery as 3 to 1. The European cavalry were stated at 4133 men, the company's native cavalry, including contingents, at 39,758 men, and the native princes' cavalry, at 68,303 men, making the ratio of company's and native princes' cavalry to European cavalry over 26 to 1. The average of four years showed that the annual military charges for the 325,840 men, not including buildings, amounted to £10,106,680. He assumed from the experience they had had that henceforth the native troops in the Indian army should not be allowed to exceed those of Europeans, but that they might be safely employed in equal numbers, the artillery, engineers, and sappers, however, being exclusively, or, at all events, chiefly European. Even under these arrangements the force, although secure, would not be as effective for occupation purposes as the larger proportion of natives would make it in consequence of the effects of climate on Europeans. With a proper system of railway intercourse the operations and strength of the army would be greatly increased, by enabling troops rapidly to penetrate every district, so that the most distant points of the country might be on the average only 60 miles from the nearest railway. This would require but six ordinary or three forced marches to reach any point from the railway, or base of all military operations in India—a base of extraordinary strength, from the rapidity with which every part of it could be furnished with the required amount of troops, provisions, and stores. About 12,000 miles of railway,

as before mentioned, would suffice on that scale, 6000 miles being main lines, along which the army might be assumed to be distributed at equal intervals in brigades. The length of those intervals would depend upon the aggregate strength of the army. The remaining 6000 miles would consist of second class lines, branching from the main lines of railway to provide communication throughout the local districts. On comparing the power of concentrating troops efficiently provided with provisions and military stores upon the most decisive point or points of India in the shortest time and at the smallest cost, with and without railways, he assumed that, in either case, the army of occupation should be posted in brigades of one European regiment, one native regiment, one squadron of European cavalry, one squadron of native cavalry, and a European field battery of artillery of four guns and two howitzers, at equal intervals, along the main lines of 6000 miles. It would require 48 days without railways to concentrate by marching a force of 53,000 men from an aggregate army of 325,840 men, which, composed as above, would cost annually £13,785,870, whereas an equal force could be concentrated by railway in 7 days from an aggregate army of only 100,000 men, costing only £6,214,530 per annum. Thus the 53,000 men could be brought to any one given point by railway in about one-seventh of the time, from an army under one-third of the strength, and costing under one-half of the amount, as compared with the assembly of a similar force at the same point from the larger army without railways. To assemble by marching 53,000 men from an equally distributed army of only 100,000 men would occupy nearly six months, instead of seven days by railway. The advantages of railway transport for troops in India over marching as regarded time in concentrating a field force were as 24 to 1; as regarded the economy of military establishments, over 2 to 1; as regarded the power of reducing the numerical force of the army, and consequently the number of Europeans, as 3 to 1. The advantages of railways as regarded the protection of Europeans from exposure to climate, the rapid and successful issue of every war or conflict, and the averting of those contingencies that produced war and disturbance, were beyond calculation. Equally striking results would attend the establishment of railways as regarded every other department of the government; and, above all, it would appear in the development of industry, trade, and commerce. He thought it was clear that without railways the army in India could not safely be reduced below its former numerical establishment of about 325,000 men, and that of this gross number one-half, or 162,000, must be Europeans, the whole costing about £13,785,836 per annum, while with proper railway accommodation the gross force might be reduced to 100,000 men, the Europeans to 50,000 men, and the military charges to £6,214,530, and that this enormous reduction in men and money would be attended with a seven-fold rapidity in bringing together a field force of 50,000 men at any point, as compared with the power which the larger army would confer without railways. The reduction allowed, too, for the artillery and engineer corps being maintained on their former full numerical strength, converting what was previously composed of native soldiers in these arms into an equal number of Europeans. And it was clear that railways would admit of an improvement in the calibre of their field artillery, while they would facilitate incalculably the difficult process of bringing up siege-trains when required at any remote point. They would never then hear of generals being obliged to delay for weeks or months the operations of a campaign until a few heavy guns and stores were brought with infinite toil and cost to the front. He thought the question deserved the closest attention of every British and Indian statesman, and offered a solution of their principal Indian difficulties, past, present, and future. Even irrespective of the mutiny question, their Indian finances for the last four years had shown an average annual deficiency of revenue amounting to £1,676,333. The increased military expenditure of over £3,500,000 consequent upon the mutiny would thus bring the future annual deficiency of revenue to above £5,000,000 sterling, and this state of things must continue until a safe reduction could be made in the military force. The judicious construction of 12,000 miles of railway, which could be effected within seven years, without any cost to government, would admit of a reduction in the military force to the extent of over £7,500,000 sterling annually, thus turning, by means of railways, an annual deficiency in the revenues of India, considerably over £5,000,000 sterling, into an annual surplus of more than £2,000,000."

Another advantage of an extensive railway system in India, upon which Colonel Kennedy ought to have dwelt, is the frequent change of quarters to the troops which it would afford, and in that respect it would conduce even more to the health of the European soldier than by exempting them from long marches. Marching under the sun of India is not so detrimental to the health of the soldier as the colonel seems to think.

Other officers have made experiments which prove that, provided the soldier's head be properly protected, his clothing adapted to the climate, and his arms and accoutrements light, travelling in the daytime, and even when the sun is high in the heavens, is not so injurious as night marches. More frequent changes of quarters than at present are allowed or even possible, would be very salutary to the European troops, for the barrack accommodation is generally so bad as to be most injurious to them; and it would require a long time and a greater outlay than the funds at the company's disposal for military public works will allow, to provide healthy barrack accommodation at all the company's military stations. Sir William Napier writes of his brother Charles's opinion on this matter as follows:—

"When in Scinde he assailed the authorities with remonstrances; and himself planned and built the wing of a model barrack at Hydrabad, hoping thus to lead the government to an extension of his improvements. In vain; Lord Dalhousie forbade the completion of his superb barracks, and the materials collected for building the other wing remained to rot on the ground.

"When he became commander-in-chief in India he renewed his exertions to obtain good barracks, and again built model barracks, and laid down the true principles on which they should be constructed; again in vain! He was first thwarted, and then stopped, by Lord Dalhousie and the military board of India.

"When he returned to England, and while suffering under a mortal disease, even on the verge of death, he once more attempted to remedy the evils, and in his posthumous work, called *Indian Misgovernment*, sought to arouse public attention to the horrible system.

"That he was not tame or measured in his denunciation of '*the frightful barrack abomination*' will be understood from a few passages taken from many in his *Indian Misgovernment*:—

"'The barrack sacrifices soldiers' lives and happiness to a fallacious, dishonest economy.

"'I charge the court of directors, the military board of Calcutta, the government of Bombay, with shameful negligence of the soldier's safety; and with good warrant, because they disregarded my representations when a high position and great experience gave a title to attention.

"'The Colaba barracks and king's barracks at Bombay have destroyed whole regiments. I walked through the men's sleeping rooms there—*upon planks laid in water, covering the floors!* At the Colaba barracks the soldiers die like rotten sheep under the nose of the council.

"'In the Bengal presidency the barracks are extremely bad; but more pernicious still is the number of men crammed into them; losses by battle sink to nothing, compared with those inflicted by improperly constructed barracks and the *jamming* of soldiers—no other word is sufficiently expressive.

"'Long experience and consultations with men of science, medical men, and engineer officers, have taught me that every barrack-room should in hot climates allow at least *one thousand cubic feet* of atmospheric air for each person sleeping in a room. This is the minimum; with less, insufferable heat and a putrid atmosphere prevail — death is the result. The soldiers rise at night feverish, or in profuse perspiration, to sleep out on the ground amid damp exhalations. To do so when heated by an overcrowded room is death. Some may escape, or merely lose health, but to escape is the exception—the rule is death!

"'This inhuman drain upon life, health, and the public treasury constantly goes on. It kills more soldiers than the climate, more than hard drinking, and one half of the last springs from the discomfort—the despair caused by bad barracks.'"

The above burning words have been too recently given to the world for very much effect to have been produced by them upon those whom they were designed to influence. Until the whole barrack system of India is remedied, the best relief to the soldier is frequent change, and this can only be effected by the extension of the railway system. But, however improved the sites and accommodation of barracks, the climate of most portions of India renders it desirable for the health of the English soldier, that he should not be for any long time subjected to its influence. The railway system will enable the government to remove invalids to the cooler districts, where they may retire for short intervals to recruit their exhausted strength.

One of the chief deficiencies in the military administration of India is the imperfect provisions of martial law. These are inadequate to the good discipline of the army, and, in case of extensive revolt or popular insurrection, their inadequacy is still more striking. During the revolt of 1857–8 Lord Canning, the governor-general, was much censured in England for not more promptly applying martial law to the disturbed districts, and for not relying more upon its power to suppress or prevent insurgency. These critiques were answered by his excellency with much point

and justice, and in a manner which displays more completely the defects of the military system in this respect than would a lengthened statement and minute analysis of the laws bearing upon the subject. The governor-general's defence, based upon the imperfection of the system, was as follows:—

"But in truth measures of a far more stringent and effective character than the establishment of martial law were taken for the suppression of mutiny and rebellion.

"Martial law, in the ordinary acceptation of the phrase, is no law at all, or, as it has been described, the will of the general. But martial law in India is proclaimed under special regulations, applicable only to the regulation provinces in the three presidencies, whereby the government is empowered to suspend either wholly or partially the functions of the ordinary criminal courts, to establish martial law, and also to direct the immediate trial by courts-martial of all subjects who are taken—(1) in arms in open hostility to the British government; or (2) in the act of opposing by force of arms the authority of the same; or (3) in the actual commission of any overt act of rebellion against the state; or (4) in the act of openly aiding and abetting the enemies of the British government.

"Neither the effect of martial law, nor the mode in which courts-martial are to be constituted under the regulation has ever been defined. But it seems clear that courts-martial cannot be composed of any but military officers, for there is nothing in the regulation to show that courts-martial as therein described can be otherwise constituted.

"Moreover, it should be borne in mind that in Bengal, beyond the limits of the jurisdiction of the supreme court, there was no regulation which provided for the punishment of treason or rebellion, and that the Mohammedan law, which, in the absence of express regulation, constitutes the criminal law of the country, does not provide any specific punishment for such crimes. Regulation X. of 1804 rendered a person guilty of treason or rebellion liable to the punishment of death only in the event of his conviction before a court-martial; and even a court-martial under that regulation had no power to try for treason or rebellion unless the offender was taken in arms in open hostility to the British government, or in the act of opposing by force of arms the authority of the same, or in the actual commission of an overt act of rebellion.

"The power of trial by court-martial did not extend to persons guilty of rebellion unless taken in the actual commission of an overt act.

"Under these circumstances the government might have been much embarrassed had Indian martial law alone been relied upon; and seeing that the number of military officers at the disposal of the government was in many parts of the country wholly insufficient for the summary trial of mutineers and rebels, the government of India took a course much more effectual than the establishment of martial law. Having, first by Act No. VIII. of 1857, strengthened the hands of officers by giving them greater powers for the assembling of courts-martial, and by making the proceedings of those courts more summary, the government adopted measures which should give them the services not only of their own military and civil officers, but of independent English gentlemen not connected with the East India Company—indigo planters and other persons of intelligence and influence."

### MARINE FORCE.

The East India Company maintains an independent navy, which is placed under the direct control of the government of India. The force attached to the chief presidency is not so important as that connected with the western presidency. The navy of Bengal is very limited, and is engaged in the eastern Archipelago and on the coasts of China. The acting officers have no commissions, and neither officers nor men are subject to the mutiny act or the articles of war. The Bombay navy is of considerable power, comprising fifty-three steam and sailing vessels, manned by 4286 European and native men. The cadets must not be under sixteen nor over eighteen years of age. The patronage is in the hands of the directors. The Bombay navy has been chiefly employed in the suppression of piracy in the Arabian Sea, and the Persian Gulf. It has of late years been principally occupied in surveying those waters, and several of the officers have greatly distinguished themselves by their attainments and performances in that department. The government of India does not regulate this marine, although its power is placed at the disposal of the governor-general. Correspondence is maintained by the navy with the government of India with reference to repairs, provided the expense does not exceed ten thousand rupees. In all other respects, such as ship-building, docks, steam factories, &c., the correspondence is with the directors. During former wars with China the Indian navy was greatly distinguished.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### THE IMPORTANCE OF A KNOWLEDGE OF THE LANGUAGES OF INDIA BY GOVERNMENT OFFICERS—COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND INDIA.

THE experience of the past history of our empire in India and the East shows that the importance of this subject has been greatly underrated. During the war with China, in 1857–8, the correspondents of the London press repeatedly testified that one of the greatest embarrassments consisted in the small number of persons, civil or military, at Lord Elgin's disposal, who were acquainted with the language. But for the missionaries, this deficiency would have proved a still greater difficulty both in the war of 1857, and in previous wars. During operations in Birmah, in all our differences with that power, the same impediment was felt; and although officers like Major-general Havelock, conversant with oriental tongues, were attached to all the expeditions, they could not always be spared from their posts in moments when, either for military or civil purposes, in some emergency, it was desirable to make their skill as linguists available. In the transactions of peace no less than in those of war the same inconvenience has been felt; and it is now generally admitted, that whatever amendments are made in the government or administration of India, civil or military, more attention must be paid on the part of the company's officers to the qualification of an extensive and accurate knowledge of the languages of our Eastern empire, and of contiguous countries, according to the particular official designation of these officers. In the arrangements made by Mr. Macaulay for the examinations for the civil service, there was an obvious eagerness to provide extra chances for the students of Oxford and Cambridge. The studies so disproportionately pursued at the universities—and so injuriously to the public usefulness of the pupils—were selected as superior tests of general proficiency, and of fitness for service in India. The study of the languages with which the young official ought to be conversant, to hold intercourse with the people of India, is held in a lower place in the examination than that of the dead languages of ancient Europe. An Indian civilian lately deplored the ignorance of oriental languages now so prevalent in India, and the tendency to perpetuate this ignorance by the present mode of examining for the civil service, in the following terms:—"In former times there were always (among the civilians particularly) a few eminent men who had acquired a thorough knowledge of the spoken dialects, who were familiar with the ancient literature and the various systems of religion of the country, and who had studied the national and religious prejudices of the natives in the very sources from which they flowed. These men—and we mention at random the names of Sir William Jones, Colebrooke, Macnaghten, Wilson, Sleeman, Mill—were respected and trusted by the natives, and they formed a kind of channel through which a knowledge of the real state of the feeling of the country with regard to any measure of importance could be obtained. The presence of any one of these men at Delhi or Lucknow would have been worth a regiment,—nay, many regiments. During the last twenty years, however, the prosecution of oriental studies has been systematically discouraged. A fond hope was entertained that English would soon become the general language of India, and an impression got abroad that the time given to the study of Arabic and Sanscrit and Hindostanee was sheer waste. At how much a knowledge of the languages of India was valued may be seen by the regulations now in force with regard to the examination of candidates for the Indian civil service. In the first examination a candidate may gain 375 marks by Sanscrit and Arabic. He may gain as many marks by Italian. In the second examination (which has simply been dropped without any bill of indemnity being asked for) a candidate may gain 200 marks by one of the vernacular languages. He may gain 1000 marks by law, 400 by political economy, 400 by the history of India. These facts speak for themselves."

In the very highest department of government a knowledge of both the old and modern tongues of India would be useful. The philosophy of a language gives an insight to the heart of the people by whom it is used, and this is essential to the statesman upon whom the responsibility of their government devolves. Sir Charles Trevelyan says—"I know from my Indian experience that a knowledge of the native languages is an indispensable preliminary to understanding and taking an interest in native races, as well as to acquiring their goodwill and gaining influence over them. Without it officers charged with important public affairs, feeling themselves at the mercy of a class of interpreters whose moral character is often of a very question-

able kind, live in a state of chronic irritation with the natives, which is extremely adverse both to the satisfactory transaction of business and to the still more important object of giving to the people of the country a just impression of the character and intentions of our nation."

Long before the outbreak of the rebellion in India a gentleman, pointing out the dangerous neglect of the study of oriental languages, of Sanscrit in particular, wrote :— "A crisis in the social, moral, and religious state of India may not be far distant, and it will depend on the position which the Europeans scattered over that immense country may be able to take in controlling and directing that movement whether it is to lead to violent concussions or to a healthy regeneration. It is difficult to prove mathematically how so small a matter as the study of Sanscrit could have any bearing on the solution of such mighty problems; and those who look upon it as a kind of lightning-rod, and point to the clouds rising on the political and social horizon of India, expose themselves to be treated as alarmists, who exaggerate the danger in order to raise the importance of the remedy which they recommend."

A man need not have been in India to see that in order to govern a people, and to gain the confidence and goodwill of a conquered race, it is necessary to know their language. At a meeting held in Willis's Rooms, on the Missions of India, Sir William Page Wood gave utterance to the same conviction :— "Much might be done by bringing the English and native minds as much as possible in contact. This was comparatively easy, for the government might require that no native should take an office unless he could speak the English tongue, and that no Englishman in turn should be placed in a position of authority unless he was well acquainted with the native languages. Great good must undoubtedly arise from such a regulation."

In all ranks of the civil department below the highest, there are perpetually recurring occasions for an exact knowledge, not only of the vernacular language in the district, but of that from which it is derived, and some of those to which it is cognate. The attention of the public has been drawn to this subject, and the proposal to establish a new oriental college has sprung out of this awakened interest, and at the same time reacted upon it. The government also seems influenced by the general movement of opinion, and evidence has been taken from many men of eminence and extensive information on this class of subjects. Among the many channels into which the public discussion has flowed, is that of the value of Sanscrit, as the great parent of the languages of India, compared with its derivations, which are better known among the people. Sir C. E. Trevelyan has thus given his opinion upon this part of the controversy :— "Sanscrit is a key to the colloquial languages of India, and, what is of much greater importance, to the habits of thought, and the sources of the social, political, and religious institutions of the people; but this is only one part of the subject. The young men who have been selected for the civil service cannot be detained long in this country for the prosecution of professional studies; the elements of law have an equal claim upon their attention with the elements of the native languages; and the compact, symmetrical Sanscrit requires almost as close mental application as mathematics. The knowledge of that language which the young men would acquire in the limited time allotted to them would, therefore, rarely enable them to master its derivatives and command its literature; while by applying themselves in a direct manner to the vernacular languages (as young people learn Italian or Spanish without previously studying Latin) they might, with the invaluable aid of an European teacher, get through the drudgery of first principles, and prepare themselves to profit by the less systematic, but more idiomatic instruction of their moonshee and pandit on their arrival in India. The professorships which ought to be first established in the new oriental college, acording to my view, are Hindostanee and Bengalee for Northern, Tamil and Telinga for Southern, and Maharatti and Gujeratti for Western India, to which Chinese, Sanscrit, Arabic, Persian, and Turkish might afterwards be added, under such arrangements as the council of the college might consider desirable."

In connection with the necessity of knowing the languages of the country for general civil purposes, the question of the especial necessity of such qualifications for those who officiate in courts of law is increasingly discussed. Mr. Nassau Lees, Principal of the Mohammedan College in Calcutta, gives the following account of an Indian court of law :— "While the junior civil servant should be balancing in his mind the evidence of the witnesses, his whole attention is engrossed in endeavouring to understand what is being said. Few who have not seen it can realize the idea of a Bengalee native court; the din, the hubbub, the discordance of the many voices, Bengalee, English, and Hindostanee, is truly astounding. On the one side are heard

the gentle tones of a mild Hindoo, pouring in soft suppliance his griefs, with accompanying promises, into the ear of some native *amlah*. On the other, the ear is assailed by the harshest language, often the most virulent abuse, bandied between two witnesses, or lookers on, apparently in the last stage of a violent altercation; and to this is added the unnecessary vociferations of some dozen policemen, who rush, gesticulating violently, to the spot, to increase the confusion. But above all rises the shrill cry of 'Mercy company! mercy! The slave is dead! he is dead!' from some miserable wretch who has been unjustly cast in the amount of some thirty or forty rupees, to gratify the revengeful feelings of a countryman on better terms than himself with the *sri-rishtahdar*, or native head clerk, who not improbably will have disposed of his good offices for one half the sum in dispute. Meanwhile, behold the assistant, the head of the petty court. Besieged by witnesses, beset alike by plaintiffs, defendants, and court officials all speaking at once—addressed, perhaps, in three, if not in four, native tongues—he sits confounded—bewildered. In vain he essays to comprehend the cause of the uproar; of what is said around him he cannot understand a sentence. Fain would he explain or proclaim silence; he cannot speak a word. Oh, that an iambic would still the storm, a quotation from Goethe or Dante, an aphorism of Bacon's, an explanation of d'Alembert's *Principle*, or the definition of a differential co-efficient! But, alas! such things here are of little practical use. The clamour increases. The distress of the assistant augments; until at last, his court in the highest disorder, and unable to right it, he rushes in confusion from his seat, vowing never to return till he can understand something at least of what is said to him, and say a few sentences intelligibly in some oriental language."

The importance of the languages of India to military men is beyond calculation; the safety of a garrison may depend upon this qualification on the part of its officers. A military man, who served in India, thus expresses his opinion as to the duty of cadets being well instructed in the vernacular languages of India before being sent thither:—"After the cadets have been selected, they ought, *all of them*, to have at least one year's professional instruction at a military college." One of the reasons for this is—"To teach them the elements of the native languages, which can be learnt with greater facility and exactness from well-instructed European professors than from moonshees and pandits." And again—"It should not be left, as it is at present, to the discretion of a young man whether he will pass in the native languages or not. The power of understanding his men and of rendering himself intelligible should be considered an indispensable qualification, and those who cannot or will not acquire the necessary accomplishment should be removed from the service. The office of regimental interpreter and the practice of interpreting at courts-martial should be abolished. Every officer should be presumed to understand the language of his soldiers."

## THE FACILITIES OF COMMUNICATION WITH INDIA.

Facilities of communication between India and England are essential alike to the interests of commerce and the government. The British merchant desires to have a prompt and frequent transmission of information concerning the state of the markets, and such a rapid mode of conveyance between the two countries as will enable himself or his *employés* to visit India on occasions of emergency, or his agents there to come to England, when the transmission of intelligence is not sufficient for their mutual purposes.

The telegraph is of course the grand mode of conveying intelligence by summary; but notwithstanding the value of India to English commerce, and the exigencies of the government, no proper efforts have been made up to this date (May, 1858) to secure telegraphic lines from India to England. It has excited the astonishment of every government in Europe that England has neglected a matter so vital to her. The feeling of foreign governments and of British residents abroad was indicated in April, 1858, by the following letter to the *Times* from one of its foreign correspondents:—"It is of such vital importance to England that electric communication should be established between some point in Europe and Alexandria, that I must, at the risk of being considered an intolerable bore, again return to the subject. It is a matter of indifference whether the Austrians construct a submarine telegraph from Ragusa to Alexandria, or whether M. Bonelli lays down a wire between Malta and the last-mentioned city, but it appears to me that the representatives of the nation ought to take up the matter, and insist on her majesty's government coming to an immediate decision on the subject. No decisive step has yet been taken by England towards the realization of the plan for obtaining more speedy intelligence from India and China. The subject evidently occupies the attention of your Turin correspondent as much as it does mine, and his observation—that it might be good policy to

encourage both Austria and Sardinia to construct an electric telegraph to Alexandria—deserves attention. As was said in my letter of the 20th of February, Austria would be content if the British government would pledge itself to send despatches to the amount of £10,000 per annum, and the assurance has since been given me that, in fact, she requires little more from England than her 'moral assistance.' The last official communication made to the Austrian cabinet was, that England could not permit Austria to have telegraph stations either at Corfu or Zante. Are the gentlemen in the Red-tape and Sealing-wax Office aware that an Austrian post-office has been established at Corfu for a long series of years, and that a great part of the correspondence from the East passes through it? 'We so much require the telegraphic communication,' say the Austrians, 'that we shall not object to employ Englishmen as telegraphists in Corfu and Zante, if the British government should wish it. We are also ready and willing to lay down the two links —from Trieste to Corfu and Zante—in the great electric chain, at our own expense and risk.' The authorities in the department of commerce have authorized me to state that if the British government should persist in its resolution not to allow them to establish stations in Corfu and Zante, they will permit any respectable English company, which is willing to construct the telegraph, to have an establishment at Trieste. The Turkish government is about to open a telegraphic communication with Greece, and that kingdom has already announced its intention to lay down a wire to Zante as soon as that island is brought into connection with Corfu and Trieste. It is worthy of mention that the director of the submarine telegraph office at Malta is a German; the principal clerk is a Dutchman, the second clerk an Ionian, and the fourth member of the establishment is either a Frenchman or an Italian."

For the transmission of mails provision has been recently made, which are great improvements upon the past condition of affairs in this matter. Weekly communication with India by post has been opened up through the Peninsula and Oriental Packet Company, *vid* Gibraltar, Malta, and Alexandria.

The long voyage round the Cape of Good Hope in sailing transports injured the health of the troops, who were seldom allowed such accommodation as even a proper consideration of their necessities would have conceded. This route is still used, but powerful steamers are employed, which greatly reduce the time expended in transport.

The overland route by Suez was first adopted during the great revolt, when the government, with apparent reluctance, yielded to the pressure of public opinion, and negotiated with the Porte for permission to traverse the dominions of the Egyptian viceroyalty. A railroad has been at last completed across the isthmus; and should an electric telegraph cable be carried to India, both the speedy transmission of intelligence and orders, and the quick transit of reinforcements and *matériel* of war can be easily effected. Since the adoption of the overland route to India, the improvement in Egypt has been such as to impress profoundly the people and government of that country with the advantages of closer connection with England, and of becoming more imbued with the ideas and aspirations of English civilization. Decaying cities have become regenerated, a highway has appeared in the desert, the springs of industry and commerce have begun to act, and Egypt bids fair to become the ally of England, and the partaker of her material prosperity as well as the promoter of her renown.

Both the English and foreign public are, however, agitating other projects of great magnitude. One of these has for its champion M. de Lesseps, and is patronized by the French government. The public of France, and of a considerable portion of the continent of Europe, also favour this scheme; nor are there wanting English merchants and capitalists ready to engage in the undertaking. M. Thouvenel, the representative of the French emperor at the court of the sultan, made a formal application at the Porte for a firman permitting and encouraging the undertaking, which, in the spring of 1858, was definitively refused, the English Foreign-office having used all its influence against the application of M. Thouvenel. The scheme of M. de Lesseps is a ship canal across the Isthmus of Suez, ninety miles in length.* According to M. de Lesseps, this canal would answer the purposes of commerce and of travel, and can be executed and maintained profitably.† A sort of congress of engineers from various countries was brought together on the spot, and a report was drawn up in favour of the project, the elaboration and arrangement of which is indebted to the distinguished talents of Charles Manby, Esq., of the London Institution of Civil Engineers, a man singularly

* *New Facts and Figures relative to the Isthmus of Suez Canal.* Edited by Ferdinand de Lesseps. With a Reply to the *Edinburgh Review*. By Barthelemy St. Hilaire, Member of the Institute of France.

† *Parcement de l'Isthme de Suez—Rapport et Projet de la Commission Internationale.* Paris, Henry Plow, 1856.

well qualified for such an undertaking. Notwithstanding this favourable report, British engineers of great experience and reputation have, however, declared the scheme impracticable, and among them the great Stephenson,* whose opinion weighs so much in England. The British government has uniformly opposed this plan, but not with that frankness and candour which became the importance of the subject; for at first the government pleaded that, the scheme being impracticable, it was a duty to save English capitalists from a ruinous speculation, but, when closely pressed, the chief minister, Lord Palmerston, in his place in parliament, avowed that the opening of a ship canal across the Isthmus of Suez would give France, as a Mediterranean power, too much influence in the East, and enable her, under certain contingencies, to thwart the views of England, and possibly to endanger her hold upon her Indian empire. The Earl of Derby's government, in 1858, opposed the scheme upon the same grounds as those urged by Lord Palmerston; and it was alleged that the Emperor Napoleon III. admitted that England was justified in receiving the scheme with national jealousy, although it would appear that, if such were his majesty's opinion, it did not interfere with his patronage of it, nor with the eagerness of his government to accomplish it, or see it accomplished. The determined refusal of the sultan to give his permission to make the canal extinguishes the project for the present; and unless French influence overpower that of England at Constantinople (at present not a probable event), the canalization of the Isthmus of Suez must be abandoned by France, however much she may believe it subservient to her political interests.

The other scheme of communication with India is by a railway from Seleucia to Bussorah, from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf. The length of the line is so differently estimated, that it is impossible to form an opinion unless well acquainted with the country, and the engineering facilities and difficulties it presents. Mr. Andrews, the chairman of the Scinde Railway Company, who is the chief advocate of the enterprise, says that the distance is eight hundred miles. General Chesney, who knows the country better than any European (even than Mr. Andrews), states the distance from sea to sea to be six hundred and sixty miles. A French engineer, M. Jules Falkowski, whom Mr. Andrews quotes as giving an opinion in favour of the scheme, represents it as more than double the distance named by General Chesney! Such conflicting evidence on the part of persons so competent to pronounce an opinion baffles the judgment of the historian. This scheme is designated the "Euphrates Valley Railway." The objections taken against it are the great length of the line, the cost of its execution, and the improbability of its ever proving a line of traffic. These, however, are the objections raised against every enterprise of a similar nature by those interested in opposing it. The Turkish government favoured the plan, and guaranteed a dividend upon such capital as might be invested, but the financial condition of the Turkish government did not encourage capitalists to place sufficient confidence in its guarantee. That of the East India Company was desired to insure a thorough reliance, and the Board of Control is said to have pressed the directors to extend it. They, however, refused. The projectors of the plan required other guarantees, which practically amounted to the concession of a monopoly to their line. This circumstance shook the faith of those willing to speculate, as it implied that those who knew most of the circumstances under which the project would be carried out, did not dare to hope for success arising simply from its own adaptation to the ends proposed.*

Meanwhile the scheme of the Suez Canal is pursued with the uttermost zeal—a sort of passionate nationality seems to animate the French public.†

After all, it is likely that the completion of the railway across the isthmus, and the patronage of it by the English and Egyptian governments will decide this controversy, as well as bring India nearer to England.

* In Nolan's continuation of Hume and Smollett's *History of England*, written by the author of this work, and now publishing by James S. Virtue, City Road, London, the opinion of this eminent engineer, and his grounds for it, will be fully shown.

* *Memoirs on the Euphrates Valley Route to India.* By W. F. Andrews, F.R.G.S.

† *D'Isthme de Suez—Journal de l'Union des Deux Mers.* Paris.

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## CHAPTER XIX.

### THE COMMERCE OF INDIA:—ANCIENT INTERCOURSE BETWEEN INDIA AND THE WEST.

ALTHOUGH the natural productions of the vast regions of our Eastern empire were detailed when, in foregoing chapters, these countries were described, and the adaptation of those productions to the purposes of trade, and the character of the local transactions of this nature, were sketched, it remains yet to take a general view of the commerce of our Indian empire. Certainly no topic can be more important to a great commercial nation than its relations in this respect to the richest of its dependencies. In the prospectus of our work the purpose was expressed of giving to this subject especial attention; and had it not formed so essential a part originally of the plan of these volumes, yet its exceeding importance, as well as the interest attached to it, would demand a careful notice.

In treating of the productions, religions, and literature of India, well authenticated resources supplied comprehensive and satisfactory details. For the elucidation of its early intercourse with the West there exist no such materials. India shares the common fate of nations, the illustrious as well as the obscure. Which of its many races first occupied it, and what master minds initiated its social systems, the gradual development of its singular institutions, the first glimmerings of its far remote civilization, are mythic subjects of bewildering speculation. The extravagant claims to an existence extending over thousands of years beyond the era of creation, with the kindred absurdities of the Chinese, Babylonian, and Phœnician chronology, are now fully exposed by the reflected light of modern scientific discoveries.

The fables that commingle with the transactions of an infant people have their value; and those writers who fastidiously reject them from the domain of history, inflict upon it an irreparable injury. Many phases in the political life of a nation would, without a knowledge of them, be totally incomprehensible. They illustrate the origin, manners, habits, religion, and history of a people whose early transactions possess no medium of transmission but the traditional. What Heeren remarks of Grecian history is of general application:—"Though it emanated from tradition, and supplied the bards with subjects of song for several centuries, it does not follow hence that early Grecian history was an invention because it was poetical. The subjects of history, as presented by Grecian tradition and sung by the bards, were only interwoven with fictions, and so modelled as to gratify the national pride and adorn the popular religion."

Elphinstone, in his preliminary observations to his *History of India*, states:—"As the rudest nations are seldom destitute of some account of the transactions of their ancestors, it is a natural subject of surprise that the Hindoos should have attained to a high pitch of civilization without any work that at all approaches to the character of a history. The fragments which remain of the records of their transactions are so mixed with fable, and so distorted by a fictitious and extravagant system of chronology, as to render it hopeless to deduce from them any continued thread of authentic narrative."

The only history of any part of India he recognises is one of Cashmere, which, in his opinion, scarcely forms an exception. Sir John Stoddart (*Introduction to the Study of Universal History*) confirms this statement:—"Their (the Hindoos) writings are innumerable; but, alas! there is among them of works at all deserving the title historical, a perfect blank."

These statements, it would appear from other authorities, are but partially to be relied upon. Of published historical works India can lay claim to none, but the dearth of historical records is positively denied by Colonel Tod, who has given to the public a History of the Rajpoots, compiled from Indian manuscripts, which he found in the libraries of Indian princes; and he asserts that in these repositories many more works exist which would reward the researches of the learned; and that "the works of the native bards afford many valuable data in facts, incidents, religious opinions, and traits of manners." In the heroic history of Perthi-raf, by Chund, he adds:—"There occur many geographical as well as historical details in the description of his sovereign's wars, of which the bard was an eye-witness, having been his friend, his herald, and his ambassador, and finally discharged the melancholy office of accessory to his death, that he might save him from dishonour." The controversial records of the Jains are also repertories of rich historical stores; and with these the colonel classes the records, works of mixed historical and geographical character, *rasahs*, or poetical legends of princes which are common, local paranas, religious comments and traditionary couplets, with authorities of less dubious character—

namely, inscriptions cut on rocks, coins, copper-plate grants, containing chapters of immunities, and expressing many singular features of civil government—constitute no despicable materials for the historian. The colonel concludes that the ancient records of the Hindoos are more complete than the early annals of the European states.

The philological labours of the German school,—Grimms, Bopp, Zeus, and several other eminent Teutonic scholars,—aided by the Irish, French, and a few noteworthy Britons, prosecutors of Celtic researches, have supplied abundant undeniable proofs of the close affinities which subsist between the Sanscrit, the sacred language of the Hindoos, and the languages of ancient Greece and Rome, as well as those of the Celtic, Teutonic, and Sclavonic nations. These men have succeeded in placing the history of mankind in a more intelligible point of view, and possibly the study of Indian literature will enable us to evolve from its drapery of fiction the truths contained in the *rasahs* and *puranas*, to trace the remote history of India, and to reflect an ethnological as well as a philological light on the relations the varieties of the human family bear to one another, and supply an additional and powerful argument for connecting the origin of its inhabitants with that of the other parts of the globe.

Both Brahmins and Buddhists have numerous books. The Brahminical are extremely voluminous, and all written in the Sanscrit, which, from time immemorial, has ceased to be a spoken language. The prevalent opinion is that it was never fully known in India, except to the sacerdotal caste, and the alphabetic character in which it was written differed from all other alphabets. So rigidly did the Brahmins conceal their sacred books, that their existence was not known to European scholars till recently. Cœlius Rhodiginus, the teacher of the celebrated Scaliger, the contemporary of Henry VIII., asserts that letters were entirely unknown to the Indians. The sacred books are no longer sealed books; they abound in libraries, public and private, and several have been translated into English, and other modern languages, and many published. In all probability, the day is not far distant when the anticipations of that great oriental linguist, Professor Wilson, will be realized, and the texts of the Vedas themselves, despite the exclusive care with which they have been guarded from any but Brahminical perusal, and the difficulties in the way of interpretation, will be read with as much certainty as any other Sanscrit composition, and the adage, that Hindoo antiquities can only be satisfactorily explored in India itself, which Heeren reiterates, shall become obsolete.

To whatever extent, and however valuable, may be the materials for the history of ancient India which exist in native archives, the historian of that interesting empire would at present in vain seek aid in that quarter. The earliest ray of light that flickers on its visible existence, is shed by the sacred text, and the knowledge to be there gleaned is very limited—indeed, merely conjectural. The river Euphrates, and the territories immediately to the east of its banks, were, to the comprehension of the Jews, "the ends of the earth."*

The extensive caravan routes, to which the books of the Old Testament directly refer, pursued at an early period for the conveyance, from the East to the kingdoms of the West, of the rich manufactures of that opulent region seem to have been formed for the exportation of Indian produce. There are strong grounds for concluding, as Dr. Vincent has observed, that the embroidered work and the chests of rich apparel mentioned in the twenty-seventh chapter of Ezekiel,—pronounced by Michaelis the most ancient monument of mercantile history,—as brought from Haran, Canneh, and other towns on the Euphrates, were not manufactured on the confines of that stream, but in all probability imported from the more distant countries of Eastern Asia; and that the supplies, of which "precious cloths" constituted the staple, conveyed across Arabia by way of Dedan and Idumea, were likewise a branch of Indian commerce. The ingenious author of the *Ruins of Palmyra*, on the sixteenth verse of the chapter just referred to,—"Syria was thy merchant by reason of the multitude of the wares of thy making; they occupied in the fairs with emeralds, purple, and broidered work, and fine linen, and coral, and agate,"—supposes that it was the East Indian trade which so enriched that city, and he imagines that this was at least as ancient as the time of Solomon. Tyre, therefore, it is suggested, might have had these commodities conveyed to it in the time of the prophet Ezekiel through Palmyra, and Syria might have been its merchant for them. To the monopoly of this trade there are many considerations for attributing the power, unrivalled in extent, wealth, and degree, which Tyre early acquired, and which made the "merchants of Tyre princes, and her traffickers the honourable of the earth,"† and herself "the mart of nations."‡

The proximity of that great emporium of the earth, Tyre, "whose antiquity," the pro-

* Heeren's *Historical Researches.*

† Isaiah xxiii. 8 ‡ Ibid. xxiii. 3.

phet Isaiah informs us, "is of ancient days,"* for a lengthened period gave no impulse to the national enterprise of the Jews, nor affected that isolation which the characteristics of its policy had imposed. In the reigns of David and his son Solomon, tempted by the extraordinary prosperity of their neighbours, and encouraged, probably, by the friendship of King Hiram, and the recent acquisition by David of a tract of Edom,† and the ports Eloth and Eziongeber on the Red Sea, they equipped a fleet, which, under the pilotage of the Phœnicians, reached Tarshish and Ophir. The situation of these ports has been at all times a puzzle to the biblical commentators, and to writers on geography. Dean Prideaux, and many other respectable authorities, agree that the trade carried on under Solomon, is the same as that which is now in the hands of our East Indian merchants. Some suppose Ophir to be the Island of Ceylon. This supposition is thus far confirmed, that an ancient author, Eupolemus, states Ophir to be an island. On the other hand, the authors of the *Universal History* deem it the most probable conjecture that Ophir was in one of those remote rich countries of India beyond the Ganges, and perhaps as far as China or Japan, which last still abounds with the finest gold, and with several other commodities, in which Solomon's fleet dealt. A claim in favour of Sumatra has been made by Mr. Macdonald, who says, "It is more than probable that Sumatra must have been the Ophir of Solomon's time. This conjecture receives no small force from the word *ophir* being really a Malay noun of a compound sense, signifying a mountain containing gold. The natives have no oral or written tradition on the subject, except that the island has in former times afforded gold for exportation; whether to the eastward or westward remains an uncertainty."‡ Dr. Robertson, in reply to these and similar pretensions, asserts that "they (Tarshish and Ophir) were early supposed to be situated in some part of India, and the Jews were held to be one of the nations which traded with that country. But the opinion more general adopted is, that Solomon's fleets, after passing the Straits of Babelmandel, held their course along the south-west coast of Africa as far as the kingdom of Sofala—a country celebrated for its rich mines of gold and silver, from which it has been denominated the golden Sofala, by oriental writers, and abounding in all the other articles which composed the cargoes of the Jewish ships. This opinion, which the accurate researches of M. d'Anville render highly probable, seems now to be established with the utmost certainty by a late learned traveller, who, by his knowledge of the monsoons in the Arabian Gulf, and his attention to the ancient mode of navigation, both in that sea and along the African coast, has not only accounted for the extraordinary length of time which the fleets of Solomon took in going and returning, but has shown, from circumstances mentioned concerning the voyage, that it was not made to any place in India.* The Jews, then, we may conclude, have no title to be reckoned among the nations which carried on intercourse with India by sea; and if, from deference to the statements of some respectable authors, their claims were to be admitted, we know with certainty that the commercial effort, which they made in the reign of Solomon, was merely a transient one, and that they quickly returned to their former seclusion from the rest of mankind."† The name has very recently been traced to a city in Oman. Not fewer than sixteen countries have been claimed as sites for Ophir. Of all these conjectures, that which seems most founded on probability, and is corroborated by the authority of the *Bible Cyclopædia*,‡ is that of Dr. Huet, Bishop of Avranches, who is of opinion that it was on the eastern coast of Africa, and termed by the Arabians Zanguebar; that the name Ophir was more particularly given to the small country of Sofala on the same coast; that Solomon's fleet went out from the Red Sea, and, doubling Cape Guardafui, coasted along Africa to Sofala, where was found in abundance whatever was brought to the Hebrew monarch by this voyage. After all this laboured and learned speculation, the precise situation of Ophir, it is to be apprehended, must ever remain a mere conjecture.

The admirable location of the Mediterranean Sea, watering countries the most fertile, the theatres of the earliest civilization stretching far inward, and all but land-bound, with a comparatively small outlet to the ocean, it was natural that those who dwelt upon its shores should be the first to hazard the perils of the deep, to master the navigation of their own waters, and ultimately command the commerce of three continents. Noting in their night adventures the star-lit paths which steered them clear of shoals, hidden rocks, and precipitous banks, they became as familiar with the heavenly orbs, as did the Chaldean shepherds, and thus nursed the kindred sciences, astronomy and navigation, cultivating them to the highest state of

* Isaiah xliii. 7. † 2 Samuel viii. 14.
‡ *Asiatic Journal.*

* Bruce's *Travels in the East*, b. ii. chap. iv.
† Robertson's *Historical Disquisition concerning Ancient India.*
‡ Vol. ii. p. 967, article *Ophir.*

perfection possible, without the aid of modern instruments, preparing for those astounding discoveries of later times, the noblest achievements of the human intellect.

On the southern shores of that sea—washed on the east by the Red Sea, and connected with Asia by the narrow neck of land called the Isthmus of Suez, confined on each side by vast regions of barren sand, scarcely inhabited or habitable, and doomed to perpetual sterility and desolation—flourished Egypt, "the land of marvels," blessed with a luxuriant soil and a mild climate, producing the necessaries and comforts of life in such profusion, that several modern as well as ancient historians have hazarded the bold assertion, that its inhabitants were independent of the productions of other countries, and, in fact, that among them it became a maxim of policy to repudiate all intercourse with foreigners, to hold all seafaring men in abhorrence, and to exclude all strangers from their ports. These statements are endorsed by the historian Dr. Robertson, and he draws from them another conclusion—that the alleged conquests of the Egyptian monarch Sesostris were inventions of the Egyptian priests, and from that source obtained by Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus. The doctor thus states his case:—"Credulity and scepticism are two opposite extremes into which men are apt to run in examining the events which are said to have happened in the earlier ages of antiquity. Without incurring any suspicion of a propensity to the latter of these, I may be allowed to entertain doubts concerning the expedition of Sesostris into India, and his conquest of that country.—1. Few facts in ancient history seem to be better established *than that of the early aversion of the Egyptians to a seafaring life*. Even the power of despotism cannot at once change the ideas and manners of a nation, especially when they have been confirmed by long habit, and rendered sacred by the sanction of religion. That Sesostris, in the course of a few years, should have so entirely overcome the prejudices of a superstitious people, as to be able to fit out four hundred ships of force in the Arabian Gulf, besides another fleet which he had in the Mediterranean, appears to be extremely improbable. Armaments of such magnitude would require the utmost efforts of a great and long-established power.—2. It is remarkable that Herodotus, who inquired with the most persevering diligence into the history of Egypt, and who received all the information concerning it which the priests of Memphis, Heliopolis, and Thebes, could communicate, although he relates the history of Sesostris at some length, does not mention his conquest of India. That tale, it is probable, was invented in the period between the age of Herodotus and that of Diodorus Siculus, from whom we receive a particular detail of the Indian expedition of Sesostris. His account rests entirely upon the authority of the Egyptian priests; and Diodorus himself not only gives it as his general opinion 'that many things which they related flowed rather from a desire to promote the honour of their country than from attention to truth,' but takes particular notice that the Egyptian priests, as well as the Greek writers, differ widely from each other in the accounts which they give of the actions of Sesostris.—3. Though Diodorus asserts that, in relating the history of Sesostris, he had studied to select what appeared to him most probable, and most agreeable to the monuments of that monarch still remaining in Egypt, he has admitted into his narrative many marvellous circumstances which render the whole extremely suspicious."* He then proceeds to quote some of these suspicious circumstances, in corroboration of his author's veracity.

The authority of such a man as the eminent historian of Charles V. and of America, will always be deservedly held in great respect in the republic of letters, and if he thought the subject of such gravity as to challenge his investigation, a further prosecution of that inquiry may be tolerated. Indeed, the question is one of sufficient historical importance, for its affirmative solution will establish the earliest direct documentary evidence of the exercise of Western domination in India, and identify a point of view from which the foreign relations, military as well as commercial, of ancient Egypt may be considered.

Then, as to the first objection. Had the Egyptians such an aversion to seafaring life as to preclude them from all naval pursuits? The Egyptian records and monuments state that thirty dynasties, some consecutive, many contemporaneous, possessed kingly power, extending from the reign of Ménès, B.C. 2717, to the conquest by Alexander the Great, B.C. 230. The name of Sesostris has been found in hieroglyphics in the Ramiseum of El Kurneh†, and in hieratic characters in the royal Turin papyrus.‡ Whatever prejudices may have existed amongst the Egyptians to the cultivation of commercial relations, they certainly did not prevail at every period of its history. The first mention in holy writ of Egypt is in connexion with foreign commerce,—and that in the

* Robertson's *Researches*, p. 5.

† Lepsius, *Denkmäler*.

‡ *Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients*, vol. ii. p. 262.

products of India:—"And, behold, a company of Ishmaelites came from Gilead with their camels bearing spicery, and balm, and myrrh, going to carry it down to Egypt."* Here, upon opening the oldest history in the world, at a period 1729 years B.C., we find, as Dr. Vincent remarks, the Ishmaelites conducting a caravan loaded with spices of India, the balsam and myrrh of Hadramaut, and in the regular course of their traffic proceeding to Egypt for a market; and notwithstanding the antiquity of the transaction, it has all the genuine features of a caravan crossing the desert at the present hour. Hence the inference is obvious, that Egypt then had become what it is always recorded to have been—the centre of a most extensive commerce by land, and, through the agency of the camel, the "ship of the desert," as the Arab emphatically calls him. On some of the oldest monuments of Egypt are groups of foreigners, proving the then existing intercourse. On the rock inscriptions of Wadee-el-Magarah, in the peninsula of Sinai, Num-Shufu, or Saphis the first, is represented slaying a foreigner. This monarch is the Cheops to whom Herodotus ascribes the building of the great pyramid, he ruled over 2300 years before the Christian era. It is in his reign we find the first reliable contemporary monuments of which the dates are satisfactorily ascertained. The probability is that the earliest is the northern pyramid of Aboo-Seer. These monuments are exceedingly numerous, and, thanks to the persevering ingenuity of our contemporaries, who have supplied a key to the reading of the hieroglyphic inscriptions, afford us far better knowledge of the state of Egypt in those remote times, than is supplied by the scanty fragments of Manetho, Herodotus, and Diodorus Siculus. A tablet, which may be pronounced the most interesting of the Egyptian monuments, was discovered at Waldee Halfeh, in Nubia, near the second cataract, recording the triumph of Sesertesen I. over foreign tribes, probably Ethiopians. The Egyptians must at this early period (B.C. 2080) have extended their rule far into Nubia. Sesertesen, it is reasonable to suppose, is identical with the Sesostris of the Greeks. At or about this last-mentioned date Egypt became the prey of invaders, and the fifteenth dynasty was established. The Egyptians call them shepherds (*Penu* or Phœnicians). For several centuries—Africanus states 953 years—and through three dynasties, the shepherd kings ruled Egypt. Is it probable that the Phœnicians would abstain from commercial pursuits, and surrender all the advantages derivable from naval enterprise? On the tomb of Elethyas, in the reign of Aahmes, the Amôs or Amôsis of Manetho, B.C. 1525, is a long inscription of one Aahmes, chief of the mariners, who served several of the early kings of the eighteenth dynasty. The inscription mentions a war at sea or on the river, and particularizes the famous shepherd city Avaris, and relates that the king made in his sixth year an expedition by water to Ethiopia, to impose tribute.* The immediate successors of the last-named monarch were as potent at least as he. The representations in the chambers of the great temple of Amen-ra-el-Karnak, at Thebes, show that Amenoph I. was successful in war against the Ethiopians, as well as against Asiatics. In the next reign the arms of Egypt were carried into Mesopotamia, and into Ethiopia also.† Tothmes III. penetrated as far as Nineveh; and Amenoph, the third in descent from him, has left a distinct record of the extent of his dominions,—that they had Neherena—Mesopotamia—for their northern, and Keluee or Kelue—probably Coloe—as their southern boundary.‡ That Syria, east of Europe, owned his sway, and a very great part of Ethiopia, is proved by monumental inscriptions: Eusebius, Manetho, and Syncellus (in his Catalogue of Egyptian kings), state that "the Ethiopians, migrating from the river Indus, came and dwelt near Egypt." The sculptures of a rock temple at Silsilis—Gebel-es-Silseleh—commemorate a successful expedition against the negroes.§ The reign of Rameses II., B.C. 1200, was also signalized by foreign wars, furnishing an illustrious proof of the naval prowess of ancient Egypt. The most distinguished of these was, perhaps, that which he swayed against "the Kairetana of the Sea," and "the Tokaree," probably the Cretans and Carians, who, anterior to the Homeric period, are reported to have been great maritime powers, a fact strangely confirmed, and their decadence accounted for, by this chapter of Egyptian story. Over these combined fleets he achieved a signal victory. This sea fight forms the subject of one of the most remarkable battle scenes which adorn the great temple of Medeenat Haboo.‖

There is no fact of remote antiquity better substantiated than that Egypt, by her many victories by land and sea, had subjected several maritime peoples on the Mediterranean,

* Genesis xxxvii. 25.

* Champollion, *Lettres*, pp. 197, 198; and De Rongé, *Tombeau d'Aahmes*.

† Lepsius, *Denkmäler*.

‡ Rosillini, *Monumenti Storici*, No. XLIX.

§ Ibid., No. XLIV.

‖ Ibid., No. CXXXI.

and that all the countries lying on its eastern confines were reduced to obedience, or compelled to pay tribute to the Pharaohs.

Psammeticus, who possessed the throne B.C. 664, was on the most friendly terms with the Phœnicians and Greeks, and, in addition, encouraged them to trade with his subjects. His son, Pharaoh Neko, who succeeded him B.C. 610, and who, at Megiddo, defeated and slew Josiah, the King of Judah, although engaged in wars of great magnitude, did not neglect the commercial interests of his country. He either commenced the construction of a canal from the Nile to the Red Sea, or attempted to remove the obstructions to navigation in one previously cut. He also maintained a fleet in the Mediterranean and in the Red Sea, and to him, as Herodotus relates, is to be attributed the circumnavigation of Africa. Amases, the contemporary of Cyrus the Great and Crœsus, B.C. 571, was enabled, by his powerful fleet, to subjugate Cyprus, and make it tributary.

The old traditions concerning the relations which existed between the Egyptians, Phœnicians, and Greeks, for a period of two thousand years, attributed to the inordinate vanity and reckless assumption of the historians of the last-mentioned people, and classed with their myths, are verified by the contemporary memorials, preserved by the granite tablets lately made legible, amid the ruin of dynasties, and the alternations of greatness and degradation. That the Egyptians had, centuries anterior to the Trojan war, established colonies, rests on stronger grounds than assertion; and from this, and similar instances elucidated by the labours of Belzoni, Champollion, Young, Wilkinson, and Layard, historians may learn that the traditions of a people, however obscure they may be rendered by poetical embellishments, are not to be rejected as entirely unworthy of consideration. A preserved tradition, like a preserved fossil fragment of an extinct animal, may, after the accumulation of a body of facts, lead the comparative historian, as well as the comparative anatomist, to the construction of a whole,—the verity of which may be fully established by the subsequent discovery of a scientific explorer, or by some lucky accident.

The settlement of Egyptian and Phœnician colonies in Greece may be now recognized as established facts. The period of these emigrations extended from the middle of the nineteenth to the close of the seventeenth century before Christ, during the sway of the shepherd kings—Phœnicians. That Cadmus, a Phœnician, introduced letters into illiterate Greece—that Hellenic art presents evident traces of Egyptian influence—that the earliest specimens of Greek pottery are formed on Egyptian models, and rich in Egyptian designs—that ancient sages of Athens, Sparta, and other Hellenic localities sojourned in Egypt,—in the light of recent historical discoveries, cease to be looked upon as the dreams of early romancers. Were the ancient Egyptians strangers to the sea, how possibly could they have colonized Greece?

There are several instances of later date which might be adduced in proof of the inference advocated, but enough has been said to show,—however jealous the Egyptians may occasionally have been of strangers,—from the earliest times, long anterior to the Ptolemies—to whom the rise of their naval power has been attributed — they cultivated foreign traffic, admitted strangers to the interior, waged distant wars, and maintained large naval armaments.

The silence of Herodotus as to the conquest of India by Sesostris, on which Robertson so much relies, is not presumptive evidence of the falsity of the statement of Diodorus Siculus and others; nor does it follow, from the statement of Herodotus, that "he had inquired with the most persevering diligence into the ancient history of Egypt, and had received all the information concerning it which the priests of Memphis, Heliopolis, and Thebes, could communicate." What the Greek historian mentions by no means confirms the general and positive deductions drawn from it. Here follows the passage from which this quotation is made:—"This relation," referring to an absurd tale which he justly ridicules, "I had from the priests of Vulcan at Memphis. But the Greeks tell many other foolish things, &c. I heard other things also at Memphis in conversation with the priests of Vulcan, and on this very account I went also to Thebes, and to Heliopolis, in order to ascertain whether they would agree with the accounts given at Memphis; for the Heliopolitans are esteemed the most learned in history of all the Egyptians." The narration which he gives of the expedition of Sesostris, seems to imply that the priests recorded the conquests of India among his exploits. "The priests said that he [Sesostris] was the first who, setting out in ships of war from the Arabian Gulf, subdued these nations that dwell by the Red Sea, until, sailing onwards, he arrived at a sea which was not navigable on account of the shoals; and afterwards, when he came back to Egypt, according to the reports of the priests, he assembled a large army, and marched through the continent, subduing every nation that he fell in with, and wherever he met with any who were valiant, and

who were very ardent in defence of their liberty, he erected columns in their territories, with inscriptions, declaring his own name and country, and how he had conquered them by his power; but when he subdued any cities without fighting, and easily, he made inscriptions on the columns in the same way as among the nations that had proved themselves valiant. Thus doing he traversed the continent, until, having crossed from Asia into Europe, to these (the Scythians and Thracians) the Egyptian army appears to me to have reached and no farther, for in their country the columns appear to have been erected, but nowhere beyond them." * The mention of the latter fact appears to be a justification for his scepticism as to the more extended conquests claimed for Sesostris. Further on he states, "This king then was the only Egyptian who ruled over Ethiopia"—a generic term, from Homer downwards, for all the swarthy nations of the East. Among the writers of Greece and Rome there is not a more painstaking historian than Diodorus Siculus: and though he wanted the higher qualities of an historian, his materials were selected with skill and assiduity; nor was he reckless as to the narratives which he extracted from the Egyptian records; he introduces his account of Sesostris in these words: —"But not only the Greek writers differ among themselves about this king, but likewise the Egyptian priests and poets relate various and conflicting stories of him; our best efforts shall be directed to select what is truth-like, and conformable with the monuments still existing in Egypt." †

The scepticism with which the achievements of the great Egyptian conqueror, as well as his identity, have been treated, and, in addition, the fact that he is the first of the conquerors of India of whom the Western traditions and historical monuments make mention, justify the space devoted to him, though this identification of the man, and his relations with the East, do not furnish authentic materials for a page of Indian history.

The early education which it is reported Sesostris received, somewhat similar to the training which Xenophon relates was adopted in the education of Cyrus, developed fully his mental and physical powers; and a large body of young men—his coevals, in fact, born on the same day—were bred up with him, and subjected to the same discipline. Daily converse and association strengthen mutual attachment, and the Egyptian prince was thus surrounded by a body-guard, active, brave, and devoted, willing to serve, and prepared to command. His first expedition, it is related, was in command of an army sent by his father for the conquest of Arabia. He succeeded, and subjected to the Egyptian yoke the fierce warriors of the desert, who never before owned a master. In this campaign he was accompanied by his youthful playmates. On his return, he was dispatched against the Lybians, whose territories lay on the western frontiers of Egypt. Though yet only a stripling, he subjugated the greatest part of that country. Coming to the crown on the demise of his father, and encouraged by his successes on the east as well as the west, his ambition was fired with the proud hope of conquering the world. As the basis of his success, he first devoted his attention to inspire his people with feelings of love and admiration, and adopted means which, when employed by a youthful sovereign, never fail of realizing such results. He secured the allegiance of his subjects in his absence, and bound the soldiery firmly to his interests. The army he is said to have raised was commensurate with the magnitude of the undertaking. It amounted to six hundred thousand foot, twenty-four thousand horse, and twenty-seven thousand chariots of war; and to the respective commands he appointed those who had been educated with him, to the number of seventeen hundred. The marshaled hosts which Sardanapalus, Darius, Xerxes, and other ancient conquerors, brought into the field, reconcile to us the probability of this large force. Before Sesostris directed his course eastward, he marched against the Southern Ethiopians, whom he chastised. After that he dispatched a fleet of four hundred ships of war to the Red Sea, and subdued all the islands in it, and the maritime nations which extended from it as far as India. At the head of his land army he conquered all the nations of Asia—not alone those which Alexander the Great subsequently reduced, but likewise those on which he never set foot, "for he crossed the Ganges, and penetrated the whole of India, even to the ocean." * Nine years, the historians state, were spent in this expedition.

Whatever degree of credibility may be attachable to this narrative, it deserves a place in the history of ancient India. Many of the most questionable statements of the ancient historians have been unexpectedly verified by the results of modern research. There is one illustration corroborative of this, which may be pertinently in-

* Herodotus, b. II. chaps. cii., ciii. See Cary's Translation, Bohn's Classical Library.

† Diodorus Siculus, b. I. chap. xliii.

* Καὶ γὰρ τὸν Γάγγη ποταμὸν διῆβη, καὶ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἐπῆλθε πᾶσαν ἐως Ὠκεανοῦ.—DIODORUS SICULUS, b. I. c. 43.

troduced here, which occurs in Herodotus's description of India, apparently the most puerile and ludicrously imaginative of what were for centuries designated the fables of the "lying Greeks:"—"There are other Indians living near the city of Caspatyras and the country of Pactyica [the city and territory of Cabul], situated to the north of the rest of the Indian nations, resembling the Bactrians, their neighbours, in their manner of life. These are the most warlike of all the Indians, and the people who go to procure the gold; for the neighbourhood of this nation is a sandy desert, in which are ants, less in size than dogs, but larger than foxes, specimens of which are to be seen in the palace of the King of Persia, having been brought from that country. These creatures make themselves habitations under ground, throwing up the sand like the ants in Greece, which they nearly resemble in appearance. The sand, however, consists of gold-dust. To procure this, the Indians make incursions into the desert, taking with them three camels,—a male one on each side, and a female in the centre, on which the rider sits, taking care to have one that recently foaled. When, in this manner, they come to the place where the ants are, the Indians fill their sacks with the sand, and ride back as fast as they can, the ants, as the Persians say, pursuing them by the scent, the female camel, eager to rejoin her young one, surpassing the others in speed and perseverance. It is thus, according to the Persians, that the Indians obtain the greater part of their gold; at the same time that the metal is also found in mines, though in less quantities." * Heeren, in his *Historical Researches*, strips the passage of its seeming absurdities, and places the cautious accuracy of the information, as well as the veracity of the father of history, in its proper light. His comments are:—"Herodotus has so accurately marked the situation of these auriferous deserts, that it is impossible to be mistaken. The nation in whose neighbourhood they are situated 'live near to Bactria and Pactyica, to the north of the other Indians,' and consequently among the mountains of Thibet or Little Bokhara; and the desert in their vicinity can be no other than that of Cobis, which is bounded by the mountains of the above countries. There is no doubt that the account of the historian is applicable to this region." We have already remarked that the lofty chain of mountains which limit the desert is rich in veins of gold; and not only the rivers which flow westward, from Great Bokhara, but the desert streams which run from the east, and lose themselves in the sand. Besides, who knows not that the adjacent country, Thibet, abounds in gold sand? Nor can we be surprised if, at the present day, the rivers in question should be less abundant than formerly in that metal, as must always be the case, when it is not obtained by the process of mining, but washed down by a stream. As late, however, as the last century gold sand was imported from this country by the caravans travelling to Siberia; and under Peter the Great this gave occasion to abortive attempts to discover the supposed El Dorados, which were not without some beautiful results for the service of geography, though utterly unprofitable for the purposes of finance. That these were not ants, but a larger species of animal, having a skin, is apparent not only from the account of Herodotus, but from that of Megasthenes, in Arrian (*India*, O.P., p. 179), who saw their skins, which he describes as being larger than those of foxes. The Count von Veltheim, in his *Sammelung einiger Aufsatze*, vol. ii. p. 268, &c., has started the ingenious idea that the skins of the foxes (*Canis corsa*, Linn.), found in great abundance in this country, were employed in the washing of gold, and which, as they burrow in the earth, may have given rise to the fable. Bold as this conjecture may appear, it deserves to be remarked, as it is in perfect agreement with what we know of the natural history of the country. In corroboration of the view Heeren has taken, it may be added, that it is a common practice in Savoy to use the skins of animals in washing gold sand. In the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*,* Mr. Lane describes the simple mode pursued by the Birmese in collecting the gold-dust of the *Kyenduen* River, by fixing the horns of a peculiar species of wild cow in the small streams coming from the hills, to entangle the gold-dust in the velvet or hairy coat with which the young horns are enveloped. The horns, he was informed, were sold, with the gold-dust and sand adhering to them, for twelve or thirteen ticals apiece. It is by no means improbable that in the gold streams north of the Himalayas whole fleeces of some small animal were employed for the same purpose, and were occasionally sold entire. In a raid upon a people who thus collected their gold in all probability originated the well-known tale of Jason. The existence of Sesostris can be no longer questioned. His identity is now established by the many and various monuments within and without Egypt; nor are the performance of the exploits attributed to him improbable, when the demonstrated power of the Egyptian monarchy was

* Herodotus.

* Vol. i. p. 16.

so great, and in an age when there existed no great empire from the waters of the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf to the banks of the Indus—perhaps not even the Ganges.

The Phœnicians are the next of the Western states whom we find recorded in commercial communication with India. Many causes have conspired to intercept the transmission of their history. Had it descended in its entirety to us, what a light would be reflected on the obscurity in which the first civilization that beamed on Europe is involved!—a civilization whose lustre, probably, would not be lost in the halo which encircled that of Greece. The fragments of their history—derived from Sanchoniato, some of the Hebrew writers, particularly Ezekiel, the Greek historians, Josephus, Eusebius, &c.—supply a general outline.

Though precedence has been given in this chapter to Judæa and Egypt, it is not in consequence of the belief that their relations with India were of an earlier date, but we were influenced by the consideration that the historical records of those countries are of greater antiquity. Phœnicia was the medium of communication between them and the East. Through her agency the abundance of the East was scattered over the West. The geographical features of the country combined with the character of its inhabitants to make them a maritime people. Phœnicia was neither extensive nor fertile; it lay on the borders of a sea whose placid waters were studded with islands teeming with luxuriant produce, and whose northern shores were the seaboard of the productive districts of Asia Minor. Its political institutions were favourable to the nurture of an independent and enterprising spirit. It did not constitute one state, or at least one empire; it was composed of a combination of several. It presented a social aspect kindred to, if not identical with, all Celtic nations—such as ancient Gaul presented, and was to be seen in the clans and septs of Scotland and Ireland, and in England, ere the Roman invader pressed its soil. The clans were all bound in one great confederation, acknowledging a common chief. Tyre, from its position as chief city, and the emporium of nations, stood at the head. It has been remarked by Dr. Robertson, "that both in their manners and their policy they resemble the great commercial states of modern times more than any people in the ancient world."* Among them the art of navigation was earnestly cultivated; in naval dexterity and skill they were unrivalled; and no nation of antiquity could lay claim to the same spirit of adventurous enterprise. With the tin which they brought from the far isles of the West—the British Isles—were in all probability manufactured the bosses and ornaments of the shields borne by the combatants of Troy, as also the greaves they wore and the cups they quaffed, while by them were poured far westward the rich and voluptuous products of Indian climes. They not only monopolized the trade of nations near and remote; they likewise spread themselves by the establishment of colonies, and of these some, particularly Carthage, rivalled the parent states in wealth, trade, and power. At a very early period Phœnician colonies were planted in the favoured isles of the Archipelago, from which they were subsequently ejected by the conquering Greeks. Tartessas, Gades, and Carteia, under their auspices, flourished in Southern Spain; Utica, Carthage, and Adrumetum, on the northern coast of Africa; Panormus and Lylibeum, on the north-western coast of Sicily. The traditions and early annalists of Ireland state that they colonized that island. They had settlements, in all probability, in the Persian Gulf, on the Islands of Tylos and Aradus. In truth, as navigators, they were the boldest, the most experienced, and the greatest discoverers of ancient times, and for many ages had no rivals. They not only were the transporters of the merchandize of other nations, they were also manufacturers. The glass of Sidon, the purple of Tyre, and the fine linen they exported, were their own inventions; and they were deservedly celebrated for their extraordinary skill in working metals, in hewing timber and stone, and for their architectural excellence. Their fame for taste, design, and execution, was so well established, that whatever was elegant, great, or pleasing in apparel, vessels, toys, was distinguished by the epithet *Sidonian*. Many other important discoveries, among which the invention of letters holds the first rank, are attributed to them. Had we not before us the millions of colonists whose paternity is due to the British Isles, the vast colonial territories thus peopled, the regions thus occupied, it would be questioned how little more than a slip of land, confined between Mount Lebanon and the sea, could pour forth such supplies of people without depopulation. From Eloth to Eziongeber, ports situated at the northern extremity of the Arabian Gulf, they undertook, in connection with the Jews, the voyage to Ophir, previously referred to, and extended their commerce from the Persian Gulf to the western peninsula of India and the Island of Ceylon. The most remarkable of their geographical discoveries was the cir-

* *Historical Disquisition concerning Ancient India*, p. 7.

cumnavigation of Africa. The probability is mentioned of their having had a land communication with China, in consequence of their trade through Palmyra with Babylon, which opened to them an indirect path by way of Persia to Lesser Bokhara and Little Thibet. Dr. Robertson asserts that among the various branches of Phœnician commerce that with India may be regarded as one of the most lucrative.* The distance between the Arabian Gulf and Tyre rendered the carriage of goods by land both tedious and expensive. The Phœnicians, to obviate these impediments to trade, occupied Rhinocolura (now El Arish), the nearest of the ports in the Mediterranean to the Arabian Gulf. This port soon became the seat of Indian commerce. "Merchandize was conveyed through Leuce-Come, a large mart in the territory of the Nabateans, and Petra, and thither and thence to other nations."† This was a shorter route than the one which Strabo states was afterwards pursued—namely, from India to Myus Hormus, and thence to Coptus (Kopt of the Thebais), situated on a canal of the Nile, and to Alexandria.‡ From Rhinocolura the transport by water to Tyre was short and safe. Great were the advantages which the Phœnicians secured by this route, the earliest of any of which there remains any authentic account, and superior to any known anterior to the discoveries of the Portuguese.

Having thus summarily reviewed the fragmentary notices which from the perceptible dawn of commercial enterprise, have descended to modern times—exciting a curiosity which presents a wide field for ingenious speculation, but yields nothing very satisfactory in an historical point of view—we now approach a period upon which more rays of historical light fall, yet still immerged in great, if not in impervious, obscurity.

The Persians are the first people of whom it can be asserted, on testimony not entirely hypothetical, that they subjugated India. Of an early intercourse, it is observed by De Marles, abundant evidence is to be found in the language, traditions, and religious feelings of the two countries. Balk, the mother of cities, the Mecca of the Magians, the capital of Persia in her heroic days, and at a later period of a Greek kingdom, was indebted to this intercourse for its advantageous commercial position and its immense wealth. Bactria was the key of Central India, the connecting link between the East and the West. It was the great rendezvous on the high road from the Caspian gates, not only to the country of India, but to Sogdiana and Serica; and by this route a commercial intercourse was maintained between China and Europe. The produce of India was likewise transported on the backs of camels from the banks of the Indus to the Oxus, and down this river they were conveyed to the Caspian Sea, and then distributed, partly by land carriage, and partly by navigable rivers, through the different countries lying between the Caspian and the Euxine. The magnitude of this trade may be deduced from the fact that Seleucus Nicator intended to unite the two seas by a canal. This project was frustrated by the assassination of that prince.*

Herodotus informs us that a great part of Asia was explored under the direction of Darius Hystaspes, who, being desirous to know in what part the Indus discharged itself into the sea, dispatched vessels on a voyage of exploration, commanded by officers upon whose enterprise, intelligence, and veracity, he could rely, one of whom, Scylax of Caryanda, has transmitted his name to posterity. Setting forth from the city of Caspatyrus, and the country of the Pactyici,† they descended in an easterly direction to the sea; then, steering to the westward, they arrived, in the thirtieth month, at the port whence the King of Egypt had dispatched the Phœnicians to circumnavigate Lybia. After these had successfully completed their voyage, Darius resolved on the subjugation of the Indians.‡ To this expedition he appears to have been led by the glowing description which Scylax gave of the luxuriant land he had reached, and its identity with the remote climes whose productions, mineral and vegetable, had been for centuries previously conveyed to and through the territories subject to his rule, and which had excited envy and cupidity. For its execution he was also well prepared. Though no descendant of the great Cyrus, he was a member of the same family,§ and the third in succession to him. He was one of the seven Persian chiefs who conspired against Smerdis, the Magian usurper, and through his life displayed the boldness, ingenuity, and promptitude, with which he secured the throne. When Cyrus undertook his expedition against the Massagetæ, Darius, then twenty years of age, was left in Persia, of which his father was satrap. Herodotus states that, the night

* *Ancient India.*
† Strabo, vol. iii. p. 211. Bohn's Edition.
‡ Ibid.

* This passage is given in the *Asiatic Journal*, without acknowledgment, from Cerver's *India*, vol. i., p. 145, who probably has derived it by translation from De Marles.
† The modern Peh-keley.
‡ Herodotus, b. iv., chap. xliv.
§ Ibid., b. i., chap. cciv.

after Cyrus had crossed the Araxes, he fancied in his sleep that he beheld himself with wings on his shoulders, one of which overshadowed Asia, the other Europe. The king looked upon this dream as a mysterious warning of a conspiracy against him and his crown; but the historian remarks, "the divinity foreshadowed to him that he would himself be killed in the ensuing campaign, and that his power would descend to Darius."* It was in his reign that those various and far-spreading nations, subdued by Cyrus and his son Cambyses, were consolidated,—so far, at least, as they ever were, for, in truth, those discordant elements were never brought into a state of cohesion. Asia, to the borders of Scythia and India, with the exception of Arabia, had bent to the yoke of his predecessors. Having fortified his position by the most powerful alliances, and divided his vast empire into twenty satrapies, a detailed account of which, and their revenues, is supplied by Herodotus,† his ambition led him to foreign conquests. The successive rulers of Western Asia had long viewed with jealousy the congregation of independent and enterprising states from which the Ægean separated them; interests nearer home had curbed those ambitious designs which they had upon them; and probably the monarchs of Persia calculated with confidence on the immediate submission of the Greeks, at any moment they were at leisure to make a hostile demonstration against them. This conjecture is strengthened by the fact, that the first armament dispatched against Greece was comparatively inconsiderable, compared with the resources of Persia, and the displays made by Darius in other quarters. The revolt of the Babylonians prevented the prosecution of a war against Greece, although it had been commenced by an attack on Samos. Babylon fell B.C. 508. Crossing the Thracian Bosphorus, he overran Scythia, to the delta of the Danube, and penetrated far into the interior of Russia. He subdued Thrace and Pæonia, and received the symbols of submission, earth and water, from Amyntas, the King of Macedonia. He sent his lieutenant Otanes to reduce the maritime cities on the north coast of the Ægean. The Hellespont and the Bosphorus, Byzantium, Chalcedon, and the Islands of Imbros and Hemnos, fell into his hands. The disastrous results of his war against Greece are too familiar for more than allusion, and nearly so his repression of the Egyptian revolt. The incorporation in his empire of the many countries which stretched south-east from the Caspian to the river Oxus, inspired him with the ambition of also attaching some, if not all, of the Indian territories. It is probable that this was the real motive which suggested the voyage of Scylax towards the upper part of the navigable course of the river Indus, and the sailing down its streamlet he should reach the ocean. The glowing description which it has been said that officer gave of its population, luxuriant productions, and high state of cultivation, fired his impatience. To troops tempered by so many campaigns, and always victorious on the eastern continent, the pacific dwellers beyond the Indus could offer but a feeble opposition; and though Dr. Robertson opines, "that his conquests in India seem not to have extended beyond the district watered by the Indus," such a view conflicts with the evidence of Herodotus.* "The population of India is by far the most numerous of all the nations we know. Their tribute (to Darius) amounted to more than that of any other nation;" or, as Larcher translates it, "they paid as many taxes as all the rest put together."† The description of the Persian satrapies has been subjected by modern writers to critical investigation, the result of which has been to verify the general authenticity, and consequently the industry and fidelity, of the historian. It is worthy of remark, as Major Rennel appropriately observes, that this tribute was paid in gold, whereas that of the other satrapies was paid in silver. Much light has been thrown on this circumstance, he adds, by the intelligence furnished by the AYIN ACKBAREE—namely, that the eastern branches of the Indus, as well as some other streams that descend from the northern mountains, yield gold.‡ Prideaux conjectures, that when Scylax returned by the Straits of Babelmandel and the Red Sea, he landed where Suez now stands. He dates the commencement of the voyage, B.C. 509, in the thirteenth year of the reign of Darius. It appears that the three succeeding years were devoted to the acquisition of India, as this interval is not accounted for by any other transactions of his reign. The short extract above quoted from Herodotus comprises all that survives of the history of this campaign. On his return from the East he renewed his designs upon Greece. From this incident may be dated the commencements of those collisions between the armies of Persia and Greece, the most brilliant episode in the annals of the latter, the provocation of an aggressive war with

* Herodotus, b. I., chap. cex.
† Ibid, b. III., chap. xc, &c.

* Herodotus, b. III., chap. xciv.
† "Ils payoient autant d'impôts que tous les autres ensemble."
‡ *Memoir of a Map of Hindostan*, p. 25.

Persia, which eventuated, after the lapse of nearly two centuries, in the subjugation of the mighty empire founded by the great Cyrus, partially consolidated by Darius himself,—led the all-conquering hero of Macedon beyond the Indus, and first familiarised the rich domains of the famed Asiatic Peninsula to the nations of the Western continent. From this period onward the historian of India is released from much of the difficulties by which he was beset in his researches into more primitive times, and treads a path which, though overgrown by rank weeds, which vegetate most profusely on land once cultivated, yet preserves enough of its characteristics to conduct the traveller to his destination.

## CHAPTER XX.

COMMERCE (*Continued*):—COMMERCIAL INTERCOURSE BETWEEN INDIA AND THE WESTERN NATIONS FROM THE INVASION OF ALEXANDER TO THE SETTLEMENT OF THE BRITISH.

A RECENT writer on India has very properly remarked:—"All that Europe knew of India prior to the expedition of the Macedonian monarch was through its gold, its pearls, its spices, and its rich cloths. But the length of time occupied in the voyage, the circuitous route by which these goods were conveyed, and the many hands through which they passed, rendered it highly improbable that any but the most wild and fanciful pictures of the East ever reached those who consumed the products brought from those lands. It was reserved for Alexander the Great (B.C. 331) to achieve, amongst other things, the opening of this hidden region, although he himself visited but its confines on the west. Unlike the progress of those northern conquerors who came after him, carrying fire and sword and scattering death and ruin about their footsteps, the Macedonian carried with him the softening influence of civilization." Alexander, however, knew little of "the gorgeous East;" he paused on the threshold of the new world to which his conquering arms were carried. The Hyphasis was a rubicon which he did not pass, at all events in the pomp and power of war, but marched thence towards the south-west, between the Indus and the desert, leaving garrisons and forming alliances as he passed along. The adherents of the conqueror, who remained behind with his garrisons, studied the character of the country, and the manners and habits of the people, and Europe became better acquainted with the condition of India than would now be supposed possible at that period, had we not the writings of Ptolemy, Arrian, Aristobulus, and others, to attest it. The early Greek representations of India agree wonderfully with all we know of it, and with what our knowledge of its antiquities shows us must then have been its condition. In Robertson's *Disquisition concerning Ancient India*, and in Gillie's *History of the World*, the fullest notices extant of the conquest of India by Alexander, and the conduct of his successors in India, will be found. The authorities chiefly relied on are Strabo and Arrian, but they supply very imperfect information as to the commercial intercourse between the Indians and the Greeks.

The Bactrians, both before they acquired independence, and after the death of the great Macedonian afforded them that boon through the dismemberment of the empire, carried on commercial intercourse with India. Mill says:—"Among the kingdoms formed out of the vast empire of Alexander was Bactria. This district was part of the great range of country on the eastern side of Media and Persia, extending from the Lake Aral to the mouths of the Indus, which the power of the Persian monarchs had added to their extensive dominions." This statement Mill introduces to account for the extensive power wielded by the Bactrians, and their influence on the civilization of Hindoostan. Professor Wilson corrects the statements of Mill, by observing that the political power of Bactria after its independence may have extended over this space, but that the Bactrian province of Persia lay entirely to the north of the Paropamisan Mountains, and had Sogdiana and the Scythians between it and the Aral Lake. Much additional light has been thrown upon the history of Bactria and the adjacent provinces of the Affghan country, by the recent discovery of large quantities of coins, bearing the effigies and names of Greek and barbaric kings. They have been found in the tract between Balk and the Punjaub, and especially about Peshawur and Cabul, which were, no doubt, included in the dominions of the princes of Bactria, or of those principalities which were established in the direction of India by the Greeks. As most of these coins bear on one face an inscription

which has been ascertained to be in a form of Prakrit, a derivative from Sanscrit, they prove that the Bactrians must have been an Indian people.* The commerce carried on by this people was by no means in proportion to the extensive power which, after the death of the Macedonian emperor, they acquired.

The early death of Alexander prevented his maturing any plan for either founding an Indian empire or establishing an Indian commerce; and the Bactrian empire which arose, while itself profiting, did not extend the intercourse of East and West. For three hundred years the trade with India was conducted by the Egyptians and Arabs by way of the Red Sea, the Nile, and the Mediterranean, through the ports of Berenice, Coptos, and Alexandria. Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, who had been a prominent commander in the Indian expedition of Alexander, having obtained Egypt in the division of the Macedonian empire which followed the conqueror's decease, naturally turned his attention to the scenes of his former exploits, and contributed to the commercial enterprise which then marked the proceedings of the Egyptians and Arabs. Egypt became the grand path of oriental commerce. There were, however, two other routes by which a small portion of the traffic with the East was carried on. One of these lay through Persia and the upper part of Arabia to the Syrian cities, a desert and difficult route, but one of great antiquity. The only halting-place on this dreary road was the famed city of Tadmor, or Palmyra, so-called from the abundance of palm-trees which flourished around its walls. This regal city owed its prosperity to the commerce which passed through it, and which, in the course of time, raised the state to a degree of importance and power that exposed it to the jealousy of imperial Rome. A war ensued, in which its brave and noble-minded queen, Zenobia, was captured, her city destroyed, and with it the overland traffic of the desert, which had existed since the days of Abraham. The second route was by way of the Indus upwards, across the rocky passes of the Hindoo Cush, and so on to the river Oxus and the Caspian Sea, whence the merchandize was conveyed by other land and water conveyance to the cities of the north and north-west. Even in the present day we find this a route of some importance, serving as the means of carrying on a trade between India, Persia, and Russia, which is of more real value to the latter country than is perhaps generally known in Europe. The richest silks, the finest muslins, the most costly shawls, the rarest drugs and spices, are bought up by Russian dealers, and transported by this tedious route to the cities of the great czar. With the Palmyra route the carrying-trade of Egypt with the East suffered equally from the ravages and conquests of the Roman emperors, though not so permanently.*

During the reign of the Emperor Claudius some attention was paid to the advantages which might be derived from an Eastern commerce. This appears, however, to have been the result of Eastern more than of Western enterprise. An embassy was sent from Ceylon which was purely of a commercial character. The great empire of China was penetrated by the fame of the Roman name, and probably in consequence of the representations made by the Ceylon ambassador at a former period, a mission to the ruler of the celestial empire was sent from Rome in the reign of the Antonines.

When the decline of the Roman empire removed the vigorous surveillance held by its despots over their Eastern provinces, the trade between India and Europe, which had suffered much from Roman oppression, began to revive. The removal of the seat of empire from Rome to Constantinople extended greatly the intercourse between East and West. The Byzantines were, however, rivalled by the Persians when the latter shook off the Parthian yoke.

The conquests of the enterprising Saracens gave an immense stimulus to Eastern commerce. They established commercial navies on the Persian Gulf; and the city of Bussorah, founded by the Caliph Omar, at the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates, soon became a place of trade hardly inferior to Alexandria. The Egyptian trade through the Red Sea was at the same time revived; and the hardy Arabs, not contented with following in the track of their predecessors, pushed forward their discoveries until they had accurately explored the greater part of the coast-line of South-eastern Asia. It is all but demonstrated that they obtained a knowledge of the mariner's compass from the Chinese, and that through them this vast improvement in the art of navigation was made known to Europe. The Crusaders were non-trading enthusiasts; yet the capture of the two flourishing cities of Antioch and Tyre pointed out to them the pleasures of oriental

* See the descriptions and observations of Masson and Prinsep in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*; of Jacquet, in the *Journal Asiatique*; Raoul Rochette, in the *Journal des Savans*; also Richter, on the *Topes (die Stupe)*, and Lassen, *Zur Geschichte der Griechischen und Indoskythischen Könige in Bactrien, Kabul, und Indien.*

* *A History of the Rise and Progress of the British Indian Possessions.*

luxury and the advantages of oriental commerce.*

The decline of the Saracenic power gave scope to the rising commonwealths of Italy. The Genoese and Venetians prosecuted trade with Central Asia by way of the Mediterranean and Black Sea, and the subjects of those states maintained with Persia an important oriental commerce. These nations were not, however, able to effect any direct trade with India.

The rise of the Portuguese as a commercial nation opened up a new medium of commercial intercourse with India. Bartholomew Diaz, in 1486, rounded the southern point of Africa, which he named "the Cape of Storms." John II., King of Portugal, perceiving the bearing of the discovery of a passage round the great African promontory into the Indian Ocean, gave it the happy title of "the Cape of Good Hope." Manuel, the successor of John, followed up the discovery of Diaz, and sent out an exploring expedition in July, 1497. On the 22nd of May, 1498, the navigator who commanded this enterprise, Vasco da Gama, reached Calicut, on the coast of Malabar. He remained some time, and freighted his ship with the articles of Indian produce attainable on that coast, and adapted to European taste, or which, in the speculative enterprise of Da Gama, was supposed to be so. He escaped various perils with which his intercourse with the natives was beset,—more especially through the jealousy of the monarch,—and returned in safety to the Tagus.†

The hopes and fears of all Europe were roused by this brilliant discovery. It was at once seen that the Venetians, and their agents, the Mohammedans and Turks, must lose their lucrative monopoly of Indian commerce; and they entered into a treaty with the Sultan of Egypt to prevent the establishment of Portuguese settlements in the Eastern seas. Timber was supplied to him from the forests of Dalmatia to equip a fleet in the Red Sea, where twelve ships of war were soon built, and manned by a gallant body of Mamelukes, under the command of experienced officers. The Portuguese encountered their new enemies with undaunted courage; and after some conflicts they entirely ruined the Egyptian squadron, and remained masters of the Indian Ocean.

After the overthrow of the dynasty of the Mameluke sultans by the Turks, the Venetians easily induced the conquerors of Egypt to join them in a new league for the overthrow of the Portuguese power in India. But the Turks had not the skill and enterprise necessary for undertaking the perilous navigation of the Red Sea, and soon after, the power of Venice was irretrievably ruined by the fatal league of Cambray. The Indian trade was consequently transferred from the Mediterranean Sea to the Atlantic Ocean, and Lisbon for a time was in possession of that commerce which had been a source of wealth and glory to Venice.*

The Portuguese government conducted its plans for commanding a commerce with the East *vid* the Cape of Good Hope with spirit and success. A fleet of thirteen sail, carrying a thousand soldiers, independent of the complement which served as marines, was dispatched under an officer named Pedro Alvarez de Cabral. On his arrival at Calicut, partly by the presence of this imposing force, and partly by his tact in negotiation, he made a treaty of commerce with the *zamorin* or *zamoree*, as the prince of the country stretching along the Malabar coast was then called, and the adventurous Portuguese became regularly installed as factors in Calicut. The mercantile settlers, resting on the treaty, felt secure; but the prince, instigated by the Moormen, laid a scheme for their destruction so furtively, and carried it out so completely, that a general massacre of the Portuguese merchants and their servants, was the result. Thus the character of the natives two centuries and a half ago was developed to Europeans as it was in 1857. The same faculty of secret combination, the same hatred to strangers, and the same expertness in secretively organizing murderous conspiracy against those who trusted them, was displayed.

Cabral was not a man to allow treachery and cruelty either to go unpunished or to defeat his projects. He attacked the Moormen fleet in the harbour of Calicut, burnt, sunk, or captured the ships, and laid the town itself in ruins. The result was that the perfidious chief sued for terms, and obtained them at the expense of far more important concessions than had been requested of him for purposes of commerce and peace.

Awed by the promptitude and energy of Cabral, the chiefs of the neighbouring territories sought amicable relations, and commercial treaties were formed highly beneficial to the Portuguese, who thus found means of obtaining from the interior its products in exchange for foreign goods, or the precious metals. Cabral returned home in triumph, his fleet freighted with Indian riches; and his fame soon spread, not only through the Iberian peninsula, but over all Western and Southern Europe. After the return of Cabral matters were not managed by the Portuguese with skill or fidelity, and the *zamoree* (*zamo-*

* *Ancient and Modern India.*

† Camoens.

* Taylor and M'Kenna.

*rin*) of Calicut endeavoured to compel the native princes in his neighbourhood to break off their alliances with the intruders. These attempts issued in sanguinary struggles, in which, however, the native princes and their foreign ally were the victors.

The Portuguese monarch, stimulated by the accounts of Vasco da Gama, fitted out a new and more powerful fleet, adapted alike for commerce and for war. Albuquerque had the interests of Portugal now committed to him, and he proved himself capable of the high task. His difficulties were more numerous than those which obstructed his predecessors, and his commission was one which, whatever might have been his own opinion of it, ensured the ultimate defeat of Portuguese power and enterprise in the East. The nature of his onerous duties, and the way in which the designs of Portugal were encountered, are thus summed up by Dr. Taylor:—"The papal bull, by which all the East was bestowed on the Portuguese, began now to produce its injurious effects. The Portuguese claimed, as matter of right, the submission of the native princes, while they were utterly unable to conceive how an old prelate residing in Rome, could acquire a claim to deprive them of the authority and independence which they had inherited from their ancestors. Almost every port now opposed the entrance of the Portuguese, and the cargo of almost every ship they loaded was purchased with blood. It was at this time that Albuquerque was placed at the head of the Portuguese in India, and entered on the career of victory which has immortalized his name. One of his first visits was to the Island of Ormuz, an island barren by nature, but which commerce soon raised to a temporary celebrity, such as has rarely been rivalled. The king of the island prepared for defence, and assembled an army, said to exceed thirty thousand men; yet these were totally defeated, by the discipline and skill of less than five hundred Europeans; and the king of Ormuz submitted to vassalage. The foundation of the Portuguese empire in the East may be said to date from the occupation of Goa by Albuquerque. He fortified it in the best manner, so as to render it impregnable against any attacks of the Hindoos or Mohammedans; and having thus discovered the great advantage to be derived from the occupation of cities and harbours, he began to direct his whole course of policy to territorial acquisitions. One of his first conquests was Malacca. He afterwards attempted to storm Aden, but was repulsed. From Malacca to the Island of Ormuz the coast-line of India was studded with forts and commercial marts, occupied by Portuguese garrisons, or dependant on their power. The financial talents of the governor were even greater than his military prowess; he raised the revenue by lowering the rate of duties, trade naturally flowing towards those places where it was least exposed to taxation and vexatious interference. After a brilliant regency of five years, he died at the entrance of the harbour of Goa, on his return from the Island of Ormuz, which he had rescued from the dangers to which it was exposed by a sudden attack of the Persians." During the administration of Albuquerque, ships were dispatched from the settlements on the Indian coasts to China, and a trade was opened up with that country. The Indo-Portuguese derived from this indomitable and wise man, not only lessons of war and administration, but principles of commerce and political economy, which unhappily they did not long retain, and which the parent country never espoused.

The object in this chapter is not to mark the political or social influence of the Portuguese upon their Indian possessions, but to trace the history of European commerce with these realms; it is therefore unnecessary to point out the ebb and flow of the power of Portugal along the coasts of India, and in their neighbouring settlements. Whatever was corrupt and unprincipled in the government of the eastern princes was adopted by the new comers, and other forms of oppression and exaction were introduced. The seas were scoured by pirates: Arabs, Moormen, Malays, Indians, and other races, plundered by sea and shore, and among the boldest and bloodiest of these buccaneers were Portuguese, men who had been sent out in the service of their sovereign, but who, yielding to the avarice and unpatriotic selfishness which so generally characterized their commercial fellow countrymen, forsook the honourable posts assigned to them, and became the most desperate sea robbers. The return of Vasco da Gama for a short time to the government of Portuguese-India, and the influence of men who endeavoured to follow in the footsteps of him and of Albuquerque, redeemed, *pro tempore*, the honour of Portugal, and prevented her interests from utterly perishing in the faithlessness and folly of her sons; but in spite of the good examples thus occasionally set them, and the same commercial policy in which they had at the beginning of their Indian enterprise been instructed, they sacrificed empire and honour to bigotry, oppression, and pelf. Vessels sent out for commercial purposes by the government were armed for war by the governors of the different settlements, who struggled

with one another for supremacy, amidst fierce and sanguinary conflicts, and the sacrifice of national property. An intense eagerness for proselytism was strangely mingled with this piratical spirit. Strenuous efforts were made to convert the natives, many of which were honourable to those who made them, but generally they were barbarous, and abhorrent to Christian feeling. The establishment of the Inquisition at Goa is one of the darkest passages in human story. Probably never, anywhere, had the ingenuity and pertinacity of cruelty been so united with forms of sanctity and professions of benevolence. Francis Xavier, by whom the inquisition was established at Goa, although he co-operated with the government, and promoted its authority by the religious influence he acquired, did much personally to check the corruption and tyranny of those to whom the administration of affairs was committed, and often, with a high hand, redressed the wrongs of the natives. Many of the atrocities at Goa, alleged to have been perpetrated with the connivance of Xavier, were inflicted in spite of his indignant remonstrances, and even his denunciations and menaces. Representations to the government at Lisbon were also made by him against the civil turpitude which so soon indicated the ultimate ruin of Portuguese interests in the East. The whole career of this people in their oriental exploits, with the noble exceptions referred to, exemplified the truth of the scripture principle, "Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is the ruin of any people." The commerce of the Portuguese was literally destroyed by their religion. The horrible butcheries of the Inquisition of Goa infuriated the people of India, and rendered the name of the Portuguese infamous throughout the world. A modern writer thus describes in brief the general effect produced, and the final catastrophe, so far as Portuguese commerce was concerned, to which it led:—"As evil has ever been known to work out good, so these persecutions and religious slaughters led in the end to favourable results. A cry for vengeance arose from the priestly shambles of the Inquisition. It went forth over that devoted land from shore to shore, and found an echo in many a heart,—sympathy in many a home. Insurrections, revolts, massacres, and burnings, were to be met with far and near. Armed with another papal bull, the Portuguese *Christians* deluged the country with blood; but in vain. Even the native converts joined the standard of the Hindoo and the Moslem, whose practice, if not their creed, was more merciful and tolerant than that of the civilized crusaders from the Western world. And now another people appeared on the bloody stage; a race of persevering, industrious merchants, who, by their cautious and humane policy, founded an empire in the East more durable, because more merciful, more kindly, than that of the intolerant Portuguese." The people here referred to as supplanting the Portuguese were the Dutch. The encomium passed upon them must be taken with abatement; their pursuit of gain was as godless as that of most other nations, but it is to their credit that they refrained from coercion as an instrument of conversion, except under certain tame and modified forms, which, although inconsistent with Christianity, are not so revolting to human nature as were the practices of the Portuguese. It may be doubted whether at any time during the successes of the Dutch they were as prosperous as the Portuguese were under some of their leaders, whose careers have been referred to. There was probably as much justice and success in the administrations of Vasco da Gama and his great successor, as ever marked European enterprise in India, whether commercial or military. The poet hardly allowed fancy to portray too fair a picture when he sung—

> "O'er Indus' banks, o'er Ganges' smiling vales,
> No more the hind his plunder'd field bewails;
> O'er every field, O Peace, thy blossoms glow,
> The golden blossoms of thy olive bough;
> Firm based on wisdom's laws great Castro crowns,
> And the wide East the Lusian empire owns."

The Dutch, however, inaugurated their first essay of Indian commerce well, and if not so gloriously as the Portuguese, yet the odium which the religious persecutions, fraud, and cruelty of the latter brought them, enabled the peaceful and cautious proceedings of the former to strike the minds of the natives of India in strong contrast. The writer last quoted, generally accurate and conscientious, thus presents the entrance of the new European adventurers upon the theatre of their commercial enterprise:—"The Dutch (A.D. 1509), having gathered some information respecting the trade and possessions of the Portuguese in India, and lured by the prospect of a share of those costly *spoils*, fitted out a fleet of merchantmen under the direction of an East India company, and dispatched it laden with goods and merchandize for barter, and well armed. The advent of this first armament from Holland was the dawn of salvation to India; and from that time may be dated the decline and ruin of the Indo-Portuguese empire. It was in vain that the governor of Goa, alarmed by the appearance of these formidable arrivals in the Eastern waters, endeavoured to excite the natives of

India against the Dutch. He soon found that so far from the new-comers being regarded with fear or jealousy, they were looked upon with favourable eyes by the princes who ruled upon the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, and that these people began to count upon the assistance of the Hollanders, as a foil to the oppressions of the Portuguese. Equally in vain was it to endeavour to repel the intruders by force of arms; they would gladly have found a pretext for a quarrel, but the wary policy of the Dutch disappointed them in this, and the latter were, moreover, too well armed to be easily taken by surprise." This statement as to the decline of the Portuguese is correct. The manners of the Dutch were so much more acceptable to the people, that the hatred of Portuguese rule was increased, if possible, beyond that which their atrocities had stimulated. Revolt everywhere, continental and insular, left them no hope; even the weak Ceylonese triumphed in expelling the detested invaders, the native converts and half-castes joining the people against the tyrants. An order from Madrid, where the government of Portugal was then chiefly conducted, directed that every public office in India should be sold, and the money sent home, thus destroying all hope of retrieving disasters, or regaining lost territory. Terrific storms wrecked their fleets—convoys and merchantmen being lost together. It seemed as if heaven fought against Portugal; her commerce, power, and renown perished.

The attempts of the Dutch to open up an Indian commerce were systematized, and the enterprises were well organized and well conducted. Although the English soon followed the Dutch, the latter were far more successful; for James I.—with that alacrity to betray their country, which the false-hearted Stuarts ever exhibited—was anxious to sacrifice this commerce to please Philip of Spain. The Dutch were free; they had defied and humbled Philip, and were prepared to pluck from his grasp the oriental diadem. They won the spice trade of Ceylon, and utterly broke up the profitable trade with China which the Portuguese had in their most flourishing period established. It is possible that the union of the crowns of Spain and Portugal was the chief cause of the declension of Portuguese commerce; for when, in 1640, the Portuguese threw off the Spanish connection, there was a renewal of energy in the forts and factories which they had continued to hold in India, and so much of an improved spirit was indicated, that the prospects of Portuguese oriental commerce revived. The Dutch, however, had gained too firm a footing, and could only be supplanted by a far more powerful rival than Spain or Portugal, or both united, were ever likely to prove. The Portuguese still retain a few settlements,—Goa, Diu Timor, and Macao, at the mouth of the Canton river, but their trade is insignificant.

Previous to the reign of Elizabeth England received from the Venetians such Indian commodities as she consumed. Dr. Cooke Taylor, and other writers, represent this trade as unprofitable to England. But no nation will continue to carry on gainless commerce: the Venetians took such things in return as it suited England to export, and the commodities she received were worth to her the exchanges made in those transactions. Still it was a barter which did not call out the energy of so enterprising a people, and in no sensible manner tended to augment their wealth. In 1518 some of the leading merchants in London consulted as to the practicability of no longer dealing in the commodities of the East "at second hand," and proposed to the government of Elizabeth that negotiations should be opened with the Sultan of Turkey for certain trading privileges in the Levant. These negotiations were opened, and proved successful. From that time the English began a new trade, importing Indian articles by that way. A modern writer, quoting Hakluyt, states:—"There was a very considerable trade to the Levant in English bottoms, between the years 1512 and 1534. He tells us that several stout ships from London, Southampton, and Bristol had a constant trade to Candia, Rhodes, Cyprus, and Beyrout in Syria. Our imports were silks, camlets; rhubarb, malmsies, muscatels, and other wines; sweet oil, cotton goods, carpets, gall, cinnamon, and other spices. Our exports were fine and coarse kerseys, white western dogan, cloths called *statutes*, and others called *cardinal whites*, skins, and leather. From a cotemporary document it appears, that in this early day Manchester had already acquired some fame as a manufacturing town, particularly for the production of certain woollen cloths, which, singularly enough, were called *cottons*, a corruption of *coatings*."

From 1576 to the end of the sixteenth century various efforts to form a direct trading intercourse with India were made, and the enterprise of Cavendish at the close of the century, following the reports made by Stephens of his voyage to Goa round the Cape of Good Hope, stimulated the enterprise of the London merchants, and a society was formed, entitled "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East

Indies."* This society was constituted a body corporate by Elizabeth. "The first English fleet which was dispatched to India (A.D. 1601) consisted of five ships, under the command of Captain Lancaster. These anchored in the roads of Achen in June of the following year; and one of the first acts of the commodore was to form a commercial treaty with the prince of the country. Having bartered some of the merchandize for such articles as the place furnished, Lancaster made sail for Java, to complete the homeward lading with spices, gums, silks, saltpetre, &c.; and finally, after arranging another treaty with the King of Bantam, he returned home well freighted with a valuable cargo." This was followed by other successful voyages, especially in the year 1605. The jealousy of the Portuguese and Dutch was roused; the former made desperate efforts to destroy the English ships, but the company having sent out larger and stronger vessels, as the necessity of doing so became apparent, the Portuguese were defeated with terrible loss of ships and men. The Dutch were more wary, but not less hostile; and although that nation was much indebted to Elizabeth for her aid in its struggles against the power of Spain, it nevertheless united with the Indo-Portuguese to prevent the English from the pursuit of lawful and peaceable commerce. The alliance was fatal to the Dutch. Had they favoured their old allies, and only competed with them in a just and honourable rivalry, they might have long continued to share the profits of oriental trade in a degree worthy of their original enterprise. Holland adopted a dishonourable, selfish, and ungrateful policy, and met the fate such conduct merited.

In previous chapters of this History the government of the East India Company has been stated, and in chap. xiii. an historical sketch of the institution and progress of the company was given preliminary to such statement. In future chapters narrating the course of events in India, the development of the company's power will be traced. So mingled did the commercial and the political become, that they must be related together when events in India after the first enterprises of the English are detailed. When, ultimately, the Dutch were completely humiliated by Oliver Cromwell, England had no longer a rival in her eastern commerce, until the enterprise of France, and the skill of a few gifted Frenchmen, excited her apprehensions. The issue of the struggle with France was as triumphant as those with the Portuguese and Dutch, leaving England undisputed mistress of the commerce of the Indian seas, as well as the only European power occupying a formidable position from the Persian Gulf to Hong-Kong. The extent and character of the trade which now exists between Britain and her possessions in the East, will form the subject of separate chapters.

## CHAPTER XXI.

COMMERCE (*Continued*):—MODE OF TRANSACTING BUSINESS IN INDIA—THE CURRENCY—WEIGHTS AND MEASURES—IMPORT OF SILVER—IMPORT AND EXPORT OF GENERAL MERCHANDIZE.

A CONSIDERABLE proportion of the capital employed in Indian commerce belongs to English merchants, representatives of whom reside at the chief cities in the presidencies, where they establish houses of business, purchase the commodities of India, and ship them to the British Isles, China, the East India Archipelago, and Australia; for these shipments British commodities or silver are taken in exchange. Certain natives are always employed by the European merchants or their representatives. These are called *banyans* in Bengal; the term signifies a merchant, trader, or commercial *employé*. The banyan acts as interpreter and agent, and generally manages the money dealings of his European employer with the natives. This description of official is very fond of assuming the title *dowan*, which is expressive of authority delegated to a confidential person, and is used by the native princes in transactions of palace regulation, of state, and of policy. The banyans are always Hindoos, and generally persons of property, influence, and commercial credit. These men have gained great influence over the English houses of business, and transact much of the monetary and commercial affairs of the presidencies. Their bonds of security are taken in government contracts, and they often control the fate of an embarrassed concern. Sometimes those men have been found convenient instruments by officials who had the power to bestow a contract, and which of course the individual holding the patronage dared not bestow upon

* See chap. xiii. p. 286.

himself. The banyan receives the contract ostensibly, but really for the official, who virtually confers it upon himself, the native agent accepting a per centage for his trouble and responsibility.

The bearing of the banyan towards his European employer was formerly, and to some extent is still, very independent, and sometimes arrogant. He entered the office slipshod, which is a tacit assertion of equality, and there conducted himself as if he were *major domo*, giving directions to his *sircars*, *hircarahs*, &c., classes of underlings by whom the great man was attended. Of late years these persons have become unfashionable, but their pecuniary resources are such that in large speculations, and when heavy advances to indigo and sugar-planters are necessary, their aid is indispensable.

In Madras similar persons are called *dubash*, a corruption of *divi bashi*, one who can speak two languages, referring to the freedom with which these men can speak and write English as well as their native tongue. The same is the case with the banyans of Bengal, and frequently even with the sircars and hircarahs by whom they are attended. When the services of all these classes are dispensed with, native clerks are employed, who can read and write English with accuracy and fluency.

The warehouses of the chief presidential cities are called *godowns*. In these, or in bonded warehouses, the produce imported to India is placed.

The *baboos*, *purvoes*, and other native commercial servants, are content to receive very small salaries, commonly ranging from £15 to £60 per year; but some have as much as £180 a year, and a few somewhat more.

*Peons* are attached to most offices to carry notes—or *chits*, as they are termed—to various places of business. This sort of service is rendered necessary by the severe heat, rendering active exertion on the part of Europeans often impossible, and generally difficult.

Bills of exchange, called *hoondees*, are used for remittance from one part of India to another. They are obtained from bankers, who abound in all the important cities.

Treasury notes are much used for remittance by the offices of government. These are bills issued by the civil authorities for cash paid to them.

Securities in government notes, bearing interest, similar to our exchequer bills, are much sought after by those who are desirous to make investments, whether Europeans or natives. These government promissory notes are useful as deposits for loans, in which way money can always be obtained cheaply by those desirous of retaining the stock, but requiring advances.

Bank-notes are issued by the banks in India, and obtain circulation to a moderate extent.

Monetary transactions between England and India are conducted mainly by bills of exchange, supported by bills of lading.

The coinage of India consists of *rupees*, *annas*, and *pice*. One rupee equals sixteen annas; one anna equals three pice. The rupee is a silver coin, about the size and value of a florin, and is divisible into *half-rupees* and *quarter-rupees*. The only gold coin existing in Bengal is the *mohur*, which is worth sixteen rupees, or thirty-two shillings British money. This coin is, however, seldom seen, as one class of natives export it when it comes into their possession, and others melt it down for the purpose of fabricating personal ornaments. In Madras the *star pagoda* was once circulated, but is now hardly known. On the coasts, and to some extent in the interior, among the poorest classes, *cowries* have currency. These are small shells; their value fluctuates so much, that copper coin is rapidly displacing them.

In the conversion of the rupee into the equivalent currency of other nations in drawing bills of exchange, the fluctuation of the relative value of the precious metals *inter se* is taken into consideration, from the circumstance of gold being in some, and silver in others, the legal medium of circulation. It is also necessary to take account for the mint charge for coining at each place, which adds a fictitious value to the local coin. The *par of exchange* is, for these reasons, a somewhat ambiguous term, requiring to be distinguished under two more definite denominations: first, the *intrinsic par*, which represents that case in which the pure metal contained in the parallel denominations of coins is equal; secondly, the *commercial par*, or that case in which the current value of the coinage at each place (after deducting the seignorage leviable for coinage) is equal, or, in other words, "two sums of money of different countries are *commercially* at par, while they can *purchase* an equal quantity of the same kind of pure metal." Thus, if silver be taken from India to England, it must be sold to a bullion merchant at the market price, the proprietor receiving payment in gold (or notes controvertible into it). The London mint is closed against the importer of silver, which metal has not, therefore, a minimum value in the English market, fixed by the mint price, although it has so in Calcutta, where it may always be converted into coin at a charge of two per cent. On the other hand,

if a remittance in gold be made from India to England, its out-turn there is known and fixed. The new *Calcutta gold mohur* fluctuates as considerably in India as that of silver does in England, the natural tendency of commerce being to bring to an equilibrium the operations of exchange in the two metals. The exchange between England and India has, therefore, a twofold expression: for silver, the price of the *sicca rupee* in shillings and pence; for gold, the price of the sovereign in rupees.*

In the Straits settlements, and in the Island of Ceylon, the *Spanish dollar* is the coin which circulates most freely. It has been shown in the chapters describing these places that the merchants and settlers prefer this coin to the rupee, with which the government of India desire to supersede it. At Aden the *Austrian dollar* circulates.

The system of British India weights and measures is founded upon the principle of making the *maund*, or highest nominal weight, equal to one hundred English troy pounds, and thirty-five *seers* equal to seventy-two pounds avoirdupois, thus establishing a simple connection, void of fractions, between the two English metrical scales and that of India. The unit of the British *ponderary system* is called the *tola*. It weighs a hundred and eighty grains English troy weight. From it upwards are derived the heavy weights, viz., the *chittack*, the *seer*, and *maund*:—

| | lbs. | oz. | dwts. | grs. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| The maund is equal to . . . . . | 100 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| The seer „ . . . . . | 2 | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| The chittack „ . . . . . | 1 | 17 | 12 | 0 |
| The tola „ . . . . . | | | 7 | 12† |

The weights used by goldsmiths and jewellers are smaller—such as the *masha*, which is equivalent to fifteen grains; the *cuttee*, which is equal to 1·875; the *dhau*, which is but one-fourth of a grain.

The currency of India is a subject which of late years has undergone sharp discussion both in the presidencies and at home. It has engaged the serious attention of the board of directors, and has obtained perhaps an equally earnest consideration from financiers and political economists. The currency of a country is a subject as closely connected with government as with commerce, and might be discussed with equal propriety under either head; but the influence of Indian currency, regarded in all its conditions, upon the commerce of that country is so determinate and important, and is so rapidly being developed in new phases, that this chapter seems the most proper place for treating of it.

The legal tender in India is silver, and the amount in circulation is probably a hundred and forty millions sterling, although some writers estimate it as high as a hundred and sixty millions. The *company's rupee* consists of 11·12, or 165 grains of pure silver, and 1·12, or fifteen grains of alloy. Considerable hesitation seems to have pervaded the councils of the government of India in making silver the sole legal tender. Lord Cornwallis, at the time he established the *sicca rupee* for the currency of Bengal, also regulated the circulation of the *old gold mohur* as a legal tender for sixteen sicca rupees, "but that coin was always of a high agio, and never found place in the currency of the country." Prices were expressed in rupees. The land settlements by the Marquis of Cornwallis himself were regulated in rupees, and the public debt was contracted in the same coin. Since the time of Akbar gold coin has had a fluctuating value, and was bought and sold at an agio for presentations and offerings to great men, and for weddings and religious ceremonies, while silver was used as the basis of the circulation In the south of India the *gold pagoda* circulated until within the last thirty years. It seems to have been alike the desire of the government and people of India to withdraw the gold currency, and substitute silver. In a letter from the government of India to the court of directors, dated the 24th of June, 1835, the following decision is expressed:—"No gold coin will henceforward be a legal tender of payment in any of the territories of the East India Company; but the gold pieces to be hereafter coined will circulate at whatever rate of value relatively to the legal silver currency of the country they may bear to currency. The governor-general in council will from time to time fix the rate by proclamation in the *Calcutta Gazette* at which they shall be received and issued at the public treasuries, in lieu of the legal silver currency of British India. Until further orders, that rate will be as the names of the tokens denote—the *gold mohur* for fifteen rupees; the *five rupee piece* for five rupees; the *ten rupee piece* for ten rupees; the *thirty rupee piece* for thirty rupees."

It was soon seen by the Indian government that, as these gold coins were not a legal tender, their issue at a prescribed rate in relation to the coin which was a legal tender was inconsistent and impracticable, and accordingly, in 1841, by proclamation, the public functionaries were authorized to receive them at the previous rate of fifteen to one, "to be disposed of as might be ordered by the accountant-general, or the accountant of the presidency."

In 1844 it seems to have been the policy

* Captain Stocqueler. † Ibid.

of the government to encourage the coinage of gold, for a reduction of seignorage from two to one per cent. was ordered on gold bullion coined in Madras and Bombay. This rate had existed in Bengal for seven years previous. The seignorage on silver coin remained at two per cent.

In 1850 the value of gold in relation to silver had so sensibly depreciated, and the prospect of a further relative depreciation appeared so certain, that the sub-treasurer at Calcutta made a report upon the subject. This condition of things continued to impress the government, and in 1852 notice was given that payment in gold would not be received in the public treasury; and that the act of 1835, instituting silver as the exclusive standard of value, would be enforced.

Objections are taken to silver as the standard. One of these rests on the desirableness, if not the necessity, of having the same legal tender as in the country whose supremacy gives law to India. Another is founded on the cumbrous nature of an exclusive silver currency creating extensive inconvenience to the government, which is obliged to hold larger balances than would, it is alleged, be necessary with a more available currency. It is an established rule in India to have a balance of eight millions, and it is generally half as much more. In 1855, when the public works loan was contracted, there was a balance held of eight millions, but the loan was resorted to because there was not enough in the Calcutta treasury for even an expenditure of two months. It is replied to this objection, and with reason, that the area of territory is so vast, and the means of transit so imperfect over a large portion of that area, that it would be difficult in emergencies to make either gold or silver available to a large amount at any given place. The troops being quartered in garrisons so numerous and remote, and the various centres of government being so widespread, it is necessary that treasuries be maintained in numerous places far away from the seat of the supreme government. An experienced public officer, well known in India and in England, thus expressed himself on this subject:—"Although I entirely agree in the opinion that under the present system a cash balance of upwards of eight crores has been proved to be insufficient, I am still of opinion that under a different system that amount would be an ample working capital wherewith to administer the government in ordinary times. Eight or nine millions of money, of which not a farthing is available wherewith to answer an unexpected demand, seems to me an enormous sum to be required merely as it were to oil the financial machinery. I cannot but think that too large an aggregate sum is allowed to be frittered away among too many small treasuries. There is really only one place where it is of importance to have always a large spare balance, and that is the general treasury of Calcutta. Of four-fifths of the district treasuries any one may be run dry any day without any public inconvenience, nevertheless, the greater part of the eight or nine millions is always lying in these small treasuries. It would require much time, detailed knowledge, and thought, to make an effectual and safe alteration of this system in this respect, but I cannot believe that it is not to be done."*

The impossibility of rapidly concentrating specie, from the great bulk and weight of money in silver, constrains the employment of a large number of the military in conducting and guarding treasure. The testimony of Sir Charles Napier as to the injury thus sustained to the public service is important:—"Treasure ought to be guarded by the *birkendauses* and *chupprasses*, but regular troops are employed by regiments, wings, detachments, and their marches are usually in the hottest season of the year and to great distances. Sometimes they are two or three months under European officers, often young, inexperienced, and unable, from the heat, to exert themselves. The duty is, therefore, done according to their bodily strength, the general relaxation of discipline in the army, and particular state of it in each regiment, and always such fatigue is incurred in guarding treasure in the hot season as to oppress natives as well as Europeans, officers and sepoys. These treasure guards resemble the Cape patrols against Caffres as to fatigue; but the patrols are made in the finest climate in the world, whereas the Indian treasure guards march in floods of heat, and exposed to deadly fevers. The patrol soldiers are cheered by a glory which their devotion, courage, and endurance merit. The poor treasure guard sepoy has no glory, no moral support under suffering; he falls under fatigue, the sun, and fever, unheeded, unheard of, a victim to duties not military. Between the 1st of January and the 31st of October of the following year 25,716 infantry and 3364 cavalry —total, 29,080 soldiers—were furnished for treasure escorts alone, exclusive of all other civil duties. Moreover, on nine occasions detachments, in two instances of whole regiments, are not included, because, from accidents, their numbers are not in my possession. Even this falls short of the truth.

* Minute of Mr. J. P. Grant on the Public Works Loan, Parliamentary Paper 280, Session 1855.

During part of that time the general relief of corps was going on, and treasure was frequently sent with relieving regiments not included above. From twenty to thirty thousand men are, therefore, annually employed on this one branch of civil duty, for long periods and to great distances. Such are the severe trials of the Bengal army, injurious to its discipline, heart-breaking to its best officers, who are devoted to the service." *

It is affirmed by the objectors to a silver currency that the inconvenience experienced by the government is shared by the commercial community, and is felt by the whole population of India. It is necessary for the merchants and bankers to employ a numerous class of persons to convey remittances. They carry about a thousand rupees (£100) each upon their persons, so that ten men are engaged in the service of remitting £1000! The same burden in sovereigns for each man would amount in value to £1600. The Thugs, Dacoits, and other robbers, are expert in lying in wait for treasure-bearers. In reply to these objections it is urged that there cannot be two legal tenders, one of gold and one of silver; and that so small are the payments made to the sepoys and among the people to one another, that a currency such as exists would alone be adapted to the wants of the country. It is also maintained that notwithstanding such inconveniences as may be supposed or proved to exist, the people and the government find the advantages of the actual currency more than a counterbalance. It is affirmed by the advocates of the rupee standard that even now, for the first time, if provision were to be made for the currency of such a country, the silver standard would be the better; but that having existed for so long a period, and thoroughly meeting the wishes and necessities of the people at large, any attempt to abolish the silver for a gold currency would be unnecessary and empirical.

A more important argument against making gold a legal tender, is founded on the fact that the public debt, and all public salaries and engagements, have been contracted for on the basis of a legal tender of silver. Gold is, in relation to silver, steadily sinking in value; the average yield of the silver mines of the world is about eight millions per year, and the supply, if not stationary, increases slowly, whereas the supply of gold has increased greatly. Silver is, therefore, more valuable now in relation to gold than when the public debt was incurred, and the engagements of the country, based on the silver standard, were formed. By the amount of this difference the property of the public and private creditor, and the covenanted servants of the government, would be confiscated. This argument has undoubtedly weighed both with the government of India, the directors, and British cabinets.

The alteration of the legal tender from silver to gold, while the tendency in their relative value continues to be what it is, would create a revolution of prices in India of a serious nature. Where gold is the standard, its increasing quantities have raised the relative value of all other commodities as well as of silver, but this change has not taken place in India, because the standard was not gold. On the contrary, the increased value of silver tends to lower prices, but the effect as yet is not appreciable to any great degree, because the influx of silver has been equal to the demand. If gold be made a legal tender, the result must be the same in India as in England—all other things being equal—an upward tendency in prices.

From these considerations it is obvious that if such a change be made in India at all, it must be wrought out with care, with a scrupulous regard to vested interests, and so as to disturb as little as possible the commerce and economy of the country.

Closely connected with the question of the existence of silver as the legal tender of India, is the subject of the importation of silver into that country. In the vulgar *parlance* of mercantile affairs the balance of trade is in favour of India. According to the principles of political economy there can, of course, be no balance of trade in favour of any country. The precious metals are commodities to be received or exported as other articles of commerce. India receives silver because she prefers that return for her exports, either from necessity or taste. If any other article becomes more valued, she will, as a matter of ordinary traffic, export her silver to obtain it, if she do not possess some other articles more in request by her customers, and which she prefers to part with. China receives silver for her tea from Europe, but she readily parts with it again for opium to India. Both nations follow, in their dealing, a common and determinate law, which must operate upon their relations with others, according to mutual necessities and means of supply. India is not rich in gold and silver, and in all ages she has placed a high value upon them. Accordingly, she has always been an importer to a large extent, so that Pliny called her "the sink of the precious metals." The eagerness of the natives of all these vast regions for gold and silver ornaments, and the few things, comparatively,

* *Indian Misgovernment*, fourth edition, p. 233.

which they require among the productions of other countries, will account for this continued importation. That it has now reached a vast magnitude, is evident from an examination of existing documents. Colonel Sykes, M.P., a distinguished member of the committee in Leadenhall Street, and formerly its chairman, has given very particular attention to the matter.* According to this authority, India imported in the eight years ending 30th of April, 1842, bullion to the amount of fifteen millions sterling. According to another authority,† the bullion imported during the seven years ending 30th of April, 1849, was sixteen millions. Colonel Sykes affirms that during the five years ending the 30th of April, 1854, the bullion imported reached the value of nineteen millions. In 1855–6 she received from Great Britain and the Mediterranean ports alone £9,340,664, all of which, except £37,148, was in silver. In 1857 she received from the same places £226,750 in gold, and £13,246,684 in silver. Besides these immense imports in those latter years, she received also a considerable amount from China. The total export of silver to India and China in 1857, was twenty millions sterling, the demand of China being nearly equal to that of India. This large amount is more than double the produce of silver for that year from all the mines where it is obtained. The silver received in India has been chiefly in coin, yet this vast increase to the currency has not in any appreciable manner affected prices.

Independent of the natural operation of the laws of political economy already referred to, there have been social and political influences at work in India which caused the absorption of such vast sums. The love of ornaments—of the precious metals—has always operated in that direction, but more so in seasons of insecurity. There can be no doubt that a large portion of the people of India, as well as the whole Bengal army, expected for some years a revolt on a vast scale against British ascendancy. This led to an increase in the use of bracelets, anklets, earrings, necklaces, and waistbands of silver, as it was believed to be the safest mode in which treasure could be preserved.

The habit of secret hoarding grows upon a people whose lot is insecure, and remains long after the peculiar circumstances which led to it have passed away; this has been another source of the absorption of silver. The expectation so widely entertained of a coming convulsion, increased this habit during the last few years, and will partly account for the little influence upon prices, and upon the circulation which these large imports created.

The political causes which have operated have aided the social influences already in existence. As compared with that of native governments, the system of the East India Company occasions the necessity of a far more extended currency. Under the former the troops were to a certain extent paid in kind, and in a great degree supported on the lands of those to whom they owed a feudal service of arms. The company pays all its servants in cash. The creation of a public debt, the interest of which has to be paid in coin, creates another demand. The remission of several millions sterling per annum from India to the home government of necessity creates a demand for coin to meet the drain, although this tribute is paid in produce. The power of these governmental operations may be gathered from the chapters on revenue already before the reader, and from the following general glance:—The receipts of the home treasury of the East India Company from the 1st of January to the 30th of April, 1858, are estimated at £5,156,023, and the disbursements at £4,296,065, leaving a balance in favour of £859,958. The disbursements for the year ending the 30th of April, 1859, are estimated at £11,186,026, being—for Indian railways, £2,511,093; payments to government, £1,474,711; annuities, &c., payable in England, £1,403,480; stores and transport, 1,099,442; loan from the Bank of England, repayable on the 1st of October next, £1,000,000; minimum amount required to be held in cash, £1,000,000; dividends and interest, £980,000; bonds notified for discharge, £653,900; general charges, £595,800; amount repayable to security fund, £315,000; and bills of exchange and homeward, &c., £152,600. To meet these disbursements there will be available £2,500,000 from Indian railway companies, £120,000 from government for supplies, a like sum from bills of exchange on India, and the estimated balance in hand, amounting in all to £3,599,958, and leaving a deficiency of £7,586,068.*

Independent of the action of government in reference to cash payments, the funded debt, and the home tribute, there was another cause in the *modus operandi* in collecting the land revenue. This source of taxation, as shown on a former page, was transmitted from the native princes, but they very generally received payment in kind, whereas the

* *The External Commerce of British India.* By Colonel Sykes, F.R.S. (Read before the Statistical Society, 21st of January, 1856, and reprinted from their Journal.)

† Tables of imports and exports for the three presidencies, in the Appendix to the Commons' Reports on Indian Affairs for 1852, p. 341.

* The *Times'* city article, January, 1858.

British insisted upon payment in cash. This was the secret of the sufferings of the ryots, although so lightly taxed. In the settlement of the Punjaub Sir Henry Lawrence found the desire for payments in kind one of the chief obstructions to the progress of his salutary measures. The motive was the same as actuated the ryots in India to urge the same request—viz., the fact of cash payments lowering prices. This was invariably the first effect produced by insisting upon the payment of the land revenue in rupees. The *Bombay Quarterly Review* places the subject in this light:—"An all-important step in Anglo-Indian administration was to collect the land-tax in money instead of realizing it in kind, according to the practice which had virtually, if not nominally, obtained to a great extent under native rule. The immediate and inevitable consequence of this general enforcement of money assessments was, that the amount of coin previously circulating, and sufficient for the adjustment of the limited transactions connected with revenue and commerce under the native system, proved quite inadequate for the settlement, without a derangement of prices, of the greatly enlarged transactions resulting from the British system. Under the native system the sale for cash of a small part of the agricultural produce of a district sufficed to provide for all its liabilities connected with taxation and commerce. Under the British system, on the contrary, twice, or perhaps three times, the quantity of produce had to be so sold in order to provide for the same objects, owing to the whole amount of the land-tax being demanded in coin. But the supply of coin remaining as before, the effect of this increased demand for it was of course to enhance its price. The coin in circulation had to perform double or treble the work it had accomplished before. The ryot, requiring more cash to pay his money assessment, had of course to bring more produce to market, which occasioned a glut, and brought down prices. And this state of things was aggravated by the demand for grain and forage in the country markets being less than before, owing to the disbanding of the irregular force which had been kept up by the native *jagheerdars* and other functionaries of the former government, and to the increased production due to an extension of cultivation by means of these disbanded levies. Prices fell more and more, until in many cases our collectors found it to be wholly impossible to collect the full land assessment, and large remissions had to be annually made. The village grain merchants, who are also the village bankers, deprived of a sufficient market at their own doors, were compelled, in order to find money to supply their constituents with, to seek more distant markets for the disposal of the produce left upon their hands in liquidation of advances previously made by them to the ryots. This awakened a spirit of greater enterprize and activity among the commercial classes, which was gradually communicated to the ryots, and laid the germ of that active foreign trade which now advances with gigantic strides, and has already penetrated into the remotest recesses of the interior. This collateral benefit conferred by the British plan of administration, has fairly set free the dormant energies of the people."

The influx of silver will raise the price of gold and of all other commodities in India, eventually necessitating the exportation of the surplus silver, unless the discovery of new mines elsewhere greatly increase the quantity. The efforts of France and the United States of America to displace their silver currency by gold, set free an amount of the former which sustained the large European exports to the East. Other countries, following the example of these nations, will set free a further amount of silver, which will inevitably flow in the same direction. But when the railways are completed in India, and the commerce of different parts of her territory with one another is developed, and of all India with other portions of the East, a natural reaction will gradually take place.

It has been remarked that the influx of silver to India came to a considerable extent through China, in consequence of the opium trade between India and that country. China, by her immense exportations of tea and silk, and her comparatively small imports of European and American productions, receives a large quantity of silver, and this must be taken into account in calculating the relation of the Indian demand to the supply of that metal. The general trade of China was stated in the chapter upon that country. It is here only necessary to show the present prospects of the grand staple of Chinese export, tea, which is chiefly exchanged for silver, to enable the reader to form some judgment upon the subject. On another page the opium export to China from India, which is chiefly given in return for silver, will furnish additional data for general conclusions. The following account of the character of the tea trade with China during the year 1857, from the trade circular of an eminent house in the city, furnishes the fullest and most recent information for the present purpose:—

"The course of the tea market during the past year has been checkered—the range of fluctuation fully 20 per cent.; while the result

shows an average advance of about 10 per cent. upon most descriptions of black, and a fall of from 15 to 20 per cent. on some classes of green. It opened under considerable excitement, and large speculative business ensued at enhancing prices, stimulated by the news of the burning of the foreign factories at Canton, and the prospect of the partial stoppage of exports. Shortly after the whole trade was disarranged, and almost paralyzed, by the sudden proposition to put the duty at a higher point than had been previously fixed by law; and, although this matter was subsequently compromised at 1*s.* 5*d.* per pound, the previous tone of the market was not recovered, and considerable sales were made at a material decline. On the new duties coming into full operation, and the deliveries being found to be so much larger than was expected (the duty payments in one month having been on fifteen millions of pounds), all parties showed increased confidence, and this was greatly strengthened by the confirmation of the expected large falling off of the supplies for the season of 1856–7, proving ultimately to be no less than twenty-seven millions. A demand having simultaneously sprung up for export to the United States for both black and green, a large amount of business was done at an advance of from 1½*d.* to 2*d.* per pound.

"During the next four months the fluctuations were unimportant, but prices were on the whole well sustained, the departure of Lord Elgin from China to India aiding speculation. The highest general range was, however, now attained, for, although the account of the first crop of Kisows was confirmed, and most extravagant prices were being paid in China for the new teas, under the idea that this would be another year of short supply, and that prices must consequently advance at home, the report of continued shipments led to a decline here. In October came the American crisis, and eventually a fall of 1½*d.* to 2*d.* per pound on black, and 3*d.* to 4*d.* per pound on several sorts of green was submitted to. From this there was no recovery; and as the money pressure became more and more severe, so prices further gave way (although the principal importers held their stocks altogether off the market), as the necessities of parties (chiefly speculators) compelled them to realize. Subsequently a gradual restoration of confidence resulted. Meanwhile, general business was almost suspended; the tea trade suffered less than many others, but common congou gradually drooped until sales were made for cash at 11*d.*, and ordinary was unsaleable at 10*d.* per pound. There were, however, no sellers of sound on usual three months' terms under 1*s.* per pound. On receipt of the telegraphic news of the expected attack on Canton a slightly revived demand took place, and during the last two days of the year transactions were reported at 1*s.* 0½*d.* and 1*s.* 0¾*d.* per pound for common congou. The imports into the United Kingdom have been 61,000,000 lbs., against 87,741,000 lbs. in 1856. The deliveries for home consumption have been 69,000,000 lbs., against 63,000,000 lbs. in 1856. The deliveries for exportation have been 9,000,000 lbs. against 6,241,000 lb. in 1856. The stock remaining on the 31st of December was 71,000,000 lbs., against 88,000,000 lbs. in 1856.

"The imports have fallen off no less than 26,750,000 lbs. as compared with last year, being about 15,750,000 lbs. short of the average of the previous five years. The deliveries show a total surplus of 8,750,000 lbs. over last year, and about 9,500,000 lbs. beyond the average of the five previous years. Of the excess, 6,000,000 lbs. was in the quantity taken for home consumption, and 2,750,000 lbs. in the exports, chiefly to the United States. The present stock, although 17,000,000 lbs. less than at the end of 1856, is still nearly equal to eleven months' requirement at this year's rate of delivery, and 5,000,000 lbs. beyond the average of the preceding five years."

Imports by India and China of European goods increase, but they are small compared with the exports of eastern produce. China indeed is a large importer from India, but that circumstance is chiefly due to the passion for opium. England does not find such a market for her manufactures in the East, as her vast imports thence would justify her in expecting. From Great Britain and Ireland the exports to Australia are nearly as great as those to the East Indies. During the year 1857, they were—to Australia, £11,626,146; to the East Indies only £11,648,341. This state of things admits of explanation. A writer who paid attention especially to the condition of the presidency of Bombay says:—"Not only the principal towns and cities, but many of the larger description of villages are abundantly supplied with European manufactures of every sort, such as the natives require. They are provided with these by a race of men who purchase the commodities at Bombay, and retail them all over the Deccan. The articles generally consist of woollens, English chintzes, knives, scissors, razors, spectacles, looking-glasses, small prints, and different sorts of hardware; but the great mass of the people have not the means, if they had the inclination, to purchase any

considerable quantity of European goods. Any surplus that remains after the immediate supply of their necessities is always expended in their festivals, marriages, and religious ceremonies." When it is alleged that not only the principal towns and cities, but also the villages, are abundantly supplied with European manufactures, it is not intended to say that any very great importation of such articles is made; but merely that the limited wants of the people are met, that there is no difficulty in the way of their obtaining such articles either from their inaccessibleness, or the want of means of conveyance to remote districts. It is admitted that the power of the natives to purchase is small, and that a taste for European articles is not yet formed among the masses, however it may partially exist among the natives of rank. Yet while the exports of India have been increasing out of all proportion to the imports, Mr. H. Green, the professor of literature at Poonah College, in his work on the Deccan ryots, represents the grand want of India to be increased export, and the chief source of impoverishment, the importation of foreign commodities. His words are :—"The great desiderata are—more varieties of industry, and, above all things, more eligible and more abundant exports. Under our rule an unheard-of portion of the revenue of the country is spent for foreign commodities. A governor, a member of council, a judge, or a collector, does not, as a native rajah or jagheerdar would, spend his income on crowds of retainers and hangers on of all kinds, creating a large demand for bajree, jowaree, ghee, and ghoor—he requires Long-Acre carriages, Arabian horses, French and Spanish wines, Parisian and London millinery, and a long list of foreign etceteras. The rich native also now imitates him in almost all these things, and even the comparatively poor one expends whatever revenue he may have, beyond what is just sufficient to supply him with necessaries, in English cloth and copper, and China silver and silk. This intense demand for foreign commodities renders it of vital importance that the exports which are to pay for them—and to provide also, if we are considering the case of all India, for the large tribute which in various shapes we exact, but of which the Deccan probably pays no portion whatever—should be such as are in their turn greatly in demand among foreigners, and contain considerable value in small bulk, so as to be easily and cheaply transported. Our rule will be light or heavy in India, almost in exact proportion to the facility or the difficulty which the country has in creating a demand abroad for its products. Let us suppose a native prince and nobility—such as Bajirao and the Mahratta sirdars—were to suddenly change their tastes and habits, to dismiss the swarms of Brahmins hanging about them, and the sowars, peons, ghorawallas, and troops of idle servants, to whose maintenance their revenues had hitherto been devoted, to keep but few horses, and these purchased from the Persian Gulf instead of from the valley of the Bheemthurry, and to spend, as we do, the revenues which supported all these dependents in every variety of foreign luxury. The first effect, evidently, must be great misery to the classes thus deprived of their accustomed means of living; the second, that the money no longer finding its way through these to the grain and other provision dealers, and through them to the producers, these latter will not have it to return to their rulers as revenue—there will be a general inability to pay the former rates for land, and every symptom of poverty and distress. In the meantime, the foreign luxuries in question being at first paid for in silver, the drain of this from the province will have produced falling prices. When these have fallen low enough to make it profitable to export the rude produce of the country, the drain will stop, and the foreign goods be henceforth paid for by these greatly deteriorated products."

That the improvement of India will keep pace with her importation of useful foreign commodities in exchange for her own productions is so obvious to all who are acquainted with the principles of political economy, that it is surprising to find men of note regarding her imports of the produce of other lands a disadvantage, and her exports for specie as her real profit. The lessons of a distinguished political economist might be studied by this class of the friends of Indian progress with advantage :—"The commerce of one country with another is, in fact, merely an extension of that division of labour by which so many benefits are conferred upon the human race. As the same country is rendered the richer by the trade of one province with another, so its labour becomes thus infinitely more divided and more productive than it could otherwise have been; and as the mutual supply to one another of all the accommodations which one province has and the other wants multiplies the accommodation of the whole, the country becomes thus, in a wonderful degree, more opulent and happy. The same beautiful train of consequences is observable in the world at large—that great empire of which the different kingdoms and tribes of men may be regarded as the provinces. In this magnificent empire, too, one province is favour-

able to the production of one species of accommodation, and another province to another. By their mutual intercourse they are enabled to sort and distribute their labour as most peculiarly suits the genius of each particular spot. The labour of the human race thus becomes much more productive, and every species of accommodation is afforded in much greater abundance. The same number of labourers whose efforts might have been expended in producing a very insignificant quantity of home-made luxuries may thus, in Great Britain, produce a quantity of articles for exportation, accommodated to the wants of other places, and peculiarly suited to the genius of Britain to furnish, which will purchase for her an accumulation of the luxuries of every quarter of the globe." *

The articles now chiefly imported by India are those which are rendered necessary or desirable by the presence of her conquerors; but the wealthy natives also consume many European products. The industrial population of India use little of the foreign articles which are set down upon her shores. The following account of her imports by Stocqueler gives too glowing a picture of what, nevertheless, is substantially true:—"The imports of India comprise every single product of Europe that can be calculated to improve the comfort or promote the luxury of man in a civilized state. The raw cotton received from her is returned, after it has passed through the looms of Manchester, Preston, and Paisley, in millions of yards. Hundreds of ships from England, the Clyde, from France, and the United States, visit her ports annually, laden with hardware and cutlery, with wines, ales, hams, cheeses, woollens, rich glass manufactures, books, bronze articles, steam-engines, printing-presses, varieties of iron and brass machines, paper, hats, carriages, horses, furniture—in short, every production of nature, every offspring of the handiwork of man, excepting such articles as are only adapted to the severest frosty regions, are carried to India. The carrying trade between Europe and India is conducted in vessels of all dimensions, from three to fifteen hundred tons. The steamers which ply round the Cape, and between the Red Sea and India, carry but a small amount of cargo." The aggregate value of this commerce, thus described with so much warmth, is, so far as exports from the British Isles are concerned, not much larger than that taken by some of our thinly peopled colonies inhabited by our own race.

The exports of India are indeed surprising in their variety, and vast in value. The writer last quoted thus describes them:—"It would be difficult in describing the produce of India, which constitutes her exports, to distinguish very minutely between what has been grown and manufactured within the vast continent, and what has been conveyed thither from the Malayan peninsula, the islands of the Eastern Archipelago, China, Persia, &c., for the purpose of being reshipped. An enumeration alone can be given of the articles which are brought to England and carried to other lands, leaving to persons interested in such inquiries to distinguish between the absolute offspring of the soil of India, and the goods of which her ports have temporarily become the emporia. According, then, to the returns to which access has been obtained, the grand exports from India consist of indigo, sugar, cotton, saltpetre, opium, silk, rice, pepper, betel-nuts, coffee, teak-timber, tobacco, drugs, dye-stuffs, sugar-candy, cocoa-nut oil, cochineal, coir, wax, ginger, cowries (shells), shawls, tamarinds, talc, chillies: all these are undoubtedly the produce of India proper. Of the following very many may be from India, but the most part are yielded by the islands and coasts in her vicinity, and the empire of China:—Tea, ivory, lac, gold and silver filagree-work, cornelians, ghee, grain, oils, putchock, seeds, soap, horses, sarda, cassia, turmeric, ambergris, colombo root, elephants' teeth, fish maws, sandal-wood, zedoary, coarse piece goods, nankeen, dried fruits, tortoise-shell, cinnamon, arrack, areka-nuts, wild honey, precious stones, copperas, pearls, carpets, dholl, flax, hemp, hides, horns, black salt, copper, tin, lead, wood-oil, earth-oil, dammer, silver, naptha, birds' nests, timber, rattans, gold-dust, camphor, gum benjamin, argus' feathers, kajiput oil, cloves, nutmegs, brimstone, birds of paradise, gum copal, civet, salt, rose-water, ottar of roses, sapan-wood, tutenague, shrimp caviar, cones, dragons' blood, borax, and a multitude of drugs and cotton piece goods of rude manufacture."

To state the exact quantities of all these different articles imported into Great Britain and Ireland would be scarcely possible or necessary. A return moved for by Mr. Gregson, M.P., shows that there were imported in 1856 from places within the limits of the East India Company's charter and other parts (among other articles)—542,330 lbs. of aloes, 4651 cwt. of borax (refined), 4505 cwt. of camphor (unrefined), 7,840,702 canes or rattans, 19,035 cwt. of cowries, 56,257 lbs. of cubebs, 9266 cwt. of elephants' teeth, 1288 of gum asafœtida, 70,870 cwt. of gum Arabic, 14,766 of gum shellac, and 10,975 of lac dye; 15,557 cwt. of gutta percha, 1,502,626 cwt. of raw hemp, 653,156 cwt. of raw hides, and

* John Stuart Mill.

3,238,116 lbs. of tanned hides; 30,093 cwt. of castor oil, 192,424 lbs. of rhubarb, 32,694 quarters of rough rice, and 3,692,001 cwt. of rice (not rough or in husk); 8013 cwt. of safflower, 137,068 cwt. of sago, 387,639 cwt. of saltpetre, 1,180,180 quarters of flax and linseed, 264,920 quarters of rape-seed, and 426,183 lbs. of senna; 9,398,911 lbs. of raw silk, 601,461 pieces of corahs, choppas, bandanas, Tussore cloths, Romals, and taffeties, 34,460 lbs. of China crape shawls, scarfs, and handkerchiefs, 20,337 yards of China damask, and 18,622 pieces of Pongee handkerchiefs; 1,408,021 lbs. of cassia lignea, 119,270 lbs. of cassia buds, 781,231 lbs. of cinnamon, 1,502,315 lbs. of cloves, 14,035 cwt. of ginger, 18,112 lbs. of mace, 462,600 lbs. of nutmegs, 10,810,398 lbs. of pepper, 69,282 cwt. of block tin, 12,761 cwt. of unbleached beeswax, and 21,620 loads of teak-wood.

The year 1857, notwithstanding the war in China and the revolt in India, afforded many indications of the vast expansion our oriental commerce is destined to receive. Accounts moved for by Mr. Gregson, M.P., and published by command of the Honourable the House of Commons, show that the declared value of the British and Irish produce and manufactures exported from the United Kingdom to the East India Company's territories and Ceylon in the year 1857 amounted to, in all, £13,080,662, against £11,807,439, £10,927,694, £10,025,969, and £8,185,695, in the preceding years 1856, 1855, 1854, and 1853. The exports of home produce to India last year included £208,288 worth of apparel, slops, and haberdashery; £337,504 of arms and ammunition; £267,733 of ale and beer; £591,183 of brass and copper goods; £171,519 of coals, &c.; £5,786,471 of cotton manufactures, and £1,147,379 of cotton yarn; for hardwares and cutlery, £218,878; for iron and steel, £1,736,440; £100,401 worth of linen manufactures and yarn; £558,954 of machinery and millwork; £160,837 of stationery; and £552,767 of woollen manufactures and yarn. Umbrellas and parasols, so necessary in an Indian climate, figure for £69,320 only, and silk goods for £10,374 only.

The articles imported into the United Kingdom from India and China in 1857, and actually entered for home consumption, included 35,965 lbs. of cinnamon, 166,981 lbs. of cloves, 24,740,162 lbs. of coffee, 31,178 quarters of wheat, 5300 cwt. of raw ginger, 162,440 lbs. of nutmegs, 3,200,956 lbs. of pepper, 1,356,410 cwt. of rice (not rough nor in husk), and 16,862 quarters of rough (husk) rice, 129,211 cwt. of sago, 90,136 pieces of bandanas, corahs, choppas, Tussore cloths, Romals, and taffeties, 4639 gallons of rum, 1,083,118 cwt. of unrefined sugar, and 859,543 lbs. of tea. A large quantity of wool was imported, but none of it appears to have been entered for home consumption, although free of duty. The value of the above exports from England to India is not given. To China last year were exported British produce and manufactured goods to the value of £2,450,307, against £2,216,123 in 1856, £1,277,944 in 1855, and £1,000,716 in 1854. More than one moiety, amounting to £1,573,828, was composed of cotton goods, while woollens figured for £285,852, cotton yarn for £158,081, and lead and shot for £92,623. The articles imported from China to this country in 1857, and entered for actual consumption in the United Kingdom, included 82,491 lbs. of ginger, 3514 pieces of bandanas and other silk handkerchiefs, 67,071,187 lbs. of tea (increased from 57,621,231 lbs. in 1853).

The number of British ships that entered inwards (India and China) in 1857 amounted, respectively, to 696 and 88, and the number of foreign vessels (India and China) to 72 and 14. At the same time 728 British and 289 foreign vessels cleared outwards (India), and 122 English and 79 foreign vessels (China).

Such of the readers of this work as reside in London, or resort to it, and desire to have a good general idea of the commerce of India, should visit the new museum at the East India House. There specimens of the natural productions and manufactures of India are arranged in a manner to afford instruction even to the mere casual observer; to the merchant, the statesman, the man of science, and the historian, the collection must afford important information and profound pleasure. This wonderful collection had its origin in the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park in 1851, when the East Indian collection arrested the attention of every visitor by its sumptuous riches and variety. The idea of a permanent collection arose from the deep interest which the public showed in the East Indian department of the Crystal Palace of 1851. The Indian compartment in that edifice was superintended by Dr. Forbes Royle, whose labours for the welfare of British India have been so persevering and intelligent, especially in reference to the cultivation of cotton and other fibres applicable to manufactures.

The first apartment in the new museum is "the model room," the collections in which illustrate the social and industrial life of India. Specimens of agricultural instruments, manufacturing tools and machinery, are suggestive of the way in which produce is cultivated and gathered to the markets for exchange. The

model room is, however, more connected with the social life of India, presenting miniature law courts, dwellings, furniture, sepoy encampments, &c.; the other apartments are set apart for industrial objects. The first of these, which is presented to the visitor's notice, is leather; that of Madras, which is wholly manufactured by natives, is much inferior to the Bengal, where the workmen are superintended by Europeans.

Paper is another manufacture which draws attention by its variety, and the information imparted as to the material from which it is made, but not from its excellence. The gunny bags, made of jute fibre, in which rice and other commodities have been packed, are, when no longer of use for their original purposes, converted into paper by the natives, and the process displays some ingenuity. The plantain leaf and other vegetable fibres are also used for this purpose. European paper is in request for all purposes of importance, and this article is likely to become a valuable commodity.

Mat-work, basket-work, and other manufactures from fibrous materials, although they interest the visitor, are not regarded with that sense of their importance which they deserve. On another page the value of the fibrous plants of India will be examined, and the reader furnished with important information on this branch of Indian commerce.

The Indians have been long famous for metallurgy, and the museum does justice to their genius in this respect. Akin in some degree to that art is jewellery, for which, as shown in the chapter descriptive of Bengal, Benares has obtained a reputation "wide as the East." Either alone, or as mountings and settings for gems, the gold and silver-work of Benares, presented for inspection in the museum, is very beautiful, and will probably create a taste in the West for similar specimens of oriental art. There are innumerable specimens of Bengal jewellery, and some from other provinces, bangles, rings, bracelets, brooches, tassel knots for dresses, hookah mouthpieces, and many other objects of display or luxury. The Trichinopoly filigree-work is as light and elegant as that of Malta or Genoa. There are some rose-cut chains here which are perfect marvels of the goldsmith's art. So minute is the chasing of the pattern of the rose in each link, that, unaided by a magnifying power, the eye is unable to trace the delicate outline and beauty of form. There is a companion chain, also from Trichinopoly, in which the little links are drawn so close together as to be only visible on the closest inspection. It is difficult at first to believe that it is anything but a mere length of solid gold wire, and only when examined in the hand does its perfect flexibility betray its manner of construction. There are two waistbands, consisting one of eight and one of sixteen of these fairy-like chains, which appear as bunches of golden thread, and are fastened with gold clasps, set with emeralds and rubies. From various parts of the Bengal presidency some splendid examples of native jewelled-work have been obtained, rich with "barbaric pomp and gold." There is a superb necklace of gold set with pearls and emeralds, a gold bracelet, enamelled on the inner side, and the outer thickly set with pearls and diamonds; a necklace of emeralds, pearls, and rubies; a bracelet of three rows of large diamonds, about ninety in number, with a number of curiously-formed gold and silver spice-boxes. If, however, the visitor wishes to obtain a fair idea of the extent to which jewels are worn by oriental princes, he must examine the great Runjeet Singh's portrait, painted by a native artist. Runjeet is represented as sitting at his durbar. Round his neck is a string of 280 pearls, said to be, as a necklace of jewels of that kind, the largest and most valuable in the world. This magnificent ornament has recently been presented to her Majesty. His head-dress is a perfect mass of rubies and emeralds, while on his arms is represented a cluster of armlets of jewels of apparently immense size and value, one of the finest, a noble emerald, being spoilt by having a hole drilled through it in order to thread it on to the band over which it passes. A curious contrast to these magnificent samples of oriental jewellery is afforded by the display of the rude personal ornaments of the hill tribes of Thibet. Here are enormous silver chains of great weight, and such strength as to carry heavy arms and accoutrements; with native charm rings and rough-looking bracelets, fitted in style and form to be the massive ornaments of such half-savage tribes. Conspicuous among these ornaments is a broad band of scarlet cloth, dotted with curious rough greenish stones, which look like coarse discoloured pebbles. They are, however, turquoises of the largest size and purest water, and which, though uncut and unpolished, are still of considerable value. The gems are found amid the mountains of Thibet; but the hill tribes, though aware of their being of some value, are unacquainted with the method of polishing them, and so, in the rude way we have mentioned, adopt them in their natural state as personal ornaments. The massiveness of the solid silver armlets, of which many are sometimes worn at once by the Hindoo women, go far to explain the disappearance of such immense amounts of

silver as have been imported into India and China.

References have been made, in the geographical descriptions given on former pages, to the taste and ingenuity of the natives of India and China in wood-carving and inlaying; the specimens in the museum will unfold the exquisite workmanship of the East in these departments, to many, otherwise, not likely to see it. Carving and inlaying of ivory and metals rank in the same category of works of skill, patience, and taste, and these are also so assorted in their proper compartments as to enable the beholder to examine them with minute and discriminative interest. Probably no carvings from India—not even the ivory-work of Bombay—surpass those in "pith." This substance is literally what its name expresses; it is taken from a certain plant, and is of a most delicate white colour. It is lighter than cork. The substance is useful for common purposes, such as the "pith caps" furnished to the European and native soldiery as a protection from the sun; while the oppressive weight of other coverings for the head, which would prove effectual against the sun, is avoided. In this pith the natives execute beautiful figures: temples, shrines, tombs, palaces, are admirably represented; as are also the different castes and callings of the native population. The stone and marble-work is, in some cases admirable, but far behind the execution of our own sculptors.

Bareilly, Scinde, the Punjaub, and Cashmere, have gained reputation for lacker-work, which is produced as an article of much-prized taste and commerce in these places, for the rest of India. The specimens in the industrial rooms at Leadenhall Street are exquisitely beautiful. The number of articles made from lac in India is almost unlimited, and they are adapted both to domestic and household purposes as well as to personal ornament. The lackered ware differs from the lac-work, inasmuch as it consists only of a thin coating of the gum being laid over a wooden surface, which is subsequently adorned with the artist's designs. The reputation of Lahore for the extreme beauty of its lackered ware stands foremost among all the cities of India. The lackered or japanned ware of China differs from that of India in being formed of a succession of coats of an extremely poisonous vegetable gum, which exudes from a plant spontaneously, and is as different in its mode of production as it is in its after method of ornamentation. How the delicate effects of colour of the Indian lackered-work are produced, or by what means it is that the combination of bright glowing colours is made to present the neutralized bloom which seems to cover the whole surface of each article, is a subject which has often engaged the attention of our artists with a view of applying the decorative principles of this ware to similar ornamental work in England. Some of these lackered coffers and caskets from Cashmere and Lahore are of rare beauty, a rose-water sprinkler from the latter city being especially interesting of its kind.

The Indian pottery resembles that of Egypt; some vessels in stone and metal are elegantly, and even classically, formed.

The Bidree-work, which consists in the inlaying of silver upon iron surfaces, is worthy close inspection. It is applied in the ornamentation of cups and vases.

The specimens of arms are curious. It is the custom of the native troopers serving the native princes in India to prepare their sharp swords from the worn-out swords of our dragoons. The steel scabbards of our men prevent their weapons from retaining the proper edge, but the scabbards of the natives tend rather to promote keenness. Long Rajpoot and short Goorkha weapons, and Santal spears, have a place in the exhibition. The old matchlock, and, what is remarkably strange, the *old revolver* musket, are to be seen side by side. Long before Colt or Adams thought of the revolving principle in firearms, it was used in the Deccan. Sir David Baird, sixty years ago, obtained, at Seringapatam, the specimen now displayed at the India-house. The frequenters of the old museum will remember the beautiful camel guns; in the new also there is a place provided for them.

In the department known as "the large room" manufacturers and political economists will find subjects of interest, and lovers of art will be no less gratified by taste in design. In the gallery of the large room raw products are set out—not only those usually imported, but such as have lately been introduced to public notice in India by men of science. On the basement of this great room the articles manufactured from these raw products are arranged. Woven work of rich variety and rare beauty is to be seen there. Muslins from Dacca, shawls from Cashmere, exquisitely delicate, tasteful alike in fabrication and design, meet the eye. The woven brocade and embroidery are beyond description elegant and attractive. The patterns on some of these works are European, but the native designs are in character with those of the remotest antiquity. M'Culloch, in his *Commercial Dictionary*, labours to prove that progress is as easy in India as in the West, and that the allegations of unchanging, or

very slowly changing tastes and talents are without foundation. The quotations made by that author to establish a view which seems rather taken up from the affectation of originality than from a proof of its soundness, do not accomplish the purpose for which they are adduced. No writer has ever alleged that all oriental minds are cast, as it were, in a mould, and that there is no modification of the thought or feeling of an oriental community. But what is affirmed is obviously true—that the spirit of one age is in the main the spirit of another; and that however diversified the circumstances of a people, and the events of a nation in the East, their characteristics remain the same, and their habits and customs retain the ancient type, even when modified by the most startling revolutions and conquests: like the sea, which ebbs and flows, is calm and clear as the light it reflects, or is tossed and broken amidst the tumults and gloom of storms, yet it is still the great sea, fathomless alike in calm or conflict—yielding obedience to the same laws, performing in nature the same functions, and exhibiting evermore, amidst all varieties of action, the same characteristics. Many a tempest of war and passion have broken over the multitudes of the oriental world, many a season of profound agitation—such as hope, triumph, fear, or fanaticism can create—has shaken tribes, kingdoms, and empires, but, after all, they settle down again into the sameness of the past, as the waves of the ocean no longer beaten by the storm. If Mr. M'Culloch had seen the East India Company's exhibition of Indian art and manufacture, he would have found sufficient proof that, within the meaning really attached to such assertions, the orientalist of two thousand years ago was the type of the orientalist of to-day. The mental impression left on these textile fabrics, which are treasured as relics of the past, is the same as that which is now impressed upon the costly manufactures of Hindoostan, and of surrounding nations. This identity of style between the present and the past of the Eastern world is not incompatible with invention and improvement, but these are in a wonderful manner still made to express the same cast of thought, and the same idiosyncrasy of taste. The wings of brilliant beetles are, with extraordinary ingenuity, introduced into embroidered work; this has been a very old practice in China: the notices which have appeared in the press, of the peculiar effect of this combination as a novelty, are, therefore, erroneous.

In the room where the teas of the venerable merchants of the East India Company were periodically put up to auction, some of the more tasteful executions of Indian ingenuity are now exhibited; the room itself having been, by the skill of Mr. Digby Wyatt, transformed into an Indian temple. In proportion as the commerce and material progress of India are subjects of interest, the contents of those rooms will be objects of intelligent study. No books on Indian commerce, and no histories, can convey the vivid impressions, or afford the ample information on this class of subjects, which the inspection of these products of nature and art from our Eastern empire imparts.

## CHAPTER XXII.

### COMMERCE (*Continued*):—CHIEF ARTICLES OF INDIAN COMMERCE.

HAVING stated the general character of the commerce of British India, it is yet important to point attention to particular features of it as deserving especial notice; for amidst the great variety of Indian productions suitable to other realms, there are some of predominating importance. Several, which have not as yet become objects of general inquiry, are of such a character as to afford hope that their introduction to distant markets will tend to the advantage of the world, as well as the increased prosperity of the territory in which they are produced.

Among all the articles of Indian trade, none attracts more attention in England than that of cotton. In a former chapter* cotton was noticed as a production of India, and it was intimated that on a future page the subject would be more fully treated. The culture and the commerce are two different branches of the Indian cotton question. On the pages already referred to the former was noticed both as to its difficulties and advantages. In consequence of the superiority of the American grown cotton, efforts were put forth by the East India Company to introduce seeds from the United States, and cultivators from that country. This has been done for a series of years, and the result of those expe-

* Chap. i. pp. 18, 19.

riments has been a history of failures. In some places the climate was too moist, in others too dry; one class of experiments was made where the soil was too rich, another where the soil was too poor: and although in a few places—as at Surat, and on the Ava coast—success attended the attempts to cultivate the American quality, generally they did not succeed. Dr. Royle places the impediments which exist in the climatic conditions necessary for the American species in the following light:—"The great difficulty in applying irrigation to cotton in India is that you have to deal with a plant which has been raised in the rainy season, and which necessarily has all the habits of one accustomed to moisture both of soil and climate; and yet it is one of which you must check the luxuriant growth, if you wish to have a sufficient production of flowers and fruit. This is done naturally in most plants by the heat and dryness of summer, and in Egypt, where cotton is copiously irrigated, by the dryness of the climate. But in cultivating American cotton in India you have a moist weather plant—that is, one with short roots and broad leaves—exposed suddenly to dryness, when, from the clearness of the sky and the heat of the sun, there must necessarily be copious evaporation. The Indian species, which is a moisture-and-drought-enduring plant, withstands both the suddenness and the violence of the changes, but then it only produces a short-stapled woolly cotton." *

The Indian cotton plant (*Gossypium Indicum*, and *Gossypium herbaceum* of different botanists) grows over an extensive area of country. It thrives in hot and comparatively temperate regions, in moist soils and dry. The North American species (*Gossypium Barbadense*) flourishes in certain low latitudes of the United States and in the West Indies. It grows in India in various places as an exotic, but it is not suited to the climate of India, which that of no part of America, north or south, resembles. The climates of America bear, in various respects, striking similitude to those of China. In South America the species of cotton which flourishes indigenously (*Gossypium Peruvianum*) differs from that which is proper to North America, as well as that indigenous to India. In ancient Peruvian tombs cotton wool and cotton fabrics have been discovered, showing that the species which grows there is indigenous.

When the vast extent of country on the American continent yet to be brought under culture, and the enterprise of such a population as now inhabits it, are taken into account, there does not seem the slightest prospect of India being ever able to compete with that region in the growth of the peculiar species of cotton indigenous to the American soil. Good and clean cotton has, however, been brought to market from various places in India; and it is certain that the species natural to the Indian soil can be greatly improved, and may compete with much of that exported to Europe from America, because of the low price at which it can be sold. Although it is short in staple, and not easily spun by the machines used for American cotton, yet the natives have for ages made a fine thread from it, and wrought from that thread fabrics of great beauty. Its durability and strength of fibre surpass those of the American species. It is also noticed for taking delicate dyes more readily, and for swelling in the bleaching, so that fabrics made from it have a closer texture than those made from American cotton.

The vast importance to English manufacturers of a large importation of cotton from India may be at once understood by the diminishing supply of American cotton in proportion to the demand. The consumption of cotton in Great Britain for the past five years has not exhibited that steady increase which many have imagined who have been accustomed to look only at the extension of our export trade, as indicated by the tables. Thus, our consumption of cotton, which, in 1853, reached 654,274,000 lbs., rose in 1856 to 819,375,000 lbs., and fell again last year to 735,656,250 lbs.; so that our consumption of cotton in 1857 exceeds our consumption in 1853 only by 81,282,250 lbs., while it is less than that of 1856 by 83,718,750 lbs. But while this fluctuation is observable in the actual amount of cotton consumed, there has been, for the most part, a steady increase in the average cost of the raw material, which has risen from £18,365,000, in 1853, to £26,200,000 in 1856. The total value of production of thread, yarns, and manufactured goods, for the year 1853, is set down at £56,749,300, for 1856 at £61,484,000, and for 1857 at £56,212,909; or, deducting the cost of cotton, &c., the profits upon the manufacture may be taken—for 1853, at £38,384,300; for 1856, at £37,526,000; and for 1857, at £30,012,909. In other words, the increase in the cost price of cotton (the difference between 6*d.*, 6¼*d.*, and 8*d.* per lb.) has reduced the profits on the manufacture in Great Britain £858,300 in the year 1856, and and £8,371,391 in the year 1857, as compared with the year 1853.

Fears are naturally entertained of the

* *Culture and Commerce of Cotton in India.* By J. Forbes Royle, M.D., F.R.S.

increase of prices in the English market, and, in case of war with the United States, of such a failure in the supply of the raw material as would ruin the manufacture. Under these circumstances, inquiry has been made by the government, the East India Company, and the merchants and manufacturers of Liverpool and Manchester as to the prospects of increasing the import from India. Egypt, it is true, supplies a certain quantity. The French settlers at Algiers are sanguine that the colony will become extensively cotton producing; and the famous African traveller, Dr. Livingstone, believes that there are various districts which he has explored suitable to the growth of the commodity, but as yet none of these sources can be relied on.

Concerning the efforts of the French, in April, 1858, the *Moniteur* published a report made to the emperor by Marshal Vaillant, on the subject of the cultivation of cotton in Algeria, in which he communicated the decision come to by the jury appointed to award the annual prize of 20,000 f. given by his majesty, from his privy purse, to the colonist who should make the greatest progress in that branch of agriculture. The report begins by stating that the season of 1857 was very unfavourable to the cotton grounds, from the abundant rains and the lateness of the spring. On several points the land prepared for sowing had been torn up by inundations, and in others the growing plants had been washed away. In addition to this, the humidity had caused fevers, and workmen became very scarce and costly. Notwithstanding these unfavourable circumstances, the extent of the cotton grounds which escaped those causes of destruction was not less than in the preceding year. The total superfices amounted to 1600 hectares (2½ acres each), divided as follows:—Province of Algiers, 175 hectares; of Constantine, 522 hectares; and of Oran, 903 hectares. From this it appears that the provinces of the east and west gained as much as had been lost in 1857 by that of Algiers, where the cultivation of tobacco more and more absorbs ground, capital, and manual labour. The report of the jury goes on to say, that the number of planters among the European colonists had not sensibly increased, but confidence in future success was unabated. Considerably more care was evinced by them in the selection of their ground for planting, and constant improvements were being made in the mode of cultivation, irrigation, &c. The number of native planters is stated, by the report, to be steadily increasing, and last year had reached to six hundred; but there still remains much to be done, in giving them instruction in the best mode of carrying on their agricultural operations in this branch. The jury report contains the following statement:—"There is every reason to anticipate a triumphant future in the cultivation of cotton in Algeria. Let the colonists persevere; let them adopt the use of instruments worked by animals, and every other means to diminish the cost of cultivation; let them continue to attend minutely to the selection of their seed, in order to preserve the purity of the quality, and the production will amply remunerate them for their trouble. The government, on its side, will pursue its task and continue its encouragements. Improvements and useful experiments will always be the object of its special care; and nothing will be neglected to make the cultivation of cotton enter into the habits of the people." The jury concludes by recommending that the emperor's prize of 20,000 f. with the gold medal, should be awarded to M. Colonna de Cinarca, for his cultivation of cotton at Habra, in the province of Oran, and that honourable mention should be made of other planters who had competed for the prize. It is obvious that the French emperor, alive to the importance of the latter manufacture to France, has resolved to test thoroughly the capabilities of his great African colony for the production of the staple. It would be a folly if the government of India, a country where, for three thousand years, the people excelled in the manufacture, should be indifferent, or tardy, or illiberal.

The grand impediment to the preparation of cotton in India for exportation to Europe, is the irregularity of the demand. The English manufacturers will not buy Indian cotton while they can get American at a price that will at all remunerate them; it depends, therefore, upon the supply from America whether the Indian exports sell remuneratively at Liverpool. Of the entire quantity of cotton imported into and manufactured in the United Kingdom, nearly four-fifths in quantity, and more than four-fifths in value, on an average of years, is obtained from the United States. During the five years 1851 to 1855 the proportion of the total quantity was seventy-eight per cent., and during the ten years preceding, from 1841 to 1851, it was eighty-one per cent. The American bales containing more cotton than those from other countries, the proportion may be taken at four-fifths of the whole imported. The supply from India has always been most irregular, being regulated by the price of American cotton far more than by its own quality. Whenever the supply from the United States promises to be deficient, or the demand for consumption rapidly increases, raising prices rapidly, Indian cotton arrives to supplement

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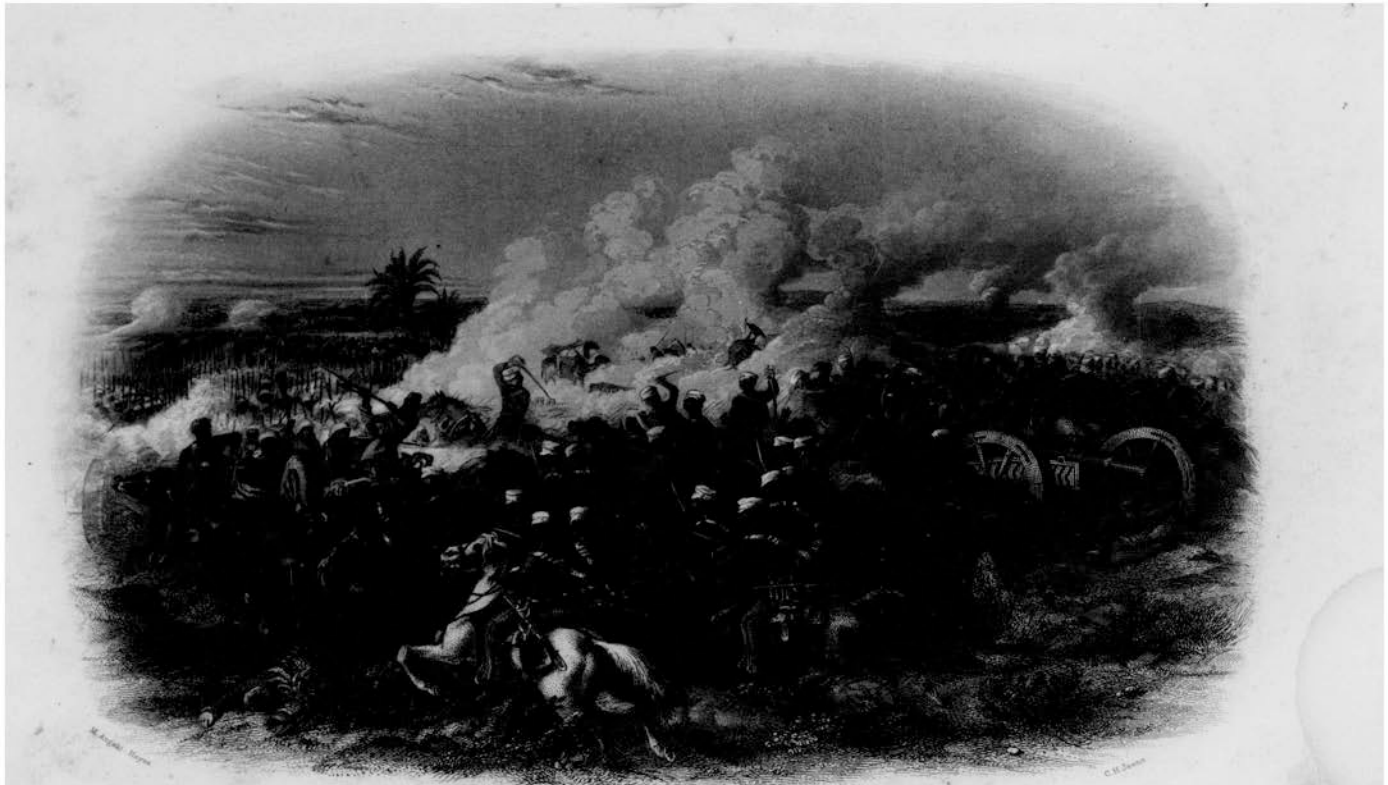
# RUNJEET SINGH.

THE FOUNDER OF THE PUNJAUB EMPIRE.

*From a Drawing by an Indian Artist*

LONDON, JAMES S. VIRTUE.

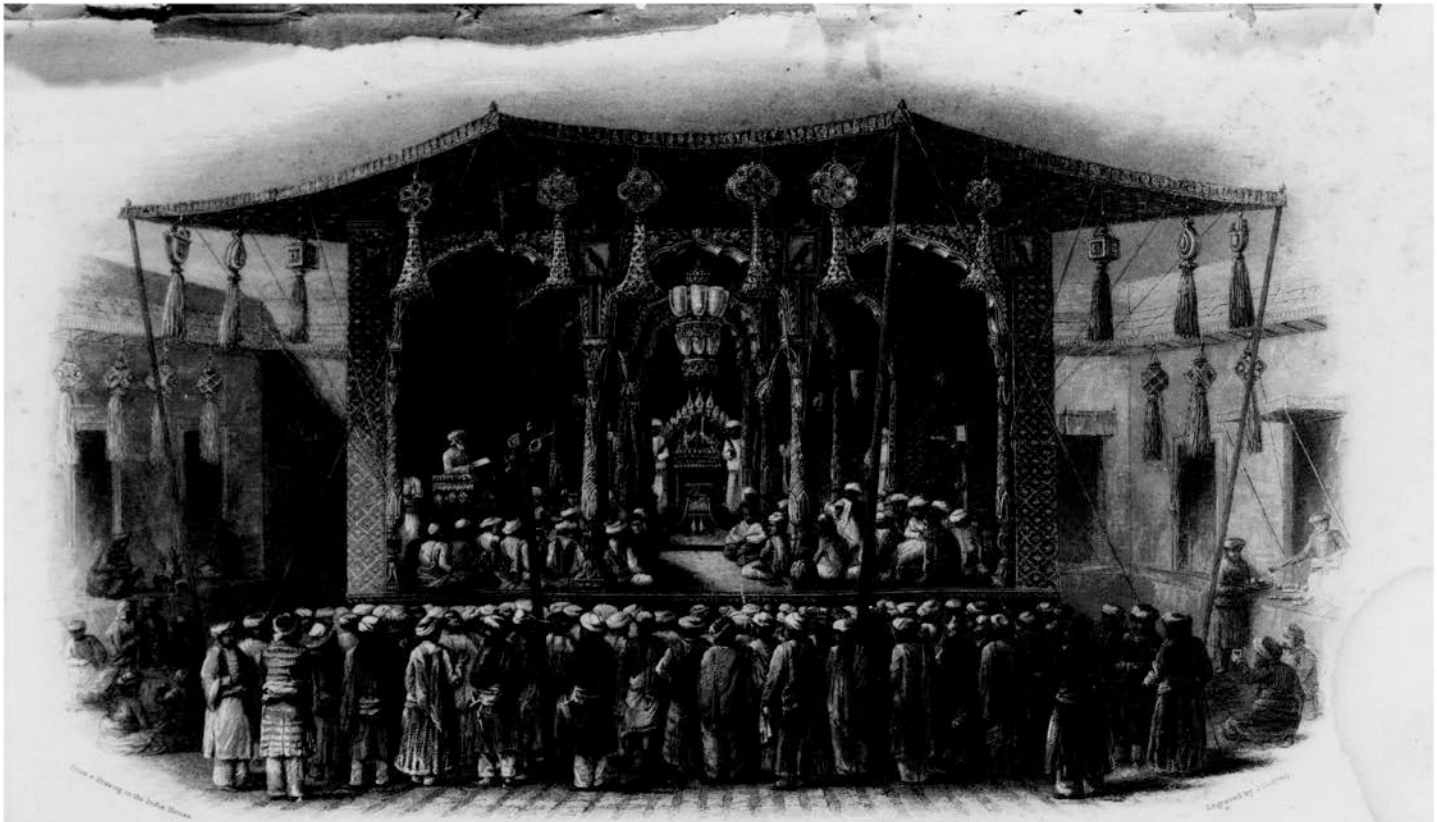


THE BATTLE OF MOODKEE.

GENERAL SIR CHARLES NAPIER.

*From a Photograph by Kilburn*

LONDON: JAMES S. VIRTUE

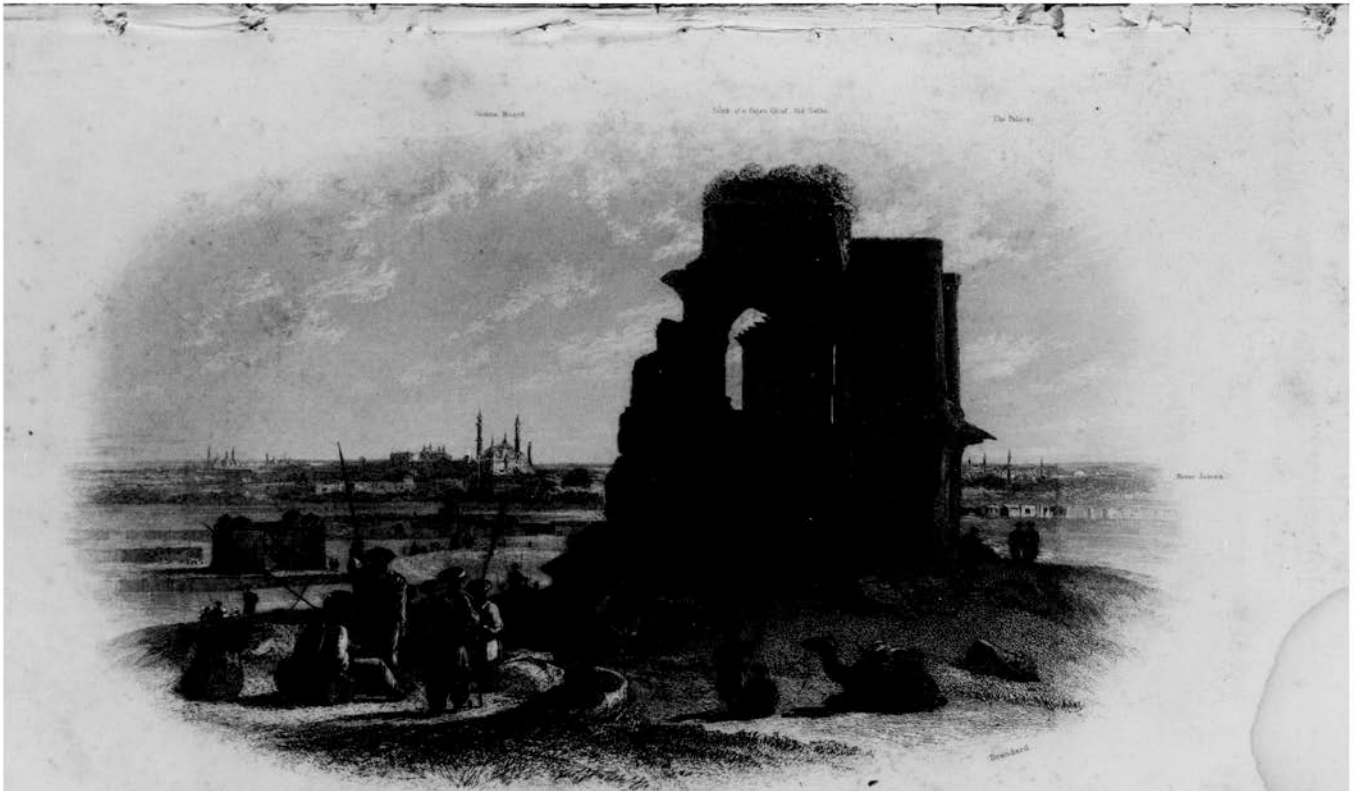


MOHAMMEDAN FESTIVAL OF THE MOHURRUM.

GENERAL SIR ARCHDALE WILSON, BART K.C.B.

*From a Photograph by Mayall*

LONDON, JAMES S. VIRTUE.



SHAH JEHANABAD, OR NEW DELHI.

LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR JAMES OUTRAM, G.C.B.

*From a Photograph in the Possession of the Family*

LONDON, JAMES E. WINTLE

MADRAS.

LONDON. JAMES S VIRTUE

INDIA
THE BENGAL PRESIDENCY.
RUBLCUND
RAJPOOTANA
NAGPORE
HYDERABAD
BAY OF
BENGAL

the American imports. Last year (1857) the short crop in America raised the price in India to such an extent as to bring 220,000 bales more than ever had been known. This arises from the dirty state of the samples brought from India. To remedy the evil and secure a good supply, the late agent of the Honourable East India Company, in his last publication on cotton,* was of opinion that the establishment of agencies in India by the Lancashire merchants would obviate the difficulties, and obtain a regular and clean supply, adapted to the English market. In a report† on the subject of the cotton culture in 1836, the company intimated what the work of Dr. Royle confirms in 1857, that the better adaptation of the machinery used in the spinning-mills of the north of England to the short staple of the Indian species would much promote the importation of this product at the English ports.

Mr. Mackay, a talented and enterprising gentleman in Lancashire, visited India on behalf of the cotton trade some years ago, and reports made by him to the various chambers of commerce in Lancashire substantially bear out the opinion conveyed in these pages, that the hope of improvement is in proper attention being paid to the commerce rather than the cultivation. A Lancashire merchant, in a letter dated the 18th of March, 1858, thus expressed himself on this subject:—"Since Mr. Mackay made his report to the chambers of commerce of Liverpool, Manchester, Blackburn, and Glasgow, no improvement has appeared; the Indian cotton is still irregular in quantity as well as inferior in quality. Several steps, however, have been taken since Mr. Mackay's visit to India towards a right knowledge of what is to be done. It is now admitted that attention must be directed to cotton commerce more than to cotton culture. The Indian cultivators must be left to grow their own native cotton in their own way. The attempt to cultivate the American species of cotton in India has proved a failure. British enterprise must be confined to getting the native cotton in better condition, and at a cheaper rate to the home market, where the supply will thus be both larger and more regular. The government has its part to do in improving the means of transit in India to the coast, and in, by better police, giving protection to Europeans. The chambers of commerce have their part to do in establishing agencies in the cotton-growing districts, for managing every operation after the growing of the crop, which is now carelessly collected, carelessly cleaned, carelessly housed, and carelessly packed. Native money-lenders and middlemen carry off immense profits, besides injuring the commerce by systematic frauds and adulterations. All this would at once be remedied by establishing European agencies for the purchase of cotton. Many years would not pass before the English market would obtain half its supply from the free labour of British India, instead of being so dependent on the slave states of America. At Liverpool in one week 1340 bales of American sold from 4¼*d.* to 8¼*d.* per lb., and 300 Surats from 4¾*d.* to 6*d.* per lb. These Surats are suitable for spinning any hefts under No. 40, although some Indian cotton is only fit for No. 16 yarn. Indian cotton of all kinds can be sold at a profit in Liverpool for the average of 3½*d.* per lb.; so that, with the improved quality which the establishment of agencies in the East would insure, there is ample margin for a vast increase of Indian cotton commerce, independently of any improvements in its culture, to which attention has hitherto been chiefly turned."

The opinion of Dr. Royle as to the prospect of prices in England remunerating the enterprise of culture and exportation on the part of Indian ryots and English agents, and the connection of such a speculation with the probability of a total failure of supply from America through war or other causes, is thus published in his work issued in 1857:—"Alarm is justly excited in the great manufacturing district of Lancashire, and wherever much cotton is employed, at the disastrous consequences which would ensue in case of a complete deprivation of the raw material, should war, or any other difficulty, occur with or among the present great sources of cotton supply. As this is not likely to occur without some premonitory notice, directions might be sent, and the ryots induced to increase their cultivation of cotton at almost any time, because sowing takes place in some part or other of India at all seasons of the year; but few planters or merchants would venture to enter upon so extensive a speculation unless they had some security that the state of things which required their exertion would be permanent enough to reward their labour, the more especially if they knew of or had studied the disastrous results to Indian merchants in former years. Thus, in the year 1818 there were imported from India 86,555,000 lbs. of cotton, but the imports fell to 6,742,050 lbs. in the year 1822. But the

* *Review of the Measures which have been adopted in India for the Improved Culture of Cotton.* By J. Forbes Royle, M.D., F.R.S.

† *Reports and Documents connected with the Proceedings of the East India Company in Regard to the Culture and Manufacture of Cotton, Wool, Raw Silk, and Indigo in India.*

prices had rise from 7½*d.* to 20½*d.* in the former, and ranged from 5½*d.* to 8½*d.* in the latter year. Though these prices would be considered favourable enough to encourage exports in the present day. Indeed, they have ranged, in the year 1856, from 4½*d.* up to 8*d.* per lb. in the London market for Indian cotton." The quantity of cotton imported from India during 1856 was 466,781 lbs.; but in 1857 (from the 1st of January to the 16th of October) the imports increased, amounting to 564,666 lbs.

Some of the Lancashire manufacturers urge colonization as the best remedy for the difficulty in procuring the proper cultivation and cleaning of the commodity. Mr. Carpenter, an eminent London journalist,* meets the objection urged to colonization on the score of climate in these lines:—"We have more than once said that it is utterly absurd to talk about the climate of India as forbidding European emigration, just as if men who settle unhesitatingly at Sierra Leone, Hong-Kong, or Belize, would shrink from a residence in Bahar or the Punjaub, or as if men could not live at their own discretion, where others are only too glad to live, in virtue of official appointments. Thousands of Englishmen take service under the company without being deterred by any considerations of climate; thousands more are now serving in the country under the royal flag. To say that independent residents could not accept the same terms is ridiculous. If British colonists cannot live in India, they will not go there, but no harm can be done by giving them the option. The true obstacles have consisted, first in the policy, and afterwards in the administration of the company, which looked upon independent settlers as the Jesuits of Paraguay would have looked upon a congregation of Baptists. At one time they succeeded in closing India to all but their own retainers, and Bengal was as absolutely inaccessible as Japan. At later periods, after the interdict had been removed, there was still the exclusiveness of a service as formidable as the caste of Hindoos themselves. An independent resident in India found himself outside a select club, which club, over and above other privileges, had the privilege of governing him. These were the conditions which made Indian colonization distasteful, and which it is now so desirable to abolish."

It is very unlikely that the company would not now feel the same objection to English settlers as cultivators of cotton, or for any other purpose, that they formerly did, the considerations which then influenced them being no longer applicable. The climate, however, is unsuitable to vigorous exertion on the part of Englishmen as planters; but the difficulty is not altogether insurmountable, as has been shown in the indigo plantations. The presence of adventurers and determined colonists, wherever the climate would allow, would certainly promote the object, for the Brahmins oppose innovations of all sorts, however in the interest of the people, and it requires the presence of Europeans of a resolute will and vigilant circumspection to defeat their violence and intrigues. In the cases of indigo planters this has been extensively exemplified.

Whatever may be said in favour of other fields of cultivation, India, on the whole, is for England the fairest, but it is difficult to resist the conviction, that, as soon as Indian imports reduce the price of American cotton in any marked degree, the enterprise of the United States will find means of competing successfully for the market, so as to drive out the Indian produce, and, if possible, again obtain a monopoly. As a question for the English manufacturer, this is precisely the state of things he would desire; but as a question for those whose capital might be in Indian cotton fields, such a prospect is calculated to create hesitation and doubt, and will deter many from that bold speculation so characteristic of English colonists.

Indigo is an article of Indian commerce of considerable importance. It is indigenous to India, and is supposed to have derived its name from that circumstance, its ancient appellation having been *Indica*. It was well known in a remote antiquity as a product of the neighbourhood of the Indus. The first, or "London East India Company," made large profits by this commodity, purchasing it at Agra at a shilling, and selling it in London at five shillings per pound. In consequence of the British colonists in the southern provinces of North America and in the West Indies successfully competing with the company, the latter abandoned the trade. Almost a hundred years ago the Anglo-American planters relinquished the cultivation, and the French and Spanish colonists took it up, from whom the English bought what they required.

After the revolution of the British North American provinces, the company's territories in India extending, the trade was once more revived. The directors made surprising efforts to encourage its production, purchasing large quantities from the native growers, and selling it in London at considerable loss. This was continued until the culture of the plant, and the manufacture of the dye, were understood in India, and the one could be grown

* Editor of the *Sunday Times*.

and the other manufactured with profit. It is certain that, but for the sacrifices of the company, the trade could not have taken root in the country. The directors procured information on the cultivation from every quarter, transmitting it to India to serve as a guide for the cultivators. For a great many years the result of this diligence and expenditure has been that India produces the best indigo in the world. When the manufacture became firmly established, the company ceased to have any direct connection with it.

The plantations are now in the hands of European speculators, whose success enables them in about twelve years to realize considerable fortunes. Frequently, however, failure is the result, for it is a most adventurous enterprise. Sometimes the crop is entirely destroyed by drought; at other times, by those tremendous rain-falls common to India, which, at intervals, sweep away the labour and capital of the planter beyond hope of recovery; insects occasionally destroy the plants; but the chief impediment is the villany of the zemindars, who, jealous of the planter's success, hire gangs of natives to destroy his crops; the planter hires others to defend them, and bloody conflicts ensue, sometimes disastrous to the planter, but oftener to the zemindars. It is the general belief of planters that if there were not on the part of the magistrates undue sympathy for the natives as against the planters, the zemindars would never venture thus openly to set law and order at defiance. They complain that when these instigators of aggression are sued in the courts of justice, the company's judges invariably side with the natives, and that literally there is no redress for the injured planter but such as he can find by his own hand and his own weapon, and the hands and weapons of those whom he hires at a rupee apiece to fight in defence of his property. On the other hand, the company's officers assert that the planters generally are carried away by pride of race, are ruthlessly grasping, arrogant, and violent, and ever prone to take the law into their own hands; that, therefore, it is the duty of the company's officers to protect the people from the spoliation and ill treatment of those settlers. It is difficult to determine on which side the truth lies. There can be no doubt of the cunning, fraud, and violence of the zemindars, and that the poor ryots are goaded by them to aggressions upon the planters that are unprovoked. That the planter is not defended by the police, but left by the government to his own resources, is too frequently the case. The general sympathy of the company's officers with the *natives rather than* with European settlers admits of as little doubt. During the great mutiny of 1857, the strong sympathy of the civilians with the natives was frequently a subject of complaint, as leaving the wrongs of Europeans unredressed, and affording impunity to evil doers. This arises from the jealousy entertained by the company's officers of a European element in India which might compete for power and influence with them. Such a spirit has in times past given birth to injuries towards European settlers which created discontent in England, and gave occasion to those opposed to the company to denounce the injustice of its rule.

Indigo seems to a great extent to be a forced production in India. The planters generally buy up the interest of the zemindars, and compel the ryots to grow indigo. The zemindars have no equitable right to hand over the interests of the ryots along with their own, whose position to them legally, and consequently to the indigo planter, is similar to that of a farmer in England who rents under a lease. The law on this point is disputed, the planter maintaining his right to treat the ryot as a tenant-at-will, the latter regarding himself as having "a tenant-right" so long as he pays his rent, and demanding liberty to sow or plant the land he occupies with whatever he thinks may best enable him to live. The indigo planters, like the zemindars, rule with a high hand; and whatever be the law of the case, the unfortunate ryot is too feeble to insist upon the adjustment of his claims according to that standard. In this way he is subjected to much hardship.

An Indian periodical, in an able article, places the present condition of this produce, and the relation of the planters and ryots to each other, and of both to other parties concerned, in the following aspect:—"The cultivation of indigo originally was stimulated chiefly by the East India Company, which made very large advances on the produce. Mr. Bell states that the exports in 1786 were 245,011 lbs., and that it was by means of these advances that the quantities had advanced to 5,570,824 lbs. in 1810. The average amount now exported is probably about 9,000,000 lbs., the factories having been increased by the great houses, and many of them having been afterwards kept up at a heavy loss by the Union Bank—in both cases, we venture to think, at the ultimate cost of the unfortunate creditors of those houses and that bank. The current outlay now, in the purchase of seed and in labour, is, doubtless, large, and the annual average export value of the article may be henceforth stated at about two and a half millions sterling. But the export of rice from Calcutta and Arracan last year,

we believe, was much more than this, and it was raised with far less difficulty, and the profit on it to the people was vastly greater. The cultivator of indigo knows that he is engaged in a hazardous speculation, and that it is as likely as not, at the end of the season, that the yield of his land, instead of clearing off his advances, and leaving a balance of profit, will leave him in debt to the planter. Then, further, he is in the hands of middlemen, who notoriously defraud him. The number of his bundles is most probably counted amiss; and in settling accounts he has to give all kinds of 'customs' into the intervening hands. He is, in fact, 'in the books' of the factory, and is likely to remain there, *nolens volens*, for life. On the whole, then, there is a great deal in the indigo planting system as practised in Bengal, which demands inquiry, and which suggests difficult and embarrassing questions. That it is connected with a great deal of severity and injustice appears very evident; and that this must *necessarily* be the case (as is usually said) is a conclusion which, in our minds at least, does not excite either satisfaction or contentment. At any rate, inquiry ought not to be refused from the fear of injuring 'class interests,' and of exciting 'class animosities,' if the fact be that the opposed 'classes' are a few indigo planters on the one hand, and myriads of suffering and oppressed people on the other; or, if this ground be tenable, it must be also conceded that all the measures preliminary to the emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies were objectionable, and that emancipation itself was unjustifiable."

The indigo planters have also their grievances. It appears that they have formed an association to agitate for redress. An Indian magazine thus describes the party and its claims:—"The Indigo Planters' Association numbers among its members many determined and enterprising individuals, and has the sympathy of the mercantile community. They want the permanence of their rights as Britons; facilities for collection of their rents as farmers of estates; summary processes against faithless cultivators, who receive advances for indigo, and refuse to sow; speedy justice; improved communications; bridges that will bear hackeries and elephants; and roads that shall not 'melt away.' They stand up boldly for their interests; and however impartial men may differ with them as to the remedies they demand, all must admit there is no sham in them; there can be little difference of opinion as to their straight-forwardness." The *Calcutta Review* of September, 1857, draws a strong contrast between the planters and the zemindars in favour of the former, alleging that the latter, having formed an association to look after their interests, had presented in all their proceedings an absence of generosity and justice, and established themselves (as probably Lord Cornwallis intended in his famous settlement they should do) as the landed interest and *protectionists* of Bengal.

The exportation of rice has become a vast trade within a few years, as may be seen from the reference made in the foregoing extract, and this branch of commerce is likely to enlarge upon a scale never hitherto contemplated. The consumption of rice in Europe is increasing very much, especially in the British Isles and France.

The friends of India also hope that wheat will become a source of profitable export. The wheat-producing districts of India have not yet felt the advantage of superior cultivation, nor of good roads and railways, when those portions of the country are opened up by such means, wheat will become an important export, for India may produce much of the quantity which the importing countries of Europe require.

Linseed, mustard, and other seeds, form together not only an important item in Indian commerce, but an increasing one, and at a ratio which justifies the conclusion that at a period not remote this will become a far more valuable export. This is the more likely, as the trade is altogether modern.

Coffee, although at present grown to more advantage in Ceylon, is becoming gradually an important export from continental India. It will, however, be a considerable time before the trade on the mainland in this commodity rivals that of Insular India.

The tobacco plantations are extending, and an export of the produce has been established, but there is no prospect of the quality competing with that of America. Several of the company's civil servants have given attention to its improved culture.

Borax is imported extensively into India from Central Asia, and is exported again to Great Britain, to other parts of Europe, and to the United States.

When noticing the natural productions of India, it was shown that tea is indigenous, and that the plants imported from China under the auspices of the East India Company have thriven. Since writing that chapter reports have reached London of the extension of the tea plantations in the Punjaub, and of the favour with which the natives of India regard that grown at Kumaon. It will be very long before India is prepared to export tea on a very large scale,

notwithstanding the extraordinary progress of its culture, and the probability that it will speedily become one of the most valuable articles of Indian produce. The natives, especially in the tea-growing districts, are acquiring a taste for it which will create a home market for all that is likely to be grown for a long time, however rapidly the plantations may be extended. The Kangra tea is in great request for native use, selling at a rupee, and even more, per lb. The cultivation of the good qualities is at present so profitable, and the desire to procure it, both in India and from foreign countries, is so great, that there can be no doubt of a widespread extension of the plantations. An acre of tea plants at present yields an average return of 300 lbs., which, at a rupee per lb., would bring £30 per acre. The imports of all kinds, taken together, fall very lightly upon the cultivator, the East India Company nourishing the cultivation by every practicable indulgence. The capital at present required for a tea plantation is comparatively very small. At some period, perhaps less remote than at present seems likely, India will be a competitor with China in the growth of the plant, even if not so soon a rival in the exportation of the leaf. Should war with China, the progress of civil strife in that country, a blight upon the Chinese tea-fields, or any other unexpected event, occur to interfere with its exportation thence, the production of the plant in India would be so greatly stimulated, that it might soon become an exporting country on a considerable scale.

The reports which reached England by the April arrivals in 1858 indicate that interruption to the tea trade, or diminished production in China, are not such improbabilities as a few years ago might be supposed. The following is a review of the trade made at Hong-Kong in the middle of March :—

| | lbs. |
|---|---|
| Export from Hong-Kong, Macao, and Amoy, from July the 1st, 1857, to March the 10th, 1858 | 6,400,000 |
| Fouchow, from July the 1st, 1857, to March the 7th, 1858 | 18,850,000 |
| Shanghai, from July the 1st, 1857, to March the 5th, 1858 | 21,850,000 |
| Total | 47,100,000 |
| Canton, from July the 1st, 1856, to March the 10th, 1857 | 17,400,000 |
| Fouchow, from July the 1st, 1856, to March the 7th, 1857 | 19,300,000 |
| Shanghai, from July the 1st, 1856, to March the 5th, 1857 | 15,900,000 |
| Total | 52,600,000 |

In the *Times'* city article of the 8th of May, 1858, the following statement appeared, throwing additional light upon the subject of Indian tea exportation :—"The annual meeting of the Assam Tea Company took place this morning, Sir W. Baynes in the chair, when the report was adopted unanimously, and a dividend declared for the past year at the rate of nine per cent., being one per cent. more than in 1856. The report mentioned that during the late disturbances in India it had been deemed advisable to insure the company's tea, at one period worth £50,000, at a high premium, to cover all risks. Active assistance was afforded to the naval and military force sent to restore order in the province, and it is stated that, while the native servants cheerfully assisted in promoting that object, the independent contractors for cultivating the lands uniformly held aloof, or sympathized with the disaffected.* The crop of the season 1857, estimated at 700,000 lbs., has produced 707,101 lbs., which is expected to realize £64,817. The crop of the present season will probably amount to 765,000 lbs., which, at a similar valuation, will yield about £70,125."

In a previous chapter, treating of the productions of India, sufficient was said of sugar, both in its relation to cultivation and general trade. The free admission to England of American sugars checks the Indian exportation. Although the British public set a higher value upon the latter than formerly, yet they have not acquired a taste for Indian sugar, and the richer saccharine produce of the cane of the West Indies commands the market.

The magnitude of the opium production, and of the traffic, have been referred to elsewhere, both in this chapter and that which states the productions of the Indian soil. Its commercial effects in relation to China, its influence upon the exchanges, and upon the European silver drain, have been incidentally noticed. The following occurs in a recently published number of an Indian magazine :—"The trade in opium has grown, and is likely to grow on. The question of government connection with it is much misunderstood at home, and is sometimes argued, as though the government here could, if it chose, suppress its cultivation by prohibitory laws. This, however, we fear, is impossible, and the government monopoly therefore, in so far as it operates as a restriction, both on the cultivation, and the use of the drug in this country, is a very important

* It may here be observed, *en passant*, that the spirit displayed by the zemindar class throughout India towards the British government is illustrated by this experience of the Assam Company. The commerce and productions of India will no doubt be influenced by the general disaffection of this class.

benefit. The case in China wears a very different aspect. The smuggling of opium in armed vessels, in connivance with the Chinese officials, who are bribed and corrupted, and the consequences to myriads from the use of the drug, render the traffic only second to the slave trade (if, indeed, it be second even to that) in iniquity and cruelty. But whether it could be suppressed, save by such a combination of all nations as is directed against the slave trade, is very doubtful. The only practical remedy that we know in our own country, and among ourselves, is for public opinion to deal with these opium traders as it does with pests and nuisances to society, who are living by pandering to the vilest passions, and accumulating wealth, by means on which the curse of God must certainly rest for ever. But very different has been our conduct. We have boasted of our enlightenment, and of our 'forbearance' to the Chinese, and have sneered at their barbarism and folly; while our Christian gentlemen, honoured and exalted in society, have been using means to poison them by thousands for filthy lucre's sake; and not a few, who have called themselves Christians and Englishmen, have been parties to that atrocious system of slave dealing, which annually consigns thousands of entrapped Chinese as hopeless slaves to Cuba, and as worse than hopeless slaves to the Peruvian guano islands. In truth, no offence more disgraceful than the conduct of multitudes of English traders to the people of China has been committed in the annals of commerce.

"The present war with China is likely to end as the first did, in an enormous increase of smuggled opium, or perhaps the traffic will be still further stimulated by the importation being legalized.* Since the last war the import of opium into China has increased from twenty to more than seventy thousand chests, and this war will doubtless lead to a further expansion of the traffic."

The following statements in reference to the opium trade are correct, and will furnish the reader with a general view of its character commercial and morally:—

Opium, which in Europe is one of our most valuable medicines, but which in China feeds a depraved taste, is manufactured from the juice of the white poppy, a small quantity of which is grown in Turkey and Persia, and also in China, but it is cultivated to the greatest extent in India, both in the British dominions and in the independent native states. The process of cultivation and manufacture may be shortly described. The finest soil is required for the plant. The seed is sown in November. The preparation of the ground, and the subsequent weeding and watering, require much attention. The time for collecting the juice is in February and March. The poppy heads are then cut or scratched with a sharp instrument, and a milky juice exudes, which becomes brown in colour and thick in consistency by exposure to the sun and air, and is carefully collected by the farmer and his family. This is the crude opium. In Bengal this is delivered by the small farmer to the agent of the East India Company. It is then prepared under the inspection of these agents for the China market. The principal districts in which the poppy is grown are Patna, Benares, Bahar, and Malwa, from which the different kinds of drug derive their names. In Bengal it is grown exclusively for the government, under severe penalties for any infraction of the laws. It is understood also to be a forced production, which could not be entered upon with profit to the farmers but for advances in money made by the government. This point is disputed; but the poppy has undoubtedly occupied some of the finest land formerly used for indigo, sugar, and other produce.

The opium is prepared by the government agents for the China market by rolling it into large balls, covered with a coating of opium paste and poppy leaves, so as to exclude the air; it is then packed in chests (forty balls to a chest), and transferred to the government warehouses at Calcutta, where the drug is put up to auction at the government sales, of which there are four each season, at intervals of a month, commencing with December or January. At these sales the drug sells at prices varying from seven to sixteen hundred rupees a chest, containing 116 lbs. weight, and yielding a profit to the government of from £40 to £120 per chest. Their total revenue from this source, including a transit duty on the Malwa exported from Bombay, has now reached £4,000,000 sterling, and is estimated in Lord Dalhousie's minute at £5,000,000 sterling for the year 1857. Malwa opium is that grown in the independent native states. It must all pass through Bombay, where, in order to keep down its production, it is charged with a duty of four hundred rupees (£40) per chest.

The merchants in India purchase the opium either on their own account, or for mercantile houses in China or elsewhere, and it is then shipped in fast-sailing vessels capable of carrying from five hundred to a thousand chests. Of late years the monthly steamers of the Peninsular and Oriental Company have carried cargoes of the drug to China.

* Virtually, it is legalized already; opium is as freely imported, and almost as openly, as if a proclamation of the emperor sanctioned it.

The quantity thus imported into China from both sides of India now exceeds seventy-five thousand chests, roughly estimated at £8,000,000 sterling. A portion also goes to Singapore for consumption throughout the islands of the Eastern Archipelago.

On arrival in China (say at Hong-Kong), the opium was at one time transferred to large receiving ships stationary in the harbour, but of late years it has been stored largely on shore with the permission of our authorities. From thence supplies are forwarded in small schooners and other fast-sailing craft to different points on the coast, according to the demand.

At these coast stations there is no other trade carried on but that in opium. The drug is transferred from the small schooners to ships permanently anchored there, and the local Chinese government makes no attempt whatever to interfere, as it is enriched by the bribes or fees of the native dealers. These dealers come off in boats to purchase the opium, bringing silver in payment; but if the station be the outer anchorage of one of the free ports,—such as Shanghai, Fouchow, Amoy, or Canton,—the sale is usually made on shore in exchange for silver or Chinese produce, and an order given on the ship for delivery of the quantity sold.

The opium being thus conveyed into the country by the native dealers, it undergoes a process of boiling down to fit it for smoking. This reduces the weight one-half, so that one chest of the drug yields only half a chest of the smokeable matter. It is then retailed at smoking-shops, or purchased by the wealthier classes for use at home. The laws against smoking are now so completely in abeyance, that the smoking-shops in the free ports are almost as numerous as our own public-houses. Although this freedom from legal restraint exists, there is no question that the moral feeling of the Chinese government and people is against the indulgence, and it is this which contributes in some measure to keep down the consumption.

Let us now trace, as shortly as possible, the course of this trade. Before the year 1800 only a small *legal* trade in opium was carried on with China, but in that year the drug was made *contraband* by the Chinese government. This was done in consequence of a memorial from a leading statesman, who makes it a "subject of deep regret that the vile dirt of foreign countries should be received in exchange for the commodities and the money of the empire, and fearing lest the practice of smoking opium should spread among all the people of the inner land, to the waste of their time and destruction of their property," he requests that "the sale of the drug should be prohibited, and that offenders should be made amenable to punishment." In spite of this, the annual importations rose gradually from two thousand chests in 1800 to five thousand in 1820. Till 1820 opium had been mixed up with the legal merchandize at the port of Canton, but in that year the authorities again became alarmed at the extent of the traffic, and obliged the merchants to give security that no opium was on board before the ship could discharge her cargo at Whampoa; this led to the storing of it in receiving ships at Lintin, at the mouth of the Canton River, and this system continued to the year 1834, when the importations exceeded twenty thousand chests. During the period from 1820 to 1834 occasional collisions took place between the native smugglers and the Chinese authorities, arising out of disputes as to the amount of fees, but none occurred between that government and the British receiving ships.*

In continuing this narrative we quote from Williams' *Middle Kingdom*:—"Towards the close of the East India Company's charter, in 1834, the contraband trade in opium, off the Bogue and along the coast eastward, had assumed a regular character. The fees paid for connivance at Canton were understood, and the highest persons in the province were not ashamed to participate in the profits of the trade. The attempts to sell it along the eastern coast had been mostly successful, and almost nothing else could be sold. . . . . The increasing demand at Namoa and Chinchew (on the coast), led to the frequent dispatch of small vessels, one taking the place of another, and finally to stationing receiving ships there to afford a constant supply. The local authorities, finding their paper edicts quite powerless to drive them away, followed the practice of their fellow-officers at Canton, and winked at the trade for a consideration. It is not, however, right to say that the venality and weakness of these officers invalidated the authenticity of the commands they received from court; however flagitious their conduct in rendering the orders of none effect, it did not prove the insincerity of the emperor and his ministers in issuing them. By the year 1834 the efforts of the local authorities to suppress the trade resulted in a periodical issue of vain prohibitions and empty threats of punishments, which did not more plainly exhibit their own weakness in the eyes of the people than the strength of the appetite in the smokers."

The opium vessels are all well armed, but chiefly as a precaution against pirates, which swarm on that coast. Their being so well

* *The Opium Traffic.*

armed, however, was doubtless calculated to deter and overawe the contemptible Chinese navy, had the mandarins been disposed to attack them; but although there has been more than one serious tragedy in conflict with pirates, there does not appear to have been any actual encounter between the opium vessels and the authorities *on the coast*.

During the years 1837 and 1838, however, attempts were made by some British merchants to smuggle the drug into Canton, which led to serious collisions and disturbances *on the river*. Captain Elliot, her majesty's superintendent of trade, took measures, along with the Chinese authorities, to put a stop to these highly irregular proceedings on the part of a few, and these measures proved effectual. But meanwhile the imperial court at Pekin was organizing plans of a much more extensive kind to annihilate the whole trade, and to stop the smoking of the drug. A Chinese statesman of the name of Heu Naetse sent up a memorial to the emperor, praying that opium might be legalized, as the best method of dealing with an unavoidable evil. Two other statesmen, Choo Tsun and Heu Kew, memorialized the emperor in favour of an opposite course, requesting that the existing laws should be put in force with the utmost rigour.*

The prohibitory councils prevailed with the emperor; and although these measures utterly failed, it has been well said by a writer in the *North British Review*—"No man of any humanity can read, without a deep and very painful feeling, what has been reported of the grief, the dismay, the indignation of men in authority, and the emperor, on finding that their utmost efforts to save their people were defeated by the craft and superior maritime force of the European dealers, and by the venality of their own official persons, on the coast."

The prisons were soon crowded with victims, and death by strangling was inflicted in several instances on smokers and native dealers. An imperial commissioner, Lin, was sent to Canton to proceed against the foreign merchants. On his arrival there, in March, 1839, he immediately put the merchants under arrest, compelled them, through her majesty's superintendent of trade, to deliver up the whole of the opium then on the coast, amounting to 20,283 chests, and formally destroyed it by mixing it with lime and salt, and casting it into the sea. For some months after this opium was almost unsaleable, and the prohibitory measures against smoking it were so effectual, that the consumption fell to less than a tenth of what it had been.

The war which ensued, although it arose out of the seizure of the opium as the immediate cause, really sprung from one more deep-seated and more remote in point of time. This was "the arrogant assumption of supremacy over the monarchs and people of other countries claimed by the Emperor of China for himself and for his subjects, and our long acquiescence in this state of things." The war thus commenced in 1840, and concluded in August, 1842, however, decided not only the superiority of the British arms, but convinced the imperial court that further attempts to put down the opium trade were vain. Thenceforward the laws against smoking became more and more lax, whilst the trade, nominally contraband, went on with fewer restrictions than before. At the present time the trade has assumed all the importance of an established recognised traffic, and the merchants engaged in it, including nearly the whole foreign community in China engaged in commerce, shelter themselves under the plea of the sanction given to it by the British government, and the alleged insincerity of the Chinese in desiring to prohibit it. In China itself also the growth of the poppy has been extending, with the connivance of the local authorities. The quantity thus grown is not positively known, but it was stated on good authority as ten thousand chests so far back as 1847. It is inferior to the Indian drug, and is used for mixing with it.

Of late years the fibrous plants of India have been extensively cultivated, under the auspices of government, for purposes of commerce. Several new species have been discovered, admirably adapted either for export as raw produce, or being first subjected to certain processes of manufacture. Assam is particularly prolific in these descriptions of commodities. In Bijnore, Upper Assam, hemp is made by the natives from the *sunn* and *sunny plants*. Good flax has been gathered near Meerut. Gunny bags, in which cotton is exported, has of late been made from this fibre. The upper provinces of India are peculiarly adapted for the growth of flax; that of Seharunpore has been pronounced equal to the produce of the north of Ireland. From time immemorial flax was grown in India for the purpose of expressing oil from the seed; but of late attention has been directed to it for the fibre. Still India exports rather substitutes for flax and hemp than those commodities.

The extent to which we have hitherto been dependant upon Russia for these fibres may be

* *What is the Opium Trade?*

judged of from the fact that the average annual importation during the ten years, from the beginning of 1844 to the end of 1853, was—

| | From Russia. | From all other Places. |
|---|---|---|
| | cwt. | cwt. |
| Hemp, dressed . . . . . | 620,519 | 387,098 |
| Flax and tow or codilla of hemp and flax . . . . . | 1,013,565 | 466,417 |

Or the supplies we have drawn from Russia have been about twice as great as from all other countries put together. On the other hand, the hope we have of making India available for all our wants, is shown by the very rapid rate at which the importation of fibrous materials from that country has increased during the last twenty-five years. Thus, at three successive periods, there were imported into the United Kingdom:—

| | 1831. | 1847. | 1851. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | cwt. | cwt. | cwt. |
| Hemp from Russia . . . . | 506,803 | 544,844 | 672,342 |
| Fibres from British territories in the East Indies | 9,472 | 185,788 | 590,923 |

Thus, while the import of hemp from Russia increased in twenty years only one-third, that of fibrous materials from India increased sixty times, and even between 1847 and 1851, increased three times! A further increase of three times, which, from Dr. Royle's statements, appears not only possible, but easy, would make us altogether independent of the hemp and flax of Russia. This possible independence of Russia arises from the circumstance that though the fibres hitherto imported from India include neither any real hemp nor any true flax, yet they include materials which may be usefully substituted for both, while for many of the purposes to which hemp and flax are severally applied they are superior to either.*

It may interest the reader to be informed why hemp fibre should be comparatively little grown, and should not be at all imported from India, although the true hemp plant is described as a native of that country. There appear to be two reasons for this apparent anomaly. The first is, that the low country of India is so rich in other fibres, which are either more rapid in their growth, more easily prepared, more beautiful to the eye, or more durable, that the natives for home use prefer them to hemp. The second is, that hemp is cultivated largely and widely for the sake of the *churrus* and *bhang* which it yields. The churrus is the well-known resin of hemp, or the inspissated juice of the leaves obtained from the plant by rubbing between the hands; and bhang is the name usually given to the dried leaves and twigs. Both of these are extensively used as soothing and exhilarating narcotics. The former is swallowed in the form of pills or boluses, the latter is smoked either alone or mixed with a certain proportion of tobacco. It will give an idea of the extent to which the hemp plant is cultivated for this luxurious purpose if we add from another authority that the use of it, as a narcotic, prevails in Asia and Africa among not less than two or three hundred millions of men!*

But what becomes of the fibre, it will naturally be asked? The resin and the leaves and the twigs being removed, why should the hemp fibre not be made use of also? The reason of this is, that the mode of culture best suited for the production of bhang, and usually followed in Lower India, is not adapted to the growth of a valuable fibre. All plants when grown thickly together, shoot up in height, branch little, and, if the soil be rich and moist, are of a looser and more spongy texture. If fibrous plants be so raised, they yield finer, softer, stronger, and more flexible threads. Hence, both hemp and flax, when cultivated for their fibres, are sown more or less thickly, and are pulled up about the season of flowering, and usually before the seeds are permitted to ripen. But in India, when cultivated as a narcotic, the seed of the hemp plant is not sown thick as it ought to be when intended for cordage. The natives first sow it thin, and afterwards transplant the young plants, placing them at distances of nine or ten feet from each other.†

Rheea fibre rope has been manufactured under the auspices of government; this fibre has of late years become an export. It exceeds the best hemp in strength, and rivals in fineness superior flax. It is cultivated in Rungpore, Dinapore, Assam, and on the Indo-Chinese peninsula, and in the Straits' settlements: four to five crops of fibre can be obtained in the year from the same plants, and the price is as cheap as Russian hemp. This plant seems identical with the China grass, from which their celebrated grass cloth is made. Various prizes were awarded at the Great Exhibition of 1851 for the manufactures produced from this commodity. Excellent ropes have been made in England from this substance.

Varieties of paper, some of rather a fine quality, have been made from Indian fibres, both in India and in the British Isles. Notwithstanding the rude implements employed by the native manufacturers, some paper of a good quality, resembling that used for foreign

* *Edinburgh Review.*

* Johnston's *Chemistry of Common Life*, vol. ii. p. 183.

† *Edinburgh Review.*

correspondence in England, has been produced.

Jute has become a material of commerce very extensively shipped from India. It is the substance from which the gunny bags are generally made, although as stated in a previous paragraph, they are sometimes manufactured from flax. Jute is often marked as hemp in the customs returns, and it is difficult to state with precision their relative quantities.

A trade in gunny bags has sprung up between England and the United States of America. These articles are sent to the Union, where they are used for the packing of cotton. In the year ending 1855 the value of this export was 18.09.540 rupees; in the year ending 1856 it had risen to 27.03.326 rupees.

Dr. Forbes Royle represents the importations in England of fibres from India in weight as follows:—

| | 1854. | 1855. |
|---|---|---|
| Hemp | 125,951 cwts. | 69,464 cwts. |
| Jute | 443,558 „ | 520,741 „ |
| Other fibres | 741 „ | 963 „ |
| Total | 570,250 | 591,168 |

Bast is a commodity of Indian commerce for which there is a growing demand in India. This article had been almost exclusively derived from Russia in the form of mats, used by gardeners for protecting fruit-trees and plants, and covering pit frames, and afterwards, when pulled to pieces, for tying up fruits and vegetables. Cabinet-makers and upholsterers use it for packing their manufactures. Russia exports three and a half millions of mats to this country. The Russian basts are made from the bark of the lime or linden-tree, which is also made into shoes, cordage, sacks for corn, &c. The linden-tree is not a native of India, but there are trees of that family which yield similar products. Several of these were introduced to Chiswick Gardens some years ago, and received there considerable attention from Dr. Lindley; he was instrumental in pointing out the commercial adaptations of several of the specimens.

Gutta percha has become a valuable importation in England, and has been imported from the Straits' settlement of Singapore. The forests where the tree grows from which it is drawn are rapidly being exhausted, and attention has been turned with success to provide the means of supply from India. The tree has been found on the Malabar coast, and its discovery in India will probably preserve the supply of so valuable an article.

The country is also rich in tanning substances, for which there is a good market in England, such as terra japonica, or gambir. This is an inspissated extract from the leaves and branches of the *Uncaria Gambir*. Our supplies all come from Singapore, whence we imported 6847 tons in 1856. Cutch is another tanning substance. The best, which comes from Pegu, is an astringent extract, obtained by boiling the wood of the *Acacia Catechu*. In 1856 we imported 1689 tons. Besides those substances from the Straits' settlements and Indo-Chinese peninsula, we derive myrobolams from Bombay. These are the dried fruit of several species of *Terminalia*, imported from India. They are of a dingy yellow, oval, and about the size of an olive.

The trade in pepper, cloves, and other spices, and in ebony, saul-wood, teak, and other timbers has been increasing rapidly: references have been made to these so frequently when describing the places where they are chiefly produced, as not to require any particular notice here. The vegetable products peculiar to India, adapted to food or manufactures, are likely to be much more in request by European nations.

The commercial productions of India noticed in the foregoing pages are drawn from vegetable sources; the animal world supplies India also with numerous materials for home consumption and for export. Among the most prominent of these is silk, the secretion of the worm of the silk moth (*Bombyx Mori*), whose favourite food is the leaf of the mulberry-tree. The *Bombycidæ* includes the largest of all the moths yet known, the *Saturnia Atlas*, the extent of whose wings measures between eight and nine inches. The ground colour is a fine deep orange-brown, and in the middle of each wing is a large subtriangular transparent spot: each of these transparent parts is succeeded by a black border, and across all the wings run lighter and darker bars, exhibiting a very fine assortment of varying shades. The upper wings are slightly curved downwards at their tips, and their lower wings are edged with a border of black spots on a pale buff-coloured ground. The antennæ are widely pectinated with a quadruple series of fibres, which have a very elegant appearance. This moth is met with in Southern India, and the Chinese Tussah silk has been said to be obtained from it. Among the various moths found in Assam and other parts of India, are the *Bombyx Mori;* the Tussah (*Saturnia Paphia*); the eria, or arindy (*Bombyx Cynthia*, or *Phalæna Cynthia*); the moonga (*Saturnia Assamensis* of Helfer); the jooree (*Bombyx religiosa*, Helfer); and the *Saturnia Silhetica*, Helfer. Another species of *Saturnia* (*S. Se-*

*lene*), the posterior wings of which are prolonged into a tail-like process, is common in Southern India. Its chrysalis is enveloped in a silky covering, so like that of *S. Paphia*, that it would probably be found to yield a strong and useful thread. The Cossimbazar produces a large cocoon; but this worm will only produce silk annually. Dessee is the small indigenous or native silkworm of Bengal, which may be produced nearly throughout the year. It yields silk of a bright yellow colour. The eggs are hatched and formed into cocoons in from fifty-five to sixty days in the November or March *bunds*, or seasons; from forty to forty-five days in the October, and from twenty-eight to thirty-two days in the April and June bunds. The nistry tribe of silkworms comprises three species—the madrassie, the soonamooky, and cramee. The soonamooky are the best: like the madrassie, they are very hardy, requiring little care, and not being at all choice in their food. The madrassie or foreign cocoons rank next. They produce silk of a greenish hue, much inferior to the dessee or soonamooky, but the produce is large. The worm is distinguished from the dessee by a black mark under the throat. The Tussah silkworms are reared in all the western forests, and there are three different kinds of the *goottees*, or cocoons, collected in September—namely, the moonga, the most common, which produce a coarse thread, easily wound; the teerah, a smaller cocoon, with a firm thread, but not so wound, nor so much valued by the weavers; and the bonbunda, the largest of the wild silkworms, the thread being coarser, runs easier, and is, therefore, in more estimation by the weavers.*

The *Bombyx Cynthia*, or *Phalæna Cynthia*, is the eria of Assam and the eastern districts of Bengal. It has engaged the attention of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India for many years.† With the view of bringing the substance prepared by the worm into use as an article of commercial value, the society, in conjunction with Captain (now Colonel) Jenkins, the commissioner of Assam, offered, in 1849, the sum of £60 and a gold medal to the discoverer of an effectual and cheap solvent for the adhesive material which attaches to the cocoon. Though this prize was before the public for seven years, no claimant for it appeared, and the amount was diverted to another purpose.‡ At the close of the year 1855 Sir William Read, the governor of Malta, presented to Dr. Templeton a sample of silk produced in that island from the cocoons of the *Bombyx Cynthia*. Dr. Templeton sent the specimen to India, alleging that Signor Salteria, an Italian, succeeded in winding this silk, that the quality was peculiarly fine, and that an Englishman at Malta had succeeded in producing a pair of beautiful silk stockings and some lace-work from it. The castor-oil plant is that upon which this species of worm feeds. Since then the worms have been bred, and silk wound off, at Malta, Piedmont, Tripoli, France, and in the Island of Granada, but the worm thrives nowhere so well as at Assam, unless possibly in the neighbouring districts of Eastern Bengal.*

At the close of 1855 and beginning of 1856, Captain Hutton, in a correspondence with the Calcutta Horticultural Society, enumerated nine different species of worms indigenous to the Himalayas—seven Saturnia, one Actias, and one Bombyx. One species of the Saturnia the captain found feeding upon the quince-tree. Two of the Saturnia species only throve in the warmest valleys of the Himalayas; the others prospered at great elevations. One species of Actias he found at elevations from five to seven thousand feet. The Bombyx (*Bombyx Huttoni*, West) he found feeding on the wild mulberry, from the base of the hills to the height of seven thousand feet. The captain, during the year 1855, reared a number of the caterpillars of the *Actias selene*, in order to ascertain the value of the silk, which he was unable to wind from the cocoons. These creatures thrive on the shrub *Coriaria Nipalensis*, *Andromeda orealifolia*, the walnut, and occasionally upon the *Carpinus bimana*.

The Tussah silkworm is found in such abundance over many parts of Bengal, and the adjoining provinces, as to have afforded to the natives, from time immemorial, a considerable supply of a most durable, coarse, dark-coloured silk, which is woven into a kind of cloth called *Tussah dooties*, much worn by Brahmins and other sects of Hindoos. This worm cannot, however, it is said, be domesticated.

The arrindy silkworm is peculiar to the interior parts of Bengal, in the districts of Dinajpore and Rungpore, where the natives rear and breed it in a domestic state, as they do the silkworm. The food of this kind consists entirely of the leaves of the castor-oil plant (the *Ricinus communis*), which the natives call arrindy, or arundi, and is abundantly reared over every part of India on account of the oil obtained from the seed.

* Indian Department, Exhibition 1851.

† *Transactions of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India.*

‡ *Journal of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India.*

* *Report of the Entomological Society.*

Their cocoons are remarkably soft and white, or yellowish, and the filament so exceedingly delicate as to render it impracticable to wind off the silk; it is, therefore, spun like cotton. The yarn thus manufactured is wove into a coarse kind of white cloth, of a seemingly loose texture, but of great durability. When made into clothing for men and women, it will wear constantly for ten, fifteen, or twenty years. It is likewise used as a baling material for wrapping packs of fine cloths, silks, or shawls. It must, however, be always washed in cold water; for if put into boiling water, it makes it tear like old rotten cloth.*

It will make the foregoing remarks more intelligible to the reader interested in the productions and commerce of India, but imperfectly acquainted with the technicalities of the silk trade, and cultivation, to give a few statistical and general facts in connection with the production and sale.

From 250 to 400 cocoons go to the pound. To compose an ounce of eggs of the largest breed of silkworms of 4-casts, it would require 37,440: if each of these eggs produced a worm, and they all lived, from one ounce of eggs 373 lbs. of cocoons would be obtained. One ounce of worms consume in the—

| | lbs. | |
|---|---|---|
| 1st age | 6 | of leaves. |
| 2nd „ | 18 | „ |
| 3rd „ | 60 | „ |
| 4th „ | 180 | „ |
| 5th „ | 1,098 | „ |
| Total | 1,362 | lbs. of leaves from the hatching to the formation of the cocoon. |

During the life of the silk-worm there has been excrement to the amount of 745 lbs. 8 ozs., and uneaten leaves or fragments, 155 lbs. odd. 458 feet 4 inches of spun silk extracted from a common cocoon of 4-casts weighs one grain. A cocoon yields 1760 feet of spun silk: the ounce of this spun silk is 264,000 feet long. We may conclude, on an average, that the silkworm, in forming its cocoon, draws a thread of half a mile in length. The full-grown worm is three inches long. After four, five, or six days each moth will have laid on an average 510 eggs, and 68 eggs weigh one grain: 180 female moths lay 91,800 eggs, weighing 2½ ozs.

The size or substance of a silk thread is usually estimated by deniers, and Italian and French weight, the comparative proportion of which will be understood by the specially prepared and appended figures, which will enable the reader the better to judge of the Indian silk trade relatively to that of other countries.

* *Report of the Society of Arts.*

*A Comparative Table of the Weights used for testing Silk in England, France, and Italy.*

The ounce troy and the ounce "poids de marc" of Lyons, by the latter of which silk is tested in France and Italy, are equal in weight, but are differently subdivided. The ounce Troy in England is divided into 20 pennyweights × 24 = 480 grains; the ounce of Lyons, poids de marc, into 24 drams × 24 = 576 deniers. The denier is therefore one-sixth less than the English grain, or as the decimal 0·8334 is to 1·000.

| | Deniers. | | Grains. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Therefore | 1·000 | = | 0·8334 |
| „ | 1·200 | = | 1·000 |
| „ | 6 | = | 5 |
| „ | 100 | = | 83⅓ |
| 1 dram, poids de marc | 24 | = | 20 |
| 1 pennyweight, troy, about | 28¾ | or | 24 |
| 1 dram, avoirdupois „ | 33⅓ | or | 27⅓ |
| 1 oz. avoirdupois (16 drams of 27⅓ grains) about | 532 | or | 437½ |
| 1 oz. troy (20 pennyweights of 24 grains) | 576 | = | 480 |
| 1 oz. poids de marc (24 drams of 24 deniers) | 576 | = | 480 |
| 1 lb. troy (12 oz. of 480 grains, or 576 deniers) | 6912 | = | 5760 |
| 1 lb. avoirdupois (16 oz. of 437½ grains) | 8512 | = | 7000 |
| 1 lb. poids de marc (16 oz. of 576 deniers) | 9216 | = | 7680 |

The pound troy is to the pound avoirdupois as 14 to 17, nearly.

The pound avoirdupois is to the pound poids de marc as 10 to 11, nearly.

The pound poids de marc is to the pound troy as 4 to 3.

The pound and ounce apothecaries' weight are the same as troy.

The English silk reel is 818 bouts of 44 inches = 1000 yards.

The French 400 ells, or 475 metres, of 39,371 inches = 520 yards.

The custom of the trade is to reckon 32 deniers to a dram. This has probably been adopted from ease of subdivision, but when carried out creates much error.

The standard of silk measure is about 400 yards; that length of a single filament from China cocoons will weigh 2 deniers, and from French or Italian 2½. A 10-denier silk will thus be the combined thread of four or five cocoons.

In the chapter devoted to China, notice was taken of the cultivation of the mulberry, and the production and exportation of silk in connection with that country. India imports Chinese silks, and exports them again, but this trade is not carried on to any great extent. The perfection to which the cotton manufacture has been brought both in India and England has interfered with the silk manufacture wherever it existed—even in China the cottons of India and England are little by little checking the consumption of silk; yet, although thus retarded by the competition of cotton, the silk manufactures of Europe have increased greatly.

The people of this country pay enormous sums of money for the foreign manufactured

* *Report of the Hyde Park Exhibition of* 1851.

silk which they wear, although much is made here. We cannot, however, obtain all the supplies of the raw material our manufacturers require, owing to the competition of other countries, the precariousness of the silk crop, and the increased consumption in Europe, which is now more than threefold what it was at the beginning of the century.

Our imports of silk in 1856 were derived from the following quarters:—

| | bales. |
|---|---|
| China | 56,561 |
| Bengal | 13,820 |
| Persia | 1,858 |
| Brutia | 143 |
| Italy | 2,784 |
| Total | 75,166 |

In the provinces east of Bengal, and on the Indo-Chinese peninsula, silk is produced, and the home consumption is very great. Upon the borders of Thibet and Bhotia, throughout Upper Assam, the silkworm finds suitable food in shrubs indigenous to those regions, and is in most parts carefully tended. In the independent territory of Monypore, and the quasi-independent territory of Tipperah, the use of both silk and cotton prevails; the higher classes using muslins brought from lower India, and silk and calico made in their own lands. There is no great quantity of silk produced for exportation, but there is an exchange of silk and silk manufacture with Birmah. English cotton goods are gradually making encroachments upon the silk manufacture of both the independent and subsidiary states to the east of Bengal. Within the Thibet frontier silk fabrics from China and Birmah are used, and cotton goods from Bengal and England. The Bhotians, Siamese, and Nepaulese, also consume the silk goods of China and Birmah, but the consumption is checked by the cottons of India proper, and of England. In Nepaul, Persian silks, brought by caravans through Cabul and the Punjaub, are worn, but only by the higher classes. Silk is spun in all these countries in some degree, and portions of it sent down to India, where it is manufactured into cloth, or exported as India silk. In Chittagong (Islamabad), Arracan, and Martaban, the mulberry-tree is carefully planted for the sake of the worm, and the native consumption of silk cloth is considerable. The cultivation of the worm in those provinces is on the Pegu and Birmese frontiers, on the higher lands; and much of the silk spun is sent into either of those countries. Silk thread, called Birmese and Peguan, and exported from these places, has been spun in the adjoining provinces of Martaban, Arracan, and Chittagong.

In the district of Prome, in Pegu, worms are bred amidst the hills and highlands by the same class of persons who grow cotton. The worm is there fed on mulberry leaves. The plants are allowed to grow three or four years, after which they are cut down, and a new plantation is made, fresh soil being cleared for the purpose. The silk thread sold before the Birmese war—that is, up to 1851—was about seven rupees a *viss*, which is the designation given to a weight of 365 lbs.* In 1855 the price was raised to nine rupees for that amount, but again declined during the year 1856–7. The dress of the better classes of the Peguans and of the Birmese, both men and women, being chiefly silk, the commodity is not likely to fall below seven rupees a viss. This silk, which is at so low a price in Prome, is unfit for the European market, or its cost would be soon greatly raised; † it is, however, exported in small quantities to the neighbouring provinces. Pegu is not likely to contribute to the Indian silk exports to Great Britain, for which purpose the chief object of the silk-breeder is to get cocoons made of long, strong, fine, even, lustrous, and white thread.

The silk trade of England may perhaps rank next to that of cotton, since silk now forms one of the most important articles of consumption for the purposes of dress, furniture, decoration, and luxury. Silk, it has been well remarked, is both an agreeable and a healthy material. Used in dress, it retains the electricity of our bodies. In the drapery of our rooms and furniture covers it reflects the sunbeams, giving them a greater brilliancy, and it heightens colours with a charming light. It possesses an element of cheerfulness of which the dull surfaces of wool and linen are destitute.

The quantity of silk now consumed in Europe is threefold what it was at the beginning of the century. The stiff brocade, the massy velvet, the slight gauze, and the beautiful blonde, are alike produced by the labour of the little silkworm.

Our imports of raw silk in 1856 amounted to 7,383,672 lbs.; of thrown or spun silk, 853,015 lbs.; of waste knubs and husks, 17,994 cwt. Of silk manufactures of Europe we received 905,013 lbs., and of Indian silk 597,752 pieces.

The declared value of the exports of British manufactured silks, which, in 1820, was but £371,755, had increased, in 1856, to close upon £3,000,000.

In the commercial department of the South

* *Memorandum on Silk produced in the Northern Portion of Pegu.* By Major Phayre, commissioner.

† Secretary of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

Kensington Museum, and the new museum of the India-house, Leadenhall Street, specimens of oriental silks in every form may be seen, which cannot fail to interest those concerned in our Indian commerce. In the former place will be found catalogued—

Case of wild Indian silks, containing:—
- Yarns and cloth from the arca, or wild silk moth of Assam.
- The eria cocoons reduced to a floss, presented by Captain F. Jenkins, commissioner of Assam, in 1837.
- Yarn and thread from the silk of the mango-tree silk-worm (see *Transactions of the Linnean Society*, vol. vii. p. 47).
- Arca silk thread of four qualities, from Captain Jenkins.
- Arindeh silk thread, dyed red, from the Marchioness of Hastings, 1818.
- Spun silk from the Tusser worm, ditto.
- Wild Indian silk, dyed yellow.
- Thread made by the Eas Pato (*Phalœna Cynthia*), on the castor-oil plant, Central Assam.
- Various cloths made from Arca silk in Assam.
- Silk thread and cloth made from the mango-tree and castor-oil tree silkworms, 1809, Dr. Roxburgh.

Cocoons of the Moongha Lata and of the Tussah, or wild forest silkworms.

Specimens of raw silk from the smaller "pat pato" (*Bombyx mori minor*), and from the larger pat pato (*Bombyx mori major*), Central Assam.

The following is from the list of Chinese and Indian thrown silks:—

China (Tsatlee) organzine.
The same, "boiled off"—*i. e.* after the gum is extracted.
The same, stained, for making lace.
China (Tsatlee) tram.
China (Tsatlee) sewings.
The same, "boiled off."
China (Taysaam) hosiery, for making stockings.
The same, "boiled off."
China (Taysaam) fine sewings.
China (Taysaam) coarse sewings.
China (Taysaam) hard sewings.
China (Taysaam) sewings, "boiled off."
China (Yu-un-faa) lace cord.
China (Yu-un-faa) floss, or "no-throw."
China (Canton) sewings.
China (re-reeled Canton) sewings.
Bengal best floss, or "no-throw."
Bengal common tram.
Bengal organzine.
Bengal organzine, "boiled off."
Bengal sewings.
Bengal coarse sewings.
Bengal coarse sewings, "boiled off."

The general inquirer will receive some general idea of Indian silk cloths from the following specimens to be seen in the South Kensington Museum:—

Counter-case of manufactured Indian silks from the Mezankurree, Moongha, or Moorghie, Assam.
- Tussah silk, bought in Calcutta in 1839.
- Mezankurree, Moonga drab silk cloth, with red striped border, from Assam, 1839, from the Calcutta Museum.
- Drab Moongha silk from Assam, 1837, by Captain Jenkins.
- Finer white silk cloth, bordered with red stripe, from the Mezankurree Moonga silk of Assam, 1839. Presented by Captain Jenkins.
- Cloth from the Moonga silkworm, in an embroidered state, manufactured in Assam in 1836; shown by Dr. Wallich, from the Calcutta Museum.
- Moongha muslin silk cloth, from Assam; obtained by Captain Jenkins in 1837.
- Moongha silk from Assam, 1836, Dr. Wallich.

The silk manufactures of India imported into England in 1856 amounted to 597,752 yards.

The fleeces and raw wools exported from India are more remarkable for their variety than for the magnitude of the commerce which is maintained in them. These commodities, although of Indian export, are frequently brought from Affghanistan, Cashmere, Thibet, and other Asiatic nations; they are, however, articles of Indian commerce, if not of Indian produce; indeed, it is impossible to form a full and clear estimate of the trade transactions between British India and the nations beyond, and the independent states within the boundaries of the territory called India. The following specimens of articles of Indian commerce in fleeces and raw wools may be seen in the compartment allotted to them in the museum of the Society of Arts:—

East Indian, first white quality.
Ditto, superior quality.
Common grey East Indian.
Good East Indian.
Coarse grey East Indian.
East Indian, worth about 7*d.*
Good yellow East Indian.
Middling white quality.
Ditto, white East Indian.
East Indian mixed, a hairy kind.
Low and kempy East Indian.
East Indian coarse wool, mixed.
Mixed kempy, black and white.
Bengal wool.
Wool of the Himalaya mountain sheep.
Calcutta sheep's wool, mixed.
Wool from one of Lord Western's flock, raised in Mysore.
Good white thorough-bred Merino, from Mysore.
Ditto, quarter-bred, from Mysore.
Good white quality, half-bred—Mysore.
Ditto, three-quarters-bred—Mysore.
Ditto, seven-eighths-bred—Mysore.
Good white coarse country wool—Mysore.
White cleaned, from Beckouret.
Clean black Gujerat.
Cleaned white Gujerat.
Uncleaned Gujerat.
Black and white Gujerat.
Wool from a yearling lamb, a cross between a Patna ewe and a Southdown ram.
Ditto, cross between a Cape Merino ram and a country ewe (eight bottles).
Highland sheep's wool, from Thibet.
Highland lamb's wool, from Thibet.
Bang Bal Valley wool, from Thibet.
Wool from black sheep of Thibet.
Black Highland wool, from Thibet.

Thibet wool, picked.
Kula Yako Dorin.
Wool from Spite.
Wool from the Punjaub.
Black Punjaub wool, from Kussore.
Mixed Punjaubee wool, from Kussore.
White Punjaubee wool, from Kussore.*
Wool from Lahore.
White wool, from Shung.
Himalayan mountain wool.
White Ferozepore, Loodiana district.
Black wool, from Loodiana.
White wool, from Cashmere.
Cashmere shawl wool.
Calmuck, Russian wool.
Wool from Shanghai sheep, *vid* Chittagong.

There are also some specimens of Indian broadcloths, which are unsuitable to Europe.

The woollen cloth carpet of Nepaul may also be seen in the museum, but it is not imported to Europe.

The hair of the Thibet goat, and of the Cashmere shawl-goat, are articles of export from India to Europe, as are the shawls manufactured from these materials. The hair of the Cashmere goat is also imported to France *vid* Russia for the manufacture of shawls.

The skins of the tiger and leopard are to a small extent exported, chiefly to England. The chief supply of tiger skins is from Bengal. From Madras between two and three millions of goat skins are annually shipped.

Isinglass is exported to Europe, especially to England.

Leather is an Indian manufacture, for which a foreign market is found, but it is chiefly sent to the countries of Asia beyond India, or used by the natives themselves. The skins of the rhinoceros, cheetah, hyena, and antelope, are all tanned and dressed in different parts of our Indian empire. In Guntore, and other parts of India, the skins of the guana are tanned and curried for ladies' and gentlemen's shoes, and are also black grained. The tanning substances used are tanghedi, huldi, and myrabolans. The skins are thin, even, soft, tough, elastic, and granular or shagreen-like in external appearance. From the absence of gloss, the appearance of this leather is not much in its favour; but it bids fair to be a durable article for light slippers, and a good covering for the commoner kinds of instrument boxes, such as are still done over with shagreen. The supply of the skins can never, however, be large. As covers for various Indian toys, curiosities, and carvings, it frequently comes to England.

Bone and ivory carved ornaments are favourite imports of Europe from the East. As shown in the chapter set apart to China, that country is the most famous for productions of this kind, but India also, more especially Bombay Island, has also obtained a superior reputation.

The horns of the Indian buffalo, the ox, the bison, and the antlers of various species of deer, are all important to commerce. About twenty-six thousand pairs of horns are annually shipped from Siam. The Bombay buffalo horns are very useful for the manufacture of handles of knives and dressing-combs, and fetch in the market from fifteen to twenty shillings per cwt. From Madras about a million buffalo horns were shipped in 1856. Both from Calcutta and Madras stag horns of a beautiful description have been exported, and also from the Island of Ceylon. The Calcutta buffalo horn is much used by the English opticians. The horns exported by the Siamese are excellent for combs and other useful articles.

The difficulty of giving definite information on this branch of Indian commerce with England, and the value of the commerce itself, is evident from the following statement:—"It is impossible to give very accurate details as to the import of the several kinds of horns, for since 1847, when the duty was abolished, they have been all aggregated together. The imports of horns and tips and pieces of horn in 1855 amounted to 3110 tons, valued at £88,386. The hoofs of cattle imported in that year were valued at £4183. The import of buffalo horns and tips was probably about 1400 tons (as 1869 tons of horns of all kinds were received from the British East India possessions). The value of buffalo horn varies from £25 to £35 per ton. From six to eight hundred tons are annually worked up in Sheffield, chiefly for cutlery handles and umbrella and parasol handle-tops, machete or cutlass-handles, scales, snuff boxes, horn-stirrups, sword-handles, drawer-handles, dressing-combs, &c. Taking the average at fourteen hundred horns to the ton, the mortality among buffaloes in the East to supply our manufacturing demands must be nearly a million a year, besides what may be required for continental and American use."*

The stag horns used in Sheffield for cut-

* Measures have lately been taken to improve the quality of the Punjaub wool, in which there is now a large export trade *vid* Kurrachee, reaching from thirty to forty thousand maunds of about 75 lbs. It has increased about ninety per cent. over previous years. The wool-staplers of Khorassan, and the producers of wool on the hills north of Cabul, Ghuznee, and various parts of Central Asia, bring it down by caravans to the frontier; and as the navigation of the tributaries of the Indus becomes developed, a further increase of the produce brought down may be looked for.

* *Catalogue of the Collection of Animal Products belonging to Her Majesty's Commissioners for the Exhibition of* 1851.

lery purposes are chiefly supplied by Hindoostan and the Island of Ceylon. Madras, Bombay, and Colombo (Ceylon), export to England annually over four hundred tons of stag-horn. These are much valued. The horns dropped on the hills and plains of India and Ceylon are very heavy, and almost as solid as bone. The horns shed by more than a quarter of a million head of deer are gathered in India for the manufactures of Sheffield. The value ranges from £25 to £50 per ton.

Tortoiseshell is brought to Europe chiefly from the Eastern Archipelago, and beautiful specimens of manufactured articles in that material both from India and China.

India sends to Europe great variety of shells and of marine animal products suitable for manufactures. Large quantities of the calcareous plate (commonly called bone) which strengthens the back of the cuttle-fish are brought from the Persian Gulf to Bombay, and thence shipped to Europe.

We receive from India about a thousand tons of cowrie shells (*Cypræa moneta*) yearly, chiefly for transmission to the west coast of Africa, where a string of about forty is worth 1*d.* or 2*d.**

Of black-edged mother-of-pearl shells about a hundred tons are annually shipped from Bombay.

There is a shell which, although not much sent to Europe, forms an important item in the coasting trade of India; and in the trade of Ceylon figures as an export to the Indian continent. It is called chanks (*Turbinella pyrum*), and is a solid porcellaneous fusiform shell, used for cutting into armlets, anklets, &c., known as "bangles" in the East Indies, which are often highly ornamented. More than 4,300,000 of these shells are sometimes shipped in a year from Ceylon to the ports of Calcutta and Madras. Chanks, also called *kauncho rings*, are cut out by means of rude circular saws into narrow slips, which, when joined very accurately, give the whole an appearance of being formed from the most circular part of the shell. There is a small process, or button, at the base of each shell, which is sawn off, and, after being ground to a shape resembling that of a flat turnip, is perforated for the purpose of being strung. When so prepared, these receive the name of *krantahs*, of which two rows, each containing from thirty to forty, are frequently worn round the necks of sepoys in the East India Company's service as a part of their uniform —a substitute, indeed, for their stocks. The city of Dacca, so famous for its muslins, receives a large number of these shells, which are used for beating the finer cloths manufactured in that populous and rich emporium of cotton fabrics. The jawbone of the boalee fish is also used for carding cotton for the Dacca muslins.*

The Island of Ceylon is famous for its pearl fisheries, as has been shown in the chapter treating of that island. In the chapter on China the skill of the Chinese in producing artificial pearls has been noticed. These are articles of export to Europe. The pearl-shells, as well as their precious contents, are imported into England from Ceylon.

From the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf coral is chiefly procured. Bombay is the chief depot for this commodity for shipment to Europe. Large coral deposits have been lately found on the coasts of Oran, and a bank on the southern coast of the Island of Ceylon.

Wax is a valuable article of Indian foreign trade. From China the best description is obtained, but India is rich in this product, which is also of excellent quality. About 300,000 lbs. of beeswax are annually shipped from Madras.

It has already been shown that the vegetable dyes of India are valuable, especially indigo; pigments and dyes yielded by animals form also an important element of Indian export trade.

Cochineal is only exported in small quantities to Europe. India has not done justice to herself in this branch of trade, for the Punjaub possesses the insect abundantly;† and certain writers allege that the dyers of Lahore have from time immemorial used the dye which it produces. This, however, is denied by naturalists in the service of the East India Company. From observations and experiments made in the Punjaub, it has been established that the wild cochineal of that district will produce the most beautiful dye known under that name.‡ The supply of the English market is chiefly from America, but the Dutch have gathered the insect abundantly in Java;§ and although attempts to introduce the American insect to India failed, no proper attention was paid to that which was in-

* The shells of *Cypræa moneta*, *Cypræa annulus*, and some small white shells of the genus *Marginella*, were formerly employed occasionally in European medicine. In Scinde they are at the present day calcined, and the powder sprinkled over sores. Sixteen hundred and twenty-five hundredweight of cowries have been imported in one ship from Ceylon for this country.

* *Shells and their Uses.* By P. L. Simmonds.

† *Journal of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India*, vol. vii. part 1.

‡ *Observations on the Wild Cochineal of the Punjaub and the North-Western Provinces.* By Dr. Dempster.

§ Dr. M'Cleland, of the Botanical Gardens, Calcutta.

digenous to India.* The attention of the governor and secretary of the north-western provinces was directed to the subject in 1855–6, and the probability is that this article of commerce will be brought to command more attention in the European markets.

The lac dye is a product peculiar to India, using the term in the more extended signification. It reaches us from India in the various shapes of stick-lac (deposited round the branches of trees), seed-lac, thread-lac, melted down into a resin, forming the basis of sealing-wax and lackers or varnishes; and the red colouring matter, in cakes, known as lac-dye, which forms a dye-stuff. Lac is obtained chiefly on the hilly parts of Hindoostan, on both sides of the Ganges, and in Birmah. From the port of Calcutta upwards of 4,000,000 lbs. are annually shipped.

Lac insects (*Coccus lacca*) are found in enormous numbers in the mountain forests on the sides of the Ganges, and line the branches of various trees, as the *Ficus Indica, Ficus religiosa, Croton lacciferum*, and others. When about to deposit their ova, these insects puncture the young shoots and twigs of the various trees: the branches then become encrusted with a reddish-coloured resinous concretion, which consists of the inspissated juice of the plant imbued with a peculiar colouring matter derived from the insect: the insects, when attached to the branches of the trees, soon become enveloped in the layer of resinous matter, which hardens on exposure: this is the stick-lac of commerce. The insect dies, and the body shrivels into an oval bag, containing a minute drop of red fluid: this is extracted from the lac, and when formed into small masses becomes the lac-dye of commerce. It is extensively used as a substitute for cochineal.

Stick-lac, which is chiefly obtained from Siam and Bengal, is the basis whence lac-dye and shell-lac are manufactured. These are the stick-lacs of commerce, the resinous substance mentioned above.

After the lac-dye has been separated from the stick-lac, the preparation of which is usually carried on in India, the substances remaining are formed, and become articles of commerce.

Ruby, garnet, and orange shell-lac are exported from India; the darker qualities are used in the manufacture of spirit varnish or French polish, and all the three qualities are used in the stiffening of the bodies or shapes of hats. Ruby and orange button-lac are used by sealing-wax makers and hat manufacturers. The quality is similar to shell-lac, but stronger in body.

* Dr. M'Cleland.

Ruby seed-lac and orange seed-lac are also articles of commerce, being used in the manufacture of spirit varnishes, lac-wax, white and yellow. Bleached lac is extensively used in the manufacture of the finer sorts of sealing-wax, and the wax which separates during the purification of the lac is called lac-wax, and comparatively little known. This substance is readily fused, and may be well employed in taking casts, which it does with great sharpness. It is probable, also, that it might be advantageously used to mix with other and more fusible materials in the manufacture of candles.

Lac is found encircling the branches of many trees in India in the form of a tube, half an inch to an inch in diameter. The broken branches, with incrustations at various distances, is called in commerce stick-lac, and it ought to be semi-transparent. The lac is formed by the insect into cells, somewhat resembling a honeycomb, in which the insect is generally found entire, and owing to whose presence stick-lac yields, by proper treatment, a red dye, nearly if not quite as bright as that obtained from cochineal, and more permanent.

The colouring matter exhibited by grinding stick-lac, and then treating it with water, constitutes seed-lac. The crude resin is abundant in the jungles of India: the best is produced upon the koosumba (*Schleichera trijuga*), which yields the colouring matter twice a year.

We import upwards of 1500 tons annually of crude shell-lac and lac-dye, of the value of £88,000.

The native process of making the lac-dye in cakes* is as follows:—The lac having been carefully picked from the branches, is reduced to a coarse powder in a stone hand-mill, and is then thrown into a cistern, covered with two inches of water, and allowed to soak for sixteen hours. It is then trampled by men for four or five hours, until the water appears well coloured, each person having about ten pounds' weight of lac to operate upon. The whole is then strained through a cloth, a solution of hot alum water is poured over it, and the decoction is drawn off, remaining a day to settle. It is subsequently passed into other cisterns, the water is run off, and the colouring matter deposited is taken up, and placed in a canvas strainer to drain. It is then passed through a press to remove all remaining moisture, and the cakes

* Lac-dye usually comes into commerce in the form of small square cakes, or as a reddish black powder, and contains, in addition to a considerable quantity of resinous matter, a carmine-like pigment, employed in dyeing scarlet, for which purpose it must be dissolved in sulphuric acid or in a strong acid solution of tin.

of dye are made up with the distinguishing letter or mark of the manufacturer.*

The lac-dye imported into England during 1856 weighed 18,123 cwt. In 1857 the importation was less.

Various animal substances used in pharmacy and perfumery are exported from India.

Civet, the odoriferous substance produced by the civet cat, is brought from Calicut and other parts of the East Indies. Musk is derived from Eastern and Central Asia as well as from other places.

Bezoar is a name given to a concrete substance found in the stomachs of animals, and to which many valuable properties were formerly ascribed. It had the supposed virtue of being an antidote to poison, and was considered an absorbent.

There are several kinds of bezoar met with, but the oriental is most esteemed, which is brought from Borneo and some of the seaports of the Persian Gulf. It has a smooth glossy surface, and is of a dark green or olive colour. Varieties of this concretion are found in the stomach of the wild boar of India, in the gall-bladder of the ox, common in Nepaul, and in the gall-bladder of the camel; this last is much prized as a yellow paint by the Hindoos. The Persian bezoar is said to be procured from the chamois, or wild goat (*Capra gazella*). Cow bezoar will fetch about 40*s.* per lb. in the Indian bazaars, and bezoar stone from the ghauts 6*d.* per lb. According to Frezier, bezoars have been found in guanacoes.

Specimens of the Indian blistering beetles, *Mylabris pustulata*, and *Mylabris punctum*, a smaller species, were shown at the Madras Exhibition by Dr. Collas of Pondicherry, accompanied by a full interesting report on their blistering properties and careful researches into their natural history, which he published in the *Moniteur Official*, at Pondicherry, on the 2nd of March, 1854. Both insects are found in large quantities at certain seasons all over Southern India. Some other blistering flies are also met with in India, such as the meloe (*Mylabris cichorii*), the *tilini* of the Hindoos, common about Dacca and in Hyderabad. It yields, according to Dr. O'Shaughnessy, on an average, one-third more of cantharidin than the Spanish fly of the European shops.†

Of late fresh efforts have been made to make these insects articles of commerce for medical purposes, and with every prospect of success.

The following statement for 1856, in reference to Bengal alone, of the measure and value of particular articles, the exportation of which are upon the increase, will set forth the importance of the export trade of the chief presidency:—

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Castor-oil, 12,435 maunds* | 16,748 |
| Raw cotton, 173,908 maunds | 173,853 |
| Lac-dye, 27,985 maunds | 81,591 |
| Lac (shell), 47,974 maunds | 43,458 |
| Lac (stick), 1606 maunds | 1,263 |
| Gunny cloths and bags, 20,221,016 pieces | 430,732 |
| Hides and skins, 4,788,129 pieces | 368,888 |
| Jute, 1,194,470 maunds | 327,476 |
| Linseed, 2,538,225 maunds | 507,824 |
| Mustard-seed, 1,307,115 maunds | 261,541 |
| Poppy-seed, 114,526 maunds | 22,932 |
| Opium, 44,937 chests | 3,638,917 |
| Rice, 9,187,259 maunds | 1,047,133 |
| Wheat, 950,036 maunds | 100,469 |
| Other grain—including paddy, grain, dholl, and peas, oats barley, with flour and bran, 665,558 maunds | 59,420 |
| Safflower, 15,495 maunds | 30,765 |
| Saltpetre, 727,273 maunds | 423,406 |
| Silk, 18,229 maunds | 703,822 |
| Sugar, 1,221,393 maunds | 1,134,154 |
| Total | 2,374,392 |

The value of hemp from Bengal in 1855 was £38,000.

The export trade of certain non-regulation provinces in connection with the Bengal government has also greatly increased. Thus, Arracan was a swamp when, thirty years ago, it was wrested from Birmah. In 1856 its exports exceeded in value a million sterling, rice being the chief commodity. Its imports were almost exclusively silver.

The following is a view of the imports and exports of the three presidencies during the year 1856:†—

MERCHANDIZE.

IMPORTS.

| 1855-6 | British. | Foreign. | Total. | Treasure. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| Bengal | 6,692,294 | 1,664,523 | 8,356,717 | 6,011,256 |
| Madras | 981,221 | 1,132,166 | 2,113,387 | 1,371,669 |
| Bombay | 2,999,420 | 3,704,502 | 6,603,823 | 4,973,350 |
| | 10,672,945 | 6,501,191 | 17,274,927 | 12,356,274 |

EXPORTS.

| 1855-6 | British. | Foreign. | Total. | Treasure. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| Bengal | 4,943,547 | 8,689,483 | 13,633,030 | 255,361 |
| Madras | 975,221 | 1,941,869 | 2,917,090 | 441,875 |
| Bombay | 3,413,780 | 5,529,113 | 8,943,893 | 1,349,016 |
| | 9,332,548 | 16,160,470 | 25,494,013 | 2,046,252 |

The following is a memorandum of some of the items included in the trade from Bengal to other countries than Great Britain:‡—

* A maund is 80 lbs.

† The value is computed at the rate of two shillings the rupee.

‡ Bonnaud's *Commercial Annual of Calcutta.*

* *Catalogue of the South Kensington Museum.*

† Dr. Hunter, *Transactions of the Asiatic Society.*

MERCHANDIZE.

FRANCE.

| | Imports. £ | Exports. £ |
|---|---|---|
| 1854-5 | 139,494 | 437,975 |
| 1855-6 | 249,496 | 753,772 |

NORTH AMERICA.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1854-5 | 120,154 | 876,508 |
| 1855-6 | 89,548 | 1,033,840 |

CHINA.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1854-5 | 240,395 | 3,306,621 |
| 1855-6 | 201,562 | 3,284,884 |

NEW HOLLAND AND SYDNEY.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1854-5 | 51,483 | 116,178 |
| 1855-6 | 34,796 | 148,786 |

SINGAPORE.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1854-5 | 81,958 | 501,793 |
| 1855-6 | 80,830 | 572,158 |

ARABIAN AND PERSIAN GULFS.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1854-5 | 75,136 | 106,457 |
| 1855-6 | 65,517 | 108,467 |

MADRAS AND COROMANDEL COAST.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1854-5 | 125,510 | 221,382 |
| 1855-6 | 104,547 | 185,574 |

BOMBAY AND MALABAR COAST.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1854-5 | 207,644 | 472,781 |
| 1855-6 | 210,576 | 456,657 |

PEGU.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1854-5 | 102,064 | 305,926 |
| 1855-6 | 95,131 | 378,810 |

MAURITIUS.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1854-5 | 5,377 | 202,379 |
| 1855-6 | 3,923 | 193,409 |

BOURBON.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1854-5 | 5,097 | 87,206 |
| 1855-6 | 3,918 | 171,478 |

The importance of Bombay as a port of export has already been asserted. The following is a comparative view of the export of cotton during 1856 from the three presidencies: *—

MERCHANDIZE.

EXPORTS TO GREAT BRITAIN.

| 1855-6. | lbs. | £ |
|---|---|---|
| Bengal | 12,028,480 | 150,356 |
| Madras | 4,792,388 | 58,899 |
| Bombay | 165,380,930 | 2,320,454 |
| *Total Export.* | | |
| Bengal | 13,912,640 | 173,353 |
| Madras | 21,013,464 | 252,134 |
| Bombay | 217,487,413 | 3,074,089 |

Of the large quantity exported to other countries than Great Britain, the average export to China from Bombay alone in the last five years was 54,450,579 lbs., of the annual average value of £812,380. Indeed, cotton to Great Britain, and cotton and opium to China, constitute a very large portion of the aggregate exports of Bombay. The opium exported in 1854–5 was valued at £2,540,000, and in 1855–6 at £2,560,000.

The *Calcutta Review* gives an elaborate statement of the imports and exports of each presidency up to 1856 inclusively from 1853. The following are extracted from these details. These estimates take no cognizance of re-exports, and state the import and export of each presidency to all places out of that presidency, whether in India or in places beyond its limits. The exports from port to port of the same presidency are not stated. The statement for 1855–6 is alone given in the extract.

BENGAL PRESIDENCY.

TRADE.

*Imports*, 1855-6.

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Merchandize | 8,186,162 |
| Company's ditto | 170,555 |
| Treasure | 6,011,225 |
| Total | 14,367,942 |

*Exports*, 1855-6.

| | |
|---|---|
| Merchandize | 13,633,030 |
| Treasure | 255,361 |
| Total | 13,888,391 |

*Total Trade.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Imports | 14,367,942 |
| Exports | 13,888,391 |
| Total | 28,256,333 |

BILLS OF EXCHANGE.

| | |
|---|---|
| Bills on Bengal by the court of directors | 1,232,638 |

SHIPPING.

*Arrivals*, 1855-6.

| | Vessels. | Tonnage. |
|---|---|---|
| Square-rigged | 1529 | 864,227 |
| Native craft | 514 | 56,005 |
| Total | 2043 | 920 232 |

*Departures*, 1855-6.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Square-rigged | 1555 | 861,546 |
| Native craft | 593 | 61,958 |
| Total | 2148 | 923,504 |

MADRAS TERRITORIES.

TRADE.

*Imports*, 1855-6.

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Merchandize | 2,313,387 |
| Treasure | 1,371,669 |
| Total | 3,685,056 |

* Mr. G. S. Porter.

*Exports*, 1855-6.

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Merchandize | 2,917,090 |
| Treasure | 441,875 |
| Total | 3,358,965 |

*Total Trade.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Imports | 3,685,056 |
| Exports | 3,358,965 |
| Total | 7,044,021 |

SHIPPING.

*Arrivals*, 1855-6.

| | Vessels. | Tonnage. |
|---|---|---|
| Square-rigged | 1221 | 356,641 |
| Native craft | 4439 | 213,918 |
| Total | 5660 | 570,559 |

*Departures*, 1855-6.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Square-rigged | 1633 | 463,736 |
| Native craft | 4875 | 231,829 |
| Total | 6508 | 695,565 |

PORT OF BOMBAY.

TRADE.

*Imports*, 1855-6.

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Merchandize | 6,529,663 |
| Horses | 74,260 |
| Treasure | 4,973,380 |
| Total | 11,577,303 |

*Exports*, 1855-6.

| | |
|---|---|
| Merchandize | 8,940,639 |
| Horses | 2,260 |
| Treasure | 1,345,016 |
| Total | 10,287,915 |

*Total Trade.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Imports | 11,577,303 |
| Exports | 10,287,915 |
| Total | 21,865,218 |

SHIPPING.

*Arrivals*, 1855-6.

| | Vessels. | Tonnage. |
|---|---|---|
| Square-rigged | 320 | 229,403 |
| Native craft | 5845 | 223,524 |
| Total | 6165 | 452,927 |

*Departures*, 1855-6.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Square-rigged | 324 | 231,496 |
| Native craft | 4372 | 167,824 |
| Total | 4696 | 399,320 |

This return, however, thus far applies only to the port of Bombay. The returns for the other ports of the Bombay presidency are as follows:—Alibaugh, Bassein, Broach, Bulsar, Caringah, Dholarah, Gogo, Ghurbunds, Jumbosur, Kurrachee, Mahonu, Oolpar, Omergun, Panwell, Rajpooree, Rutnaghur, Soovendroog, Surat, Tarrapore, Tromboy, Unjunwell, Vingorla, Vizradroog, Waghra, Warree, exhibiting in detail the imports and exports, appear in the report of the external commerce of Bombay for 1855–6. The amounts given by these returns are:—

IMPORTS.

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Merchandize | 286,930 |

EXPORTS.

| | |
|---|---|
| Merchandize | 285,643 |

But we have not the means of presenting a comparison with former reports, and therefore will omit them in the aggregates which we shall have to present.

The report of the administration of the province of Pegu affords some considerable information of its external trade, both by sea and the rivers. The returns (deducting £200,000 annually, as the fair estimate of imported government treasure) may be stated as follows for the aggregate of the four ports of Rangoon, Dalhousie. Toongoo, and Thyat-Mew:—

PROVINCE OF PEGU.

TRADE.

*Imports*, 1855-6.

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Merchandize | 1,267,071 |

*Exports*, 1855-6.

| | |
|---|---|
| Merchandize | 663,783 |

The following is the estimate of the review for 1857 (the statement does not exactly agree with the parliamentary returns):—

CALCUTTA.

TRADE.

*Imports*, 1856-7.

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Merchandize | 7,841,730 |
| Treasure | 6,638,685 |
| Total | 14,480,415 |

*Exports*, 1856-7.

| | |
|---|---|
| Merchandize | 13,618,626 |
| Treasure | 1,003,676 |
| Total | 14,622,302 |

MADRAS TERRITORIES.

TRADE.

*Imports*, 1856-7.

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Merchandize | 2,305,898 |
| Treasure | 1,613,515 |
| Total | 3,919,413 |

*Exports*, 1856-7.

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Merchandize | 3,717,380 |
| Treasure | 344,186 |
| Total | 4,061,566 |

PORT OF BOMBAY.

TRADE.

*Imports*, 1856-7.

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Merchandize | 7,629,221 |
| Treasure | 8,248,361 |
| Total | 15,877,582 |

*Exports*, 1856-7.

| | |
|---|---|
| Merchandize | 10,983,008 |
| Treasure | 1,588,873 |
| Total | 12,571,881 |

The parliamentary return for Indian commerce is as follows:—The total value of the merchandize and treasure imported into the several presidencies of India in 1856–7 amounted to 28.60.82.855 rupees, against 25.24.89.453 in 1855–6, and 14.77.09.286 in 1854-5. Bombay figured for 11.89.50.606; Madras for 2.54.07.396; and Bengal for 14.17.24.853. The exports from India in 1856–7 amounted to 26.59.18.811, against 23.64.04.451 in 1855–6.

Upon his own statements the reviewer makes the following observations:—

The foregoing results, it must be observed, are afforded (as to all but the Straits' settlements) by the official values. It then becomes an important and interesting question how far these official estimates are true criteria of the real value. That the official value, on the whole, affords a correct index in the case of the imports appears to be admitted: being, it may be, erroneous, in respect of some articles, by too high a valuation, and erroneous by too low a valuation in respect of others, but, on the whole, affording a fair estimate of the aggregate value of the imports, at least in Bengal. But this is not so at present in respect of the exports, as we shall proceed to show.

These results, too, recall Lord Grenville's most masterly and noble speech in 1813—the greatest speech ever delivered on Indian affairs. At that time the aggregate of the trade of India with Great Britain was not £2,500,000 a year (exports and imports), and the evidence given for the East India Company, by its witnesses, went to show the improbability of any extended demand for European goods. Such was the doctrine gravely propounded by eminent witnesses in defence of the monopoly—Warren Hastings, Sir Thomas Munro, Sir John Malcolm, and others. But said Lord Grenville in the House of Lords, "To what extent this trade of India may be carried, presumptuous indeed would be the man who would now venture to pronounce. On what evidence, what conjecture, would he found his judgment? What present knowledge, what past experience of India, could possibly decide that question? 'No commerce,' Trebatius or Quintus Cicero, returning from a campaign in Britain, would probably have informed the Roman senate—'no commerce can ever be carried on with that uncivilized uncultivated island, divided absolutely from the whole world by tempestuous, unnavigable seas, and inhabited only by naked and houseless barbarians.'—'No commerce,' some sage counsellor of Henry and Elizabeth might, with equal authority, have assured those monarchs, 'can ever be opened with the dreary wild of North America, a land covered with impenetrable forests, the shelter only of some wandering tribes of the rudest and most ferocious savages.' Yet of these predictions the folly might be palliated by inexperience. In the defect of better knowledge, such conjectures might even pass for wisdom. But what shall we say to those who deny the possibility, not of opening new sources for the commerce of mankind, but of enlarging its present channels, who tell us that the trade we now carry on with India, must, in all future times, be limited to its actual amount? Strange and unprecedented necessity, which has thus set bounds to human industry and enterprise, arresting the progress of commercial intercourse, and by some blasting and malignant influence, blighted the natural increase of social improvement! With full and confident assurance may we repel these idle apprehensions. By commerce commerce will increase, and industry by industry. So it has ever happened, and the Great Creator of the world has not exempted India from this common law of our nature. The supply, first following the demand, will soon extend it. By new facilities new wants and new desires will be produced. And neither climate nor religion, nor long-established habits—no, nor even poverty itself, the greatest of all present obstacles, will ultimately refuse the benefits of such an intercourse to the native population of that empire. They will derive from the extension of commerce, as every other people has uniformly derived from it, new comforts and new conveniences of life, new incitements to industry, and new employments, in just reward of increased activity and enterprise." So spake the statesman; and history records the begun fulfilment of his prediction, and encourages the confi-

dent belief that larger anticipations than even that illustrious man himself probably ever entertained will be realized before a century has past from his delivery of that magnificent oration. The point to which we have already reached will be now ascertained by an inquiry into the value of the exports of the year we have last reviewed, 1855-6. The question of gradual progress will then next engage our attention.

It is at all times difficult to fix the value of goods for duty, but of course particularly so in a fluctuating market, and when the articles to be valued vary much in quality. Probably the best plan in large ports is to issue, yearly or half-yearly, tariffs of values, based on fair averages. If this be not done, there must always be much uncertainty, and great loss to the revenue from under-valuation, or complaints of restrictions on commerce from excessive duties. In the one article of sugar, for instance, the prices of the various sorts of one kind ranged, in 1855-6, from nine rupees eight annas (nineteen shillings) a maund to five rupees four annas, and the combined average price for all sorts of that one kind of sugar was seven rupees, or fourteen shillings; for the various sorts of another kind the range was from seven rupees to four rupees, the general average being five rupees ten annas; and for the third kind the range for various sorts was from six rupees fourteen annas to three rupees twelve annas, the combined average for this kind being five rupees two annas. This was the range of market for Benares, Date, and Dummah sugar. But this affords very *little* guide in now estimating the real value of this article, which is exported free of duty. Much less will any returns of this description afford an accurate guide for articles on which there is a duty levied on the real value, it being evidently anything but the interest of the exporter to assist the custom-house in assessing the utmost value. Moreover, while the returns afford evidence of the gross quantities shipped,—and it is easy to ascertain the range of prices for any particular descriptions of an article,—it is almost impossible, when the fluctuation of prices has been considerable and frequent, when there is no mode of testing the relative amounts and proportions of the different sorts of such an article shipped, to determine absolutely what the real value of any past year's shipment has been. It is clear, however, that if there has been a decided general rise in prices, and that the chief activity in shipping prevailed at the time when prices were highest, then any return of values based on precisely the same data as to prices as were used under the lower standard of the previous year must be erroneous. And such was precisely the case with the Bengal exports of 1855-6. We have seen one calculation, by a very competent person, which makes the real value of the exports of 1856 to be £19,922,803, but this high estimate includes packing and shipping charges, duties, commissions, &c. &c.: this plan having been adopted in that table with reference to other calculations respecting the exchanges. Our own impression, from careful consideration and attentive examination of the subject, certainly is that the real Calcutta market value of the exports of the year 1855-6 (the official year), which were valued at £13,888,391, was nearly £16,500,000. But as the value of the imports is based on the invoices, which include the charges, insurance, and freight, the comparison between this 16,500,000 as our market value with the value of imports will be delusive. We need not, indeed, add the freight of exports, as it is not usually paid in India, but other charges, to the amount of more than ten per cent., must be added, making the aggregate value of exports, to be repaid in India by merchandize, or bullion, or remittances of the company's bills for our tribute, probably £18,000,000. But it is to be remembered that not all the imports can be set off against the exports, for some certainly come to this country for permanent investment. Such is the case with importations of railway materials.

A very brief examination of details will illustrate our position as to the market value as contrasted with the official. Taking linseed for example, the official value at two rupees for 2,538,225 Indian maunds (about 900,000 tons) was £507,824; but it may be questioned if four rupees a maund was too high an average for the whole of the linseed shipped in that year. This would give £1,015,648. The difference in saltpetre was not so remarkable, but still the real value exceeded considerably the official. In the case of jute the official value for 1,194,470 maunds was £327,476, at ten rupees a bale of three hundred pounds; but a very careful calculation gives an average of at least twelve rupees eight annas, or twenty-five per cent additional. In the case of rice the official value of 9,187,259 maunds (328,000 tons) was £1,047,133, but we believe that at least one rupee a maund may fairly be added to this estimate, giving a result of upwards of £900,000 additional. On this article there is a fixed duty of one anna and a half a maund, and there is consequently no reason for concealment of the value; and now steps are being taken, by monthly returns from the chamber of commerce, to ascertain the value accurately. In the case of raw silk the duty is three annas and a half per seer

(or two pounds), and in this case also the real value probably could henceforth be easily ascertained. The official value given for 18,229 maunds in 1855-6 was £703,822—that is, for 729,160 seers—an average of somewhat less than ten rupees (£1) a seer. It is difficult now to form an opinion on the subject with any confidence, from the varieties of silk that were in the market, but on the whole it may probably be stated with tolerable confidence that twelve rupees eight annas would be a fair average, giving in this case also an increase of twenty-five per cent. The proportionate increase in mustard seed, of which 1,307,115 maunds were shipped, and were valued (at two rupees a maund) at £261,541, may be taken to be equal to that in linseed, or a hundred per cent. In the case of opium 44,937 chests are valued officially at £3,638,917, and this is doubtless correct, and the official value of sugar may also be correct, if it does not indeed exceed the real value. But taking a long series of articles—indigo, cotton, wheat, and other grain, castor-oil, gunnies and gunny cloth, hides, lac, poppy seed, provisions, rum, safflower, tea, &c.—it may be fair to say that from twenty to twenty-five per cent. on the average might be fairly added to the official value. The rise of prices in the course of the official year was undoubtedly very great, and continued almost up to its termination. The news of the peace was entirely unexpected, and did not reach Calcutta in a definite and authentic form till March.

The rise in the prices in the other presidencies probably was not so great, and the consequent temporary disparity between the real and the tariff value, not so great as in Bengal. But if it be stated generally that the real market value of exports from the three presidencies, Pegu, and the Straits, was thirty-six or thirty-seven millions sterling, instead of £32,199,056, as previously calculated from the official returns, or nearly *forty millions*, with the duties and charges, few perhaps will question the accuracy of the supposition.

The general subject of prices in India is one of much interest and importance, but at present it is too early to reach any definite conclusion. In the interior it is notorious that prices of produce, of labour, and of boat hire, have risen greatly. Shippers, the railway company, and the government, alike feel it.

In consequence of a return lately moved for in the British House of Commons by Mr. H. Baillie, the tariff now in force in British India has just been published as a parliamentary paper. The import duties are principally *ad valorem*. Coffee pays an import duty of 7½ per cent. in all the presidencies; coral, 10 per cent.; cotton and silk goods, 5 per cent.; foreign cotton and silk goods, 10 per cent.; camphor and cassia, 10 per cent.; foreign books, 3 per cent.; alum, 10 per cent.; marine stores, 5 per cent., and foreign stores, 10; British metals, 5, and foreign, 10 per cent.; opium, 24 rupees a seer of 80 tolas (the export of the drug is prohibited); beer, ale, porter, &c., 5 per cent.; salt, 2 rupees, 8 annas per maund of 80 tolas per seer in Bengal, 14 annas per maund in Madras, and 12 annas per maund of 3200 tolas in Bombay (if not covered by a pass); spirits 1 rupee 8 annas per gallon; sugar (prohibited, if "not the growth of a British possession into which foreign sugar cannot be legally imported"); vermillion, 10 per cent.; British and foreign woollens, 5 and 10 per cent.; wines and liquors, 1 rupee per imperial gallon; tea, 10 per cent.; tobacco, 5 per cent. in Madras (export duty, 10), and 1 rupee 8 annas per maund in Bombay (the same export duty).

Some of these imposts are obviously made only for the purposes of revenue, but others are incompatible with the doctrines of free trade. It cannot be for the interests of India or England, or for the general advantages of commerce, to prop up the trade in sugar or in any other commodity by artificial means. The indirect operation must in such cases always be the restriction of the industry proper and peculiar to the country where such tariff regulations exist.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

### COMMERCE (*Continued*):—COMMERCE OF OUTLYING SETTLEMENTS.

THE commerce of what may be termed the outlying posts of our Eastern empire must receive much more attention from the public and legislature of Great Britain than has yet been given to it. The trade of some of these settlements has increased in a ratio greater than that of the old possessions on continental India; and others are adapted to a great commerce if the government of India, or the imperial government, only perform their duty. The neglect of the latter in some of these settlements has been such as seriously to reflect upon its credit and patriotism, and upon the intelligence and independence of a people who, being free, permit the like.

The settlement of Aden, from its geographical position, is one of the most favourable in the world. It is on the new highway between the East and West, formed by "the overland route." A carrying trade may be established from that port of a most extensive kind. From thence to Kurrachee, Bombay, Madras, the Island of Ceylon, Calcutta, the eastern shores of the Bay of Bengal, and the Straits' settlements, all goods which are not necessarily brought round the Cape may be borne, and an important passenger trade established. Aden may be pronounced, in travellers' phraseology, the "half-way house" between England and her Eastern empire. As at present governed it is a pest-house. The European troops die off in great numbers, and so do the sepoys. The Aden ulcer and a species of dropsy, both fatal, and alike arising from the impoverishment of the blood, carry off great numbers; many also die of scurvy. The chief causes of the horrible mortality which prevails, are want of vegetables, and the labour imposed upon the troops in a climate perhaps more enervating than any other where there is a British garrison, not even excepting Trincomalee. Vegetables are easily procured, and the relentless imposition of labour is unnecessary. Yet while so much is heard about the errors and misdeeds of the East India Company, here is a place under the direct control of the imperial government, where the neglect of human life amounts to atrocity. Of course these circumstances must bear upon the commerce of the place, as the ratio of deaths will give it a bad reputation as to health, and check all foreign enterprise there. The cruelty of the government is not confined to the soldiery under its care, who are permitted to "rot off" at a fearful ratio. Coolies from the Indian continent have been employed on public works, and treated with the same inhumanity. In the *Bombay Daily Times and Journal of Commerce*, so recently as December 10, 1856, it is related that a vessel had ten days previously arrived from Aden, being a month on the voyage, and landed sixteen coolies, "the pitiable remains of a party of forty-one she had taken on board,—twenty-five of whom had died on board. True, they were only coolies who had gone in the public service, they had no status beyond that of children in the commonwealth, and therefore nobody minded them. But they were human beings not the less, whose lives and sufferings must be answered for by those who have been the means, directly or indirectly, of sending them from the world before their time." It appears that these coolies proceed in large numbers from Bombay for employment in Aden; they are the subjects of injustice from the time they embark for that purpose until they return, or are sent to their long home by the atrocious neglect and cruelty to which they are subjected. The advances made to them upon engagement are so regulated as to prove a snare and a mockery. On the voyage they are badly supplied with water, and rarely at all with vegetables. Their arrival at Aden is followed by the imposition of an amount of labour which is merciless, and under which many of them sink. They are supplied with food so inappropriate, that if the intention of government was to destroy them by rapid degrees, it could not be more effectually performed. Vegetables are seldom supplied because they are not produced on the spot; consequently scurvy, or the Aden ulcer, or the fatal *beri-beri*, a peculiar dropsical disease, soon set in and drain the life of the wretch left by his unpaternal government to die, or as is more usually the case, he is sent away to die on the passage, or, if he reach his home, there to perish. Hardly any of the poor coolies reach Bombay without scorbutic disease, aneurism, or affections of the heart, lungs, or bowels, if they are not dying of beri-beri, or Aden ulcer. When men are sent on board ship for Bombay in this deplorable condition no report is made of it, they are accounted for in the returns as having gone to their homes, although the officials know that they are sent away with death upon them, and in many cases destined to be thrown

overboard as rotting carcasses. Yet all this cruelty saves nothing in a pecuniary way, on the contrary, it is an expense as well as a reproach. The pension list is heavily encumbered by the want of humanity characteristic of the British government in Aden. There is no difficulty in procuring labour at Aden, but government humanity is very scarce. The character of the climate seems, however, adverse to extensive settlement, as well as local peculiarities. The author has been favoured with an original report on this subject, in a correspondence between Mr. Coles, the acting secretary of the Bombay medical board, and Dr. Collum, whose experience and intelligence peculiarly qualify him to offer an opinion on the subject. The publication of this opinion will be of use to travellers and commercial men, to officers of the army, and persons having either Europeans, sepoys, or coolies under their charge.

*To the Secretary of the Medical Board, Bombay.*

*Aden, May 12th*, 1856.

SIR,—In reply to your letter No. 1103 of the 25th ultimo, I have the honour to submit the following information.

2. The climate of Aden consists of two seasons only, the hot and the cool, the former commencing towards the end of April, and terminating about the middle of October. These two periods correspond severally with the south-west and north-east monsoons, which distinctly mark their setting in and duration. Nevertheless it is to be remarked that for the space of a month between the two seasons the wind and weather are very variable, but the atmosphere is generally sultry, and not unlike the climate of Bombay in May and October.

3. With regard to the *hot* season it may truly be so called, the weather is then very hot; but the *cool* is only so termed comparatively, inasmuch as the sun appears to be equally powerful all the year round, and the only abatement to its effects during the day is produced by the wind, hence, sheltered from the wind, the atmosphere in Aden is always warm, and there is no period throughout the year when even gentle exercise does not produce profuse perspiration.

4. The effect of the wind in cooling the atmosphere is fully borne out by the metereological statistics collected from the hospitals in camp, and that at Steamer Point, during the year ending March 31st, 1856. From these it appears that the average mean temperature on the lowest ground in camp, but which is quite open to the north-east monsoon, is from November to April 77°, whereas at the Hospital Steamer Point, which though on an eminence is sheltered from that wind, it reaches 80°. On the other hand during the south-west monsoon, *i. e.* from May to October, when the Point is open to the wind and the camp shut in, the average mean temperature is 80°, and at the latter 85°.

5. It is principally on account of this evident influence of the prevailing winds in keeping down the heat of the climate, and of the established superiority of an elevated position in effecting the same result, that I have lately recommended Marshag as the most eligible site for the proposed new barracks and hospitals at Aden. That promontory which is distant only about one mile from the present cantonment, and rises to an elevation of from five to six hundred feet, is open to the prevailing winds at both seasons of the year, and is decidedly the coolest available locality, besides offering from its contiguity from the camp and town many other advantages not to be met with in any other part of the peninsula.

6. Strictly speaking there is no rainy season in Aden itself, though abundance of rain falls periodically in the interior and neighbourhood twice during the year, viz. during two or three months from the breaking out of the south-west monsoon, and again for a similar period, beginning from December. It is only rarely, however, that Aden partakes in this benefit, which I attribute mainly to the peculiar construction of the peninsula. It is observable that whenever rain falls the wind is always from the north-east, and consequently blows directly into the circle around the crater formed by the high hills of Shumshum, and its offshoots, finding no escape except through one or two narrow passes, the wind collects in the valleys, and rushes upwards in a compact volume, thus dispersing the clouds which had been attracted by the mountain peaks. Consequently it is only when the clouds are too heavily charged to be dispersed by this agency, or when the wind is very high, that any rain falls in Aden. This phenomenon, moreover, accounts for the great variation in the falls here in different years. Thus, some years the fall of rain has been excessive, whereas during the year ending March 30, 1856, it was only 1·50 inches. The descents, moreover, are very variable in these periods, but usually they occur in April and August, and again in November, December, and January. The falls during these latter months generally partake of the nature of showers, whereas in the former they are more like the heavy rains of the tropics, and huts and cattle have been washed away by the torrents which have descended furiously from the mountains.

No statistics of past years have been preserved by the civil or political authorities, nor in any of the medical establishments at this station, excepting the jail, and from the information supplied in my returns 3 inches 92 cents. appears to have been the average fall of rain for the last five years.

I have the honour, &c.,

R. COLLUM, M.D.,

*Jail Hospital.* *Superintendent Medical Department.*

When describing the Straits' settlements, notice was taken of their commerce, as some reference to it was inseparable from an account of those places, and the social condition of the people.

PRINCE OF WALES' ISLAND.

*Imports*, 1853-4.

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Merchandize | 581,239 |
| Treasure and Bullion | 93,061 |
| Total | 674.300 |

*Exports*, 1853-4.

| | |
|---|---|
| Merchandize | 689,002 |
| Treasure and Bullion | 179,945 |
| Total | 868,947 |

MALACCA.

*Imports*, 1853-4.

| | |
|---|---|
| Merchandize | 84,162 |
| Treasure and Bullion | 956,144 |
| Total | 1,040,306 |

*Exports*, 1853-4.

| | |
|---|---|
| Merchandize | 845,133 |
| Treasure and Bullion | 25,339 |
| Total | 870,472 |

In chap. x. a general account of these settlements will be found, and there certain statistics are given in connection with the commerce of Singapore, and the reason assigned for furnishing them in that place. The trade with countries using the dollar as a monetary medium, and also with those using the rupee, is respectively stated for the years 1852–3 and 1853–4. The following was the general value of the commerce of Singapore for 1853–4:—

SINGAPORE.

*Imports*, 1853-4.

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Merchandize | 2,389,788 |
| Treasure and Bullion | 1,018,017 |
| Total | 3,407,805 |

*Exports*, 1853-4.

| | |
|---|---|
| Merchandize | 3,191,546 |
| Treasure and Bullion | 956,144 |
| Total | 4,147,690 |

*Total for the Straits' Settlements.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Imports | 5,862,296 |
| Exports | 5,147,215 |

This is exclusive of the intermediate trade.

The report of the administration of the Straits' settlements, during 1855–6, does not give any detailed statement of the trade, but it contains the following remarks:—"While the trade of Penang and Malacca has but little increased since 1850–1, that of Singapore has experienced a very remarkable rise, and is now nearly seventy-five per cent. greater in amount than in 1850–1, showing an extent during the past year of ninety-five millions of rupees (£9,500,000)."

A caution is then added against entire reliance on the returns of trade, as the port being a free port, no check exists on the values and estimates of the traders; and it is then said:—"The position of Singapore, in a commercial point of view, is so admirable, that little surprise is felt at the great and annually increasing amount of trade that has there developed itself. Its harbour is open, accessible from all quarters, and free from all dangers of winds and waves. Every ship between India and China must, it may be said, go through the harbour, while it becomes a depot for the produce of the whole of the Malayan Peninsula and Archipelago, of Borneo, of Siam, Cambodia, and Cochin China, which it attracts with double force, by its freedom from all the annoyances and vexations interference of a custom-house and its myrmidons. Such freedom is peculiarly grateful to the sensitive and jealous Malay, not on account of the absence of all money payments, but that he has no apprehension of being meddled with, cheated, and perhaps ill-treated; and so long as that freedom continues, so long may we look forward to a perennial augmentation of a trade that is already almost unexampled in its growth and magnitude."

A paper is then annexed, which, without distinguishing merchandize and treasure, gives us the following aggregate of exports and imports for Singapore alone:—

SINGAPORE.

| | Imports. £ | Exports. £ |
|---|---|---|
| 1854-5 | 3,974,624 | 3,339,937 |
| 1855-6 | 5,144,167 | 4,427,229 |
| Increase | 1,169,543 | 1,087,292 |

It is stated in the report for 1853–4 that the total number of square-rigged vessels which had imported into the Straits in the preceding year was 1124 of 382,032 tons; the number that had exported was 1152 of 380,688 tons, exclusive of 1605 vessels of 189,115 tons, trading between the three stations. Of native craft, 4559 vessels, aggregating 115,619 tons had imported, and 5384 aggregating 112,187 tons had exported, exclusive of 1273 vessels aggregating 46,768 tons, trading between the three stations.

The following statement is given by the commissioner as an illustration of the value of these settlements to the mother country, and of their relations to the Dutch colonies, demonstrating "the judicious selection of Singapore, as an emporium, and its advantages as a free port":—

*Trade of Penang with Great Britain.*

| | £ | £ |
|---|---|---|
| Imports in 1853-4 | 103,572 | |
| Ditto in 1852-3 | 83,610 | |
| Increase | | 19,962 |
| Exports in 1853-4 | 174,533 | |
| Ditto in 1852-3 | 132,027 | |
| Increase | | 42,506 |
| Total increase in 1853-4 | | 62,468 |

*Trade of Singapore with Great Britain.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Imports in 1853-4 | 1,184,333 | |
| Ditto in 1852-3 | 790,610 | |
| Increase | | 393,723 |
| Exports in 1853-4 | 564,142 | |
| Ditto in 1852-3 | 407,696 | |
| Increase | | 156,446 |
| Total increase in 1853-4 | | 550,169 |

*Trade of Singapore with the Australian Colonies.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Imports in 1853-4 | 118,249 | |
| Ditto in 1852-3 | 27,922 | |
| Increase | | 90,327 |
| Exports in 1853-4 | 167,633 | |
| Ditto in 1852-3 | 115,809 | |
| Increase | | 51,824 |
| Total increase in 1853-4 | | 142,151 |

*Trade of Singapore with Java, Macassar, Rhio, Bally, Somback, and Sambawa.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Imports in 1853-4 | 491,552 | |
| Ditto in 1852-3 | 274,393 | |
| Increase | | 217,159 |
| Exports in 1853-4 | 347,535 | |
| Ditto in 1852-3 | 211,856 | |
| Increase | | 135,679 |
| Total increase in 1853-4 | | 352,838 |

The articles principally imported in the last mentioned year were cotton goods chiefly from the United Kingdom, valued at about £850,000, grain, China petty goods, cheroots, silk and silk goods, opium, sugar, tea, tobacco, and spices; and the exports were cheroots, birds' nests, cotton goods, rice, gums, metals, opium, silk goods, spices, sugar, and timber.

Of the vessels that arrived at Singapore in 1853–4, the following is the list:—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Austrian | 1 | Native (Flag) | 20 |
| American | 47 | Portuguese | 14 |
| Arabian | 9 | Peruvian | 2 |
| Belgian | 3 | Prussian | 3 |
| Bremen | 8 | Russian | 2 |
| Danish | 9 | Siamese | 25 |
| Dutch | 179 | Swedish | 15 |
| French | 18 | Spanish | 6 |
| Hambro | 21 | British | 644 |
| Norwegian | 2 | | |

The cosmopolitan character of Malacca and of Penang (the port of Prince of Wales' Island) is very similar.

The use of opium in the Straits' settlements is very demoralising. This is especially the case at Singapore. Dr. Little states that in 1847 there was in Singapore a population of forty thousand Chinese, male and female, of whom about fifteen thousand of both sexes smoked opium: the average quantity being about twenty grains' weight per day for each person, although ranging from ten to two hundred grains (the latter in rare cases) per day. In the course of his investigations he visited eighty licensed smoking shops, and examined six hundred and three persons who smoked opium. The rate of wages for a labourer there is about six dollars per month, or one shilling per day, and this sum is also about the average sum daily expended on opium by the Chinese in that settlement: the poorer victims in some cases expending their whole earnings. Some of these had been addicted to the vice for twenty-five years; but a much shorter period produced sickness and emaciation. He states, as the result of his experience, that "the habitual use of opium not only renders the life of the man miserable, but is a powerful means of shortening that life." He adds, "I cannot suppose, after what has been written, that one individual can be found to deny the evil effects of the habit, the physical disease it produces, with the prostration of mind and the corruption of morals."

In the *Singapore Bi-monthly Circular and Prices Current*, printed at the office of the *Straits' Times*, March 6th, 1858, there is the following statement of port regulation and of weights:—"The port of Singapore is free from import or export duties; the only dues levied being three cents. of a dollar per ton (for defraying the cost of the Horsburgh, Floating, and other lights in the Straits of Malacca), payable by all square-rigged vessels. The usual credit given is three months for European articles. Native produce is always sold for cash. Weights:—1 catty = 1⅓ lbs. avoirdupois; 84 catties = 1 cwt.; 1 picul = 100 catties, or 133⅓ lbs.; 16 piculs 80 catties = 1 ton; 40 piculs = 1 coyan; a bunkal, or 2 dollars weight = 835 *a* 836 grains troy. The corge consists of 20 pieces." The prospects of this settlement, from the most recent commercial intelligence, is very encouraging. The British flag was hoisted at Singapore on February 1st, 1819, and ever since the place has grown in political importance and commerce.

Among the most important of the outlying settlements are those on the coast of Borneo.* Although a brief description has been already given in the appropriate place, it is pertinent here to observe that it is one of the most fertile islands in the world. It is crossed by the equator, and therefore the climate is very hot, but the geological peculiarities of the country mitigate the intensity of the heat, and in some places it is alleged to be as temperate as the south of Europe. The advocates of the settlement affirm that it is more important, rich, and salubrious than Australia, and altogether better adapted for a British settlement. Borneo is rich in animals, whereas Australia is in that respect deficient. There are not many plants proper to the tropics which do not grow in the former. Its minerals are more varied than those of Australia. A few years ago a diamond was found which it is asserted is the largest in the world. The gold gathered by the people amounts in value to half a million sterling yearly. It is reasonably presumed that Europeans would be able

* For description see chap. x. p. 208.

to obtain much larger quantities. In the geographical description of the country reference was made to its extensive coal mines; according to accounts which have reached the author since writing that chapter he has reason to believe that the coal-fields of Borneo, are even more extensively diffused than he then supposed. Both the commercial and political value of Borneo are increased by that circumstance more than if its gold regions were as productive as those of Australia or California.

In the historical portion of this work justice will be done to Sir James Brooke, the Rajah of Sarawak, to whose enterprise England is indebted for any interest she has at present in the island. The author of this history is aware, on the authority of that distinguished man himself, of his willingness to sacrifice his own interests to the interests and honour of his country, and to surrender the fine regions, over which he is the actual sovereign, to the queen of these realms. The apathy of the government of this country is unaccountable, unless some political game is to be played in the interests of Holland, as the Dutch are eagerly watching their opportunity to seize the island, and place it under the sovereignty of their flag. To permit this would be cruel and unjust to Sir James Brooke, impolitic on the part of our government, and injurious to the interests of the people of the United Kingdom generally, and especially in the great Eastern Archipelago. Now, in May, 1858, while these pages are passing through the press, Sir James Brooke is appealing to the people of England, to impress upon their government the folly and detriment of any longer dallying with this subject. It is to be feared that the prominent political members of the legislature are more intent upon party debates and victories than upon the assertion of their queen and country's interests and honour. Manchester, which, as a great commercial community, has so often taken the lead in questions of political economy, and of commercial policy, has already moved in this matter. Sir James Brooke has been welcomed to a public entertainment among the citizens, and a petition has been numerously signed by bankers, merchants, manufacturers, and public men of the liberal professions, for presentation to parliament, which will probably be attended to, as Manchester is generally heard in the legislature when the voice of justice and truth, unless thus supported, is unheeded. The petition of the Manchester citizens places this question, as a commercial one, upon grounds that are wise and discreet, and at the same time just and spirited; and it presents the commercial importance of Borneo in its full proportions before the parliament and people of England:—

"That your petitioners are deeply interested in the development of the foreign trade of this country. That it is an essential condition to the progress of this trade that public faith should be observed and enforced on all sides. That, in seeking fresh fields for our commerce, and opening out new markets for our manufactures, the safety of the lives and properties of the British subjects concerned must be secured, and their rights protected against aggression, by the support of the home government. That the outlying dependencies of the present East India Company in the Indian and China seas are of the first importance to British commerce, and that it is the paramount duty of the government to secure such a hold in those distant waters as shall maintain an efficient control of their navigation, and guarantee the free working of our ships. That at present one link is wanting in the chain of British influence which shall attain those ends. That this desired position is to be found in the territory on the north-west coast of Borneo, now under the rule of the Rajah of Sarawak. That the energy, enterprise, and administrative ability of that ruler—a British subject—have won this important position to England's use and benefit, if she chooses to avail herself of it. That, with the north-west coast of Borneo under the direct control of the crown, England would practically hold the gates of the only great highway to China, the trade with which empire, in your petitioners' judgment, is destined to be one of vast extent. That a grievous injury would be inflicted on this trade, and a blow be struck at England's supremacy, if, unfortunately, the position in question were allowed to pass into the hands of the Dutch, or any other European power. That it appears to your petitioners that the time for action has now come; that further delay will prove fatal to great interests involved, while it may jeopardize the lives and properties of Englishmen who have been induced to embark upon distant enterprises in full reliance upon the good faith and justice of England, and her respect for the obligations of treaties. Your petitioners therefore humbly pray that your honourable house will adopt such measures as to your honourable house in its wisdom may seem most fit:—1. To bring the future government of the Straits' settlements under the direct control of the colonial department of her majesty's government. 2. To secure for the benefit of British commerce the manifold advantages, natural and geopraphical, of the Sarawak country. 3. To urge upon the executive government

at once to conclude arrangements with Sir James Brooke, K.C.B., the present Rajah of Sarawak, for the cession of his rights and powers, either by making that country at once a British settlement, or by bringing it into direct dependency upon the new Straits' government."

Sir James Brooke must know more of the capabilities of Borneo than any other living man, and his opinion in reference to the desirableness of occupying it is before the public. The claims of the Dutch seem to stand in the way of any decisive action on the part of our government. The correspondence of Lord Aberdeen and M. Dedel, the Netherland's minister, in 1844–5*, will inform those desirous to look closely into the subject, how the case stands as to what Sir James Brooke properly and expressively describes as "British rights *versus* Dutch claims." The British rajah maintains that the Netherlands never exercised, and never had sovereignty on the north-west coast of Borneo beyond their present limits; the English have positively asserted their right to form settlements on that coast wherever their interests required. There can be, therefore, no delicacy on the part of the British government as to the conflicting interests of a friendly power, and no difficulty in the way of adopting Sir James Brooke's views. Labuan has been for ten years past a British settlement. Sarawak, which was once countenanced and protected by the British government, is now abandoned by it, and (in the opinion of all who know the circumstances) most faithlessly. The Europeans and natives there hold this opinion, and among the latter the prestige of British truthfulness and honour has been lowered. It remains to be seen whether the British people will uphold their government in thus acting, or compel a course consonant with integrity and justice to the intrepid and gifted rajah, to the settlements, and to British interests.

The *Sunday Times*, a journal better informed on oriental questions than probably any other in London, has put the arrival of Sir James Brooke, and the connection of Borneo with British interests, in a sound and intelligent point of view in the following article:—"Sir James Brooke, we are told, offers to put the sovereignty of the north-west coast into our hands. Sir James Brooke makes no such offer, for the very sufficient reason, that he himself is not the sovereign of the north-west coast of Borneo. He possesses upon that coast a splendid principality, and it is of that principality that he offers to cede the sovereignty to the British government. It appears, meanwhile, to be forgotten, that for upwards of ninety years the whole northern division of Borneo has belonged to Great Britain, having been regularly made over to us by the Sultan of Sulu, in whose possession it was at that time. If the country would listen to Sir James Brooke, he would enable it to direct its commercial and political energies into several profitable and grand channels, in that distant part of the world, to which his genius, courage, and enterprise have forcibly directed the attention of mankind. We hear much of the cotton-mills of Lancashire working only half time, and of prodigious heaps of capital lying idle; but they who suffer from these circumstances richly deserve all the losses they sustain. Numerous and vast fields lie open before them, which they refuse to enter upon. If even a moderate portion of that capital were employed in developing the resources of Borneo, it would very speedily work wonders. There is scarcely any article of tropical produce which the plains and uplands of that immense island would not supply abundantly, together with numerous materials which are found nowhere else. We think the manufacturers of Manchester should form themselves into an association to work out the Indian Archipelago—to civilise its inhabitants, to give them a taste for shirts, chemises, trousers, and petticoats—to prove to them, practically, that, by employing themselves a few hours every day, they may render themselves masters of all sorts of fine things—swords, battle-axes, rifles, great guns, if they like; with houses, boats, beads, blue bottles, and turbans. At every step we take eastwards, the materials of opulence thicken around us; but we are timid—not through moderation, as some of our contemporaries would fain persuade the world, but through gross ignorance. The English are an ambitious people, fond of conquest, when it can be rendered profitable, commercially as well as politically. This, however, has been the case with all great nations. None has ever been so puerile as to desire to extend its dominions merely for the sake of extending them. All conquerors have had an eye to profit; if any one could be found who had not such an idea, he would, unquestionably, be the most ridiculous of them all. If the English conquer, or otherwise extend their dominion, they at once benefit themselves and the populations they receive within the circle of their rule. In Borneo there would be no need of war, since the natives are willing to become our fellow-citizens, and, indeed, would only be too happy to be protected from the evils of outrage and anarchy by our

* Blue-books.

strength. To explain what advantages would accrue to the British people, from admitting them into political fellowship with us, Sir James Brooke ought to deliver a speech like that which he delivered at Manchester, to the inhabitants of every great town in the kingdom. Whatever may be pretended, a majority of persons in this country, educated or uneducated, look upon Borneo as something very much like a myth. They see it, indeed, upon the maps, where it occupies a few inches of paper, and is scratched over with two or three uncouth names; but they do not realise to themselves that it is nine hundred miles long — that it contains mountains little inferior to Mont Blanc in height — that it abounds with great rivers, with extensive forests, with beautiful hills, with rich plains — that its bowels teem with gold, silver, diamonds, antimony, and coal, still more precious than all—that cotton, coffee, and a thousand admirable productions might be obtained from it, in exhaustless plenty—and that Sir James Brooke has it in his power peaceably to throw open to us the door of this magnificent country. But let us give Sir James himself a piece of advice, which is, that nothing is to be done in England without eternal repetition. What people hear every hour in the day they end by believing."

The whole question of English interests in the Straits' settlements and the Archipelago must be thoroughly ventilated. The Dutch have done great injury to our commerce by their restrictive measures, and their aggressions are contrary to the treaty of 1824. The Java Sea, from Torres Straits to the Natunas, from Anjer to Sulu, is wholly in their power, and the telegraphic communication between Singapore and Australia, by whatever route it may ultimately be carried out, will be entirely in the hands of our astute neighbours, who will be able at any time to interrupt it. Acheen, and the greater part of Sumatra, have submitted to their rule, and from thence we are excluded; and the same may be said of the greater part of Borneo, Sambawa, Flores, Timor, the Spice Islands, and New Guinea. The Spaniards, on the other hand, have seized upon Sulu, abandoned by us to their rapacity, and they threaten still further irruptions on the north-east coast of Borneo; while the French openly covet the mineral riches of Cochin China; and the Americans do not disguise their inclination to annex, as best they may, some portion of the Archipelago. To the eastward and southward of Singapore, with the exception of the much-neglected colony of Labuan, no British settlement exists between it and China or Australia.* The Honourable East India Company, too much occupied with its vast possessions, has overlooked imperial interests in those most important seas. We find, therefore, our predominance everywhere undermined, if it can be said to exist; and if the present want of system is permitted to continue, we shall shortly find the Chinese Sea as closed to England as to the Javanese. This subject is certainly one which should be deeply interesting to the Singapore merchant, and one which should engage his earnest consideration; and now that the Straits' settlements are about to be placed under the crown, not only should their political position be determined, and the proposed form of government ascertained, so that their entire freedom of trade may be maintained in all its integrity, but British influence in the East should be resuscitated, and our national and commercial interests vindicated by a bold, straightforward, and liberal policy. The plan which the Singapore merchants urge upon the government are:—

1. The transfer of the Straits' settlements to the crown, including them and Labuan in one government.
2. The formation of a naval station at Singapore.
3. British influence maintained, so as to promote commerce, and check native misrule.
4. Authority vested in a proper officer to watch and report on the territorial extensions and commercial aggressions of the Dutch, Spanish, French, or Americans.
5. The suppression (effectual) of piracy.
6. A protectorate granted to Sarawak, or its annexation as a country of national importance, from its valuable supply of coal, and as commanding an influential position in the China Sea.

These points are of an importance which admit of no delay.

The reasons already adduced render Singapore far superior to Trincomalee, or any other place, for a naval station. It is undoubtedly the key of the Eastern seas politically and commercially, and its interests are in every way imperial, and not Indian.

The protectorate on the north-west of Borneo would connect Labuan with the other British possessions, and the rapidly increasing demand for coal, already exceeding 100,000 tons per annum, would be supplied from this settlement and the coast. Let any man of sense consider the consequences to our position, our communications, and our commerce, should an interruption of the supply of coal from England occur. And yet this is what we risk, and what will certainly happen from another war, another Australian emigration, or any other of the many causes which

may excite a large demand for tonnage. Why, then, are the ministry so blind to the vast national advantages offered for their acceptance? Why do they turn a deaf ear to the prayers of those resident on the spot, and to the voice of the influential classes in England, and refuse to entertain those simple measures by which alone British influence can be made complete and permanent in those seas, and our power and commerce placed upon a secure and prosperous footing?

Having described the general commerce of India, with many of its especial features, it is unhappily necessary to refer to some circumstances and transactions connected with the debt of India, which has an effect upon commerce not only in the indirect way with which it is affected by whatever shakes public confidence in government, but as directly influencing the trade in money, upon the soundness of which in any country the healthy operations of general commerce must much depend. Mr. Crawford moved in the imperial parliament, in the spring of 1858, for certain returns as to the debt of India, which were published on the 27th of April. These show the total liabilities of the territorial government up to the beginning of the present year. All the various notices issued by the authorities during the last twenty-four years in connection with the opening of new loans or the redemption or conversion of old ones are likewise included in the return. Among these the most important is the notification put forth for the reduction of the five per cents. into four per cents. in April, 1854, to which the holders were led to assent by certain flourishing representations of the condition and prospects of the treasury, and which was followed in less than twelve months (March, 1855) by a new proposal from the government to borrow £2,750,000 at the old rate of five per cent. This fresh loan was called the Public Works Loan, and is not redeemable until 1870. It excited great indignation, since the fact of the government again coming into the market to borrow on such terms of course caused a terrible depreciation in the property of those who had believed any such prospect to be far distant, and who, under that impression, had expected the four per cents. to be maintained at or above par. This transaction has been shown to have had a serious effect in damaging the financial prestige of the company; and although an attempt was made to repair the mischief in July last by an announcement that the four per cent. paper would be received to the extent of one-half in all subscriptions to a five per cent. loan, which was then and still is open, the recollection of it even at this time is thought to exert a prejudicial influence. Annexed is an abstract of the aggregate debt:—

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Loan bearing 10 per cent interest . . . | 715 |
| ,, ,, 8 ,, ,, . . . | 14,437 |
| ,, ,, 6 ,, ,, . . . | 345,725 |
| ,, ,, 5 ,, ,, . . . | 3,744,141 |
| ,, ,, 4 ,, ,, . . . | 39,392,844 |
| ,, ,, 3½ ,, ,, . . . | 530,730 |
| | 44,028,592 |
| Temporary loans . . . . . | 219,656 |
| Treasury notes . . . . . | 967,711 |
| Deposits, including the Carnatic and other funds . . . . . | 5,267,410 |
| | 50,483,369 |

In addition to the above there have been loans opened since the 1st of May, 1856. One at four and a half per cent., which was opened on the 30th of August, 1856, and closed the 16th of January, 1857, to which—

| | | £ |
|---|---|---|
| The subscriptions were . . . . | | 368,137 |
| And one at 5 per cent., opened January 16, 1857, to which, up to the 20th of February last, there had been subscribed in cash . . . . . | 3,788,788 | |
| And in paper of the 3½, 4, and 4½ per cent loans . . . . . | 1,877,959 | |
| | | 5,666,747 |

This is exclusive of the £6,000,000 of India stock at home, as well as of the £7,000,000 which the company are authorized to raise here on bonds (an authority believed to have been exercised to within £1,000,000 of its full extent), and also of the £4,397,000 four per cent. debentures just issued. The company are likewise under guarantee to pay interest on the following amounts of railway capital, which raise their total liabilities to little short of £100,000,000:—

| | £ |
|---|---|
| East Indian Railway . . . . . | 10,731,000 |
| Eastern Bengal . . . . . | 1,000,000 |
| Madras . . . . . | 4,000,000 |
| East Indian Peninsula . . . . . | 8,333,300 |
| Scinde and Punjaub. . . . . | 2,500,000 |
| Bombay, Baroda, and Central India . . | 1,750,000 |
| | 28,314,300 |

These statistics show the debt of India to be nearly £100,000,000, but it is necessary to remark that more than one-fourth of the whole, £28,000,000, consists of guarantees upon railways. This seems to be a safe source, for, according to present experience, the lines in course of formation are likely to yield a higher rate of interest than the guarantee, while they enrich the country through which they are instrumental in opening up communications, so as to enable it to pay an increased revenue, and still more increase the

value of the particular property concerned. Another amount of £6,000,000 consists of capital of the company, which in 1874 will be paid at the rate of £200 for every £100 stock by a sinking fund now in operation.

The policy of contracting a debt *in India* for the purpose of public works there is politic on the part of the government, as well as beneficial to the country, for the more extensively the natives of India subscribe to loans, the more hold the government has upon their loyalty. The subscriptions of the railway enterprises went upon another principle—that of securing to the people of the United Kingdom the property in those roads; the result is that should we be driven from the country, the people of India would have all the benefit of the outlay, and the money would be lost to the British subscribers.

There is rather an extensive impression that if the imperial cabinet assume the government of India, the people of England will become responsible for the debt. This will not be the case; the same security which now exists will continue, whatever form the government of India may assume, and with that security the holders of India stock must remain content. Since these lines were written returns have been made to parliament, which further illustrate this subject. A return to the House of Lords (in further part) shows that the total estimated net produce of all the revenues of India for the year 1856–7 amounted to the sum of £21,196,894, including £14,317,805 from the land revenue, subsidy, and tobacco; £1,961,124 from customs, £1,833,411 from salt, £3,177,242 from opium, £528,293 from stamps, and £157,418 from mint, &c., receipts. The charges of collection altogether amount to £7,137,501. Upon this net revenue of £21,978,364 there was an estimated total charge of £22,931,721, so that there would be a deficit in 1856–7 (the last year of the returns) amounting to £953,357. The charges include £3,288,819 for the civil and political establishments, £2,472,336 for judicial and police establishments, £10,945,224 for military and war charges, and £2,155,301 for the interest on the debt; there is also a charge of £2,623,744 for territorial payments in England.

As the progress of railways so much influences the state of the money market, and thereby indirectly the course of trade, as well as the development of the resources upon which commerce relies, it will also assist the reader in judging of the prospects of the trade of India to offer the following statistics of reports made since the foregoing lines were written. The report of the *East Indian* states that the works on the South Beerbhoom district are making good progress, and that the first twenty-four miles will probably be opened by the 1st of June; the construction of the other parts of the line is also being actively carried on. Arrangements have been made for the immediate recommencement of the Soane Bridge. Beyond the Soane, nearly up to Allahabad, the state of the country in February has not permitted operations to be proceeded with to any great extent. About sixty miles of railway are open between Allahabad and Cawnpore for the conveyance of troops, &c., and every exertion will be made to complete the whole of the hundred and twenty-six miles in the course of a few months. From considerations arising out of the mutiny, it is contemplated by the government to change the route of the line above Cawnpore, and the terminus will probably be at Meerut instead of Delhi. The number of passengers during the past half-year was 522,360 (of whom 488,904 were third-class), and the tonnage of goods and minerals was 70,355 tons, showing in the latter case an increase of 25,660 tons over the corresponding period of 1856. The total receipts in 1857 were £132,434 against £96,100 in the previous year; and the interest paid or payable to the proprietors to the 31st of December last amounted to £349,417. The net profits for the past year on the portion open between Calcutta and Raneegunge are estimated to be equal to a dividend at the rate of six and five-eighths per cent. The sum of £1,881,426 has been disbursed by the government of India on account of interest upon railway capital from the commencement of operations in that country up to the present time—viz., £1,800,748 in England, and £80,678 in India. The capital raised by the six railway companies, and paid into the treasuries of the company, amounts to £16,073,584, and of this only £576,979 was raised in India.

Notwithstanding the struggle which rages in India while these pages are being written, all evidence concurs in leading to the belief that a brighter future awaits that wondrous land. Although such writers as Bayard Taylor, Train, and other correspondents of the American press, have decried the labours of missionaries and philanthropists, these high moral agencies are telling upon the community quietly and decisively wherever they are at work. It is not improbable that a perception of this urged many of the fanatics of 1857 to their war of extirpation against the English. But God does not work moral and social changes by direct moral agencies only; it pleases him to use material media for effecting the great moral revolutions which subserve his grand and benevolent designs.

There are no material changes which have not their moral relations and aspects. Commerce is not simply a material process, carried on under intellectual guidance; it is always associated with the inner life of communities. It creates and develops moral as well as intellectual tastes, and both as strikingly as it promotes material civilization. Man cannot meet man without interchange of thought. The products of one country cannot be spread upon the lap of another without exciting new desires, and suggesting trains of reflections which even the most thoughtless cannot wholly dismiss. The heart as well as the mind of a people is left upon the works of their hands. Every such work is a cardiphonia, by which those who look upon it are addressed. The good and evil that are in us spread with our commerce in proportion as the stronger mind and will obtain in all things mastery over the weaker. He must be little gifted with an observing habit and philosophic temper who cannot see that upon the hard mental and moral types of oriental character our intercourse and commerce are telling as well as our direct spiritual agencies; just as the most colossal and durable idol, exposed to the sun and the monsoon, will at last bear obvious and lasting impressions of their effects. The day of oriental seclusion is gone; the highway is open in the desert; the footfalls of the busy throng of traders, soldiers, and politicians, resound to far-off Eastern nations; and already the swarthy children of the sun are learning to descry other visitors, and to exclaim, "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of those who bring the gospel of peace!" It were a blindness to the ways of Providence, and cowardice as to our own mission, not to hope for India, and for the honour of performing there a great and noble work; and among the bonds which shall bind that glorious region to this ruling country shall be the golden chain of commerce, graced and strengthened by the links of many a realm between.

The commerce of India, as well as of the Straits' settlements and Hong-Kong, will be promoted by the present satisfactory relations with Siam. There are various avenues of profit which a well-established and well-regulated trade with that country would open up. The hostility of the Indo-Chinese nations to the intercourse of strangers has hitherto shut up this field of enterprise even more than others in Eastern Asia. By a return presented to both houses of parliament, by the command of her majesty, in the session of 1857, the public have been put in possession of a treaty of friendship and commerce between her Britannic majesty and the kings of Siam, signed on the 18th of April, 1855, the ratifications being exchanged on the 5th of April, 1856.

The first article of this treaty affirms perpetual peace and amity, and the reciprocal protection "and assistance" of Siamese and British subjects within their respective dominions.

ARTICLE II.

The interests of all British subjects coming to Siam shall be placed under the control of a consul at Bangkok. The consul, in conjunction with Siamese officers, to hear and determine all disputes arising between British and Siamese subjects; but the consul shall not interfere in any matters referring solely to Siamese, neither will the Siamese authorities interfere in questions which only concern the subjects of her Britannic majesty.

It is understood, however, that the arrival of the British consul at Bangkok shall not take place before the ratification of this treaty, nor until ten vessels owned by British subjects, sailing under British colours and with British papers, shall have entered the port of Bangkok for purposes of trade, subsequent to the signing of this treaty.

ARTICLE III.

If Siamese in the employ of British subjects offend against the laws of their country, or if any Siamese, having so offended or desiring to desert, take refuge with a British subject in Siam, they shall be searched for, and, upon proof of their guilt or desertion, shall be delivered up by the consul to the Siamese authorities. In like manner, any British offenders resident or trading in Siam, who may desert, escape to, or hide themselves in Siamese territory, shall be apprehended and delivered over to the British consul on his requisition. Chinese, not able to prove themselves to be British subjects, shall not be considered as such by the British consul, nor be entitled to his protection.

ARTICLE IV.

British subjects are permitted to trade freely in all the seaports of Siam, but may reside permanently only at Bangkok, or within the limits assigned by this treaty. British subjects coming to reside at Bangkok may rent land, and buy or build houses, but cannot purchase lands within a circuit of two hundred *sen* (not more than four miles English) from the city walls until they shall have lived in Siam for ten years, or shall obtain special authority from the Siamese government to enable them to do so; but, with the exception of this limitation, British residents in Siam may at any time buy or rent houses, lands, or plantations, situated anywhere within a distance of twenty-four hours' journey from the city of Bangkok, to be computed by the rate at which boats of the country can travel. In order to obtain possession of such lands or houses, it will be necessary that the British subject shall, in the first place, make application through the consul to the proper Siamese officer: and the Siamese officer and the consul having satisfied themselves of the honest intentions of the applicant, will assist him in settling, upon equitable terms, the amount of the purchase money, will mark out and fix the boundaries of the property, and will convey the same to the British purchaser under sealed deeds. Whereupon he and his property shall be placed under the protection of the governor of the district and that of the particular local authorities; he shall conform in ordinary matters to any just directions given him by them, and will be subject to the same taxation that is levied on Siamese subjects. But if through negligence, the want of capital, or other cause, a British subject should fail to commence the cultivation or improvement of the lands so acquired within a term of three years from

the date of receiving possession thereof, the Siamese government shall have the power of resuming the property upon returning to the British subject the purchase money paid by him for the same.

ARTICLE V.

All British subjects intending to reside in Siam shall be registered at the British consulate; they shall not go out to sea, nor proceed beyond the limits assigned by this treaty for the residence of British subjects, without a passport from the Siamese authorities, to be applied for by the British consul: nor shall they leave Siam if the Siamese authorities show to the British consul that legitimate objections exist to their quitting the country; but within the limits appointed under the preceding article British subjects are at liberty to travel to and fro under the protection of a pass, to be furnished them by the British consul, and counter-sealed by the proper Siamese officer, stating, in the Siamese character, their names, calling, and description. The Siamese officers at the government stations in the interior may, at any time, call for the production of this pass, and immediately on its being exhibited they must allow the parties to proceed; but it will be their duty to detain those persons who, by travelling without a pass from the consul, render themselves liable to the suspicion of their being deserters, and such detention shall be immediately reported to the consul.

ARTICLE VI.

All British subjects visiting or residing in Siam shall be allowed the free exercise of the Christian religion, and liberty to build churches in such localities as shall be consented to by the Siamese authorities. The Siamese government will place no restrictions upon the employment by the English of Siamese subjects as servants, or in any other capacity; but wherever a Siamese subject belongs or owes service to some particular master, the servant who engages himself to a British subject without the consent of his master may be reclaimed by him; and the Siamese government will not enforce an agreement between a British subject and any Siamese in his employ, unless made with the knowledge and consent of the master, who has a right to dispose of the services of the person engaged.

ARTICLE VII.

British ships of war may enter the river, and anchor at Paknam, but they shall not proceed above Paknam, unless with the consent of the Siamese authorities, which shall be given where it is necessary that a ship shall go into dock for repairs. Any British ship of war conveying to Siam a public functionary accredited by her majesty's government to the court of Bangkok, shall be allowed to come up to Bangkok, but shall not pass the forts called Paag Phrachamit and Pit-patch-nuck, unless expressly permitted to do so by the Siamese government; but, in the absence of a British ship of war, the Siamese authorities engage to furnish the consul with a force sufficient to enable him to give effect to his authority over British subjects, and to enforce discipline among British shipping.

ARTICLE VIII.

The measurement duty hitherto paid by British vessels trading to Bangkok under the treaty of 1826 shall be abolished from the date of this treaty coming into operation, and British shipping and trade will thenceforth be only subject to the payment of import and export duties on the goods landed or shipped. On all articles of import the duties shall be three per cent., payable, at the option of the importer, either in kind or money, calculated upon the market value of the goods. Drawback of the full amount of duty shall be allowed upon goods found unsaleable and re-exported. Should the British merchant and the custom-house officers disagree as to the value to be set upon imported articles, such disputes shall be referred to the consul and proper Siamese officer, who shall each have the power to call in an equal number of merchants as assessors, not exceeding two on either side, to assist them in coming to an equitable decision.

Opium may be imported free of duty, but can only be sold to the opium farmer or his agents. In the event of no arrangement being effected with them for the sale of the opium, it shall be re-exported, and no impost or duty shall be levied thereon. Any infringement of this regulation shall subject the opium to seizure and confiscation.

Articles of export from the time of production to the date of shipment shall pay one impost only, whether this be levied under the name of inland tax, transit duty, or duty on exportation. The tax or duty to be paid on each article of Siamese produce previous to or upon exportation, is specified in the tariff attached to this treaty; and it is distinctly agreed that goods or produce which pay any description of tax in the interior shall be exempted from any further payment of duty on exportation.

English merchants are to be allowed to purchase directly from the producer the articles in which they trade, and in like manner to sell their goods directly to the parties wishing to purchase the same, without the interference, in either case, of any other person.

The rates of duty laid down in the tariff attached to this treaty are those that are now paid upon goods or produce shipped in Siamese or Chinese vessels or junks; and it is agreed that British shipping shall enjoy all the privileges now exercised by or which hereafter may be granted to Siamese or Chinese vessels or junks.

British subjects will be allowed to build ships in Siam on obtaining permission to do so from the Siamese authorities.

Whenever a scarcity may be apprehended of salt, rice, and fish, the Siamese government reserve to themselves the right of prohibiting, by public proclamation, the exportation of these articles.

Bullion or personal effects may be imported or exported free of charge.

ARTICLE IX.

The code of regulations appended to this treaty shall be enforced by the consul, with the co-operation of the Siamese authorities; and they, the said authorities and consul, shall be enabled to introduce any further regulations which may be found necessary, in order to give effect to the objects of this treaty.

All fines and penalties inflicted for infraction of the provisions and regulations of this treaty shall be paid to the Siamese government.

Until the British consul shall arrive at Bangkok, and enter upon his functions, the consignees of British vessels shall be at liberty to settle with the Siamese authorities all questions relating to their trade.

ARTICLE X.

The British government and its subjects will be allowed free and equal participation in any privileges that may have been, or may hereafter be, granted by the Siamese government to the government or subjects of any other nation.

ARTICLE XI.

After the lapse of ten years from the date of the ratification of this treaty, upon the desire of either the British or Siamese government, and on twelve months' notice given by either party, the present, and such portions of the treaty of 1826 as remain unrevoked by this treaty, together with the tariff and regulations hereunto annexed, or those that may hereafter be introduced, shall be subject to revision by commissioners appointed on both sides for this purpose, who will be empowered to decide on and insert therein such amendments as experience shall prove to be desirable.

ARTICLE XII.

This article referred to formalities as to the time of taking effect, interpretation, signatures of plenipotentiaries, &c.

After the articles follow general regulations, under which British trade is to be conducted in Siam. The general drift of these is the protection of the Siamese government from the arrival of armed ships, under pretence of trade, nearer to Bangkok than Paknam, and the preservation of Siamese authority in reference to such vessels. Then follows a tariff of the export and inland duties to be levied on articles of trade, which shows the nature and variety of our commerce with Siam.

SECTION I.

The undermentioned articles shall be entirely free from inland or other taxes, on production or transit, and shall pay export duty as follows:—

| | Ti-cal. | Sa-lung. | Fu-ang. | Hun. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ivory | 10 | 0 | 0 | 0 | per picul. |
| Gambogo | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Rhinoceros horns | 50 | 0 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Cardamums, best | 14 | 0 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| ,, bastard | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Dried mussels | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Pelicans' quills | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Betel-nut, dried | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Krachi wood | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Sharks' fins, white | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| ,, black | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Lukkrabau seed | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Peacocks' tails | 10 | 0 | 0 | 0 | per 100 tails. |
| Buffalo and cow bones | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | per picul. |
| Rhinoceros hides | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Hide cuttings | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Turtle shells | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Soft ,, | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Bêche de mer | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Fish-maws | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Birds' nests, uncleaned | 20 per cent. | | | | |
| Kingfishers' feathers | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | per 100. |
| Cutch | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | per picul. |
| Beyché seed (*Nux Vom.*) | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Pungtarai seed | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Gum benjamin | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Angrai bark | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Agilla wood | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Ray skins | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Old deer horns | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Soft, or young deer horns | 10 per cent. | | | | |
| Deer hides, fine | 8 | 0 | 0 | 0 | per 100 hides. |
| ,, common | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Deer sinews | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | per picul. |
| Buffalo and cow hides | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Elephants' bones | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Tigers' bones | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Buffalo horns | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Elephants' hides | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Tigers' skins | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | per skin. |
| Armadillo skins | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | per picul. |
| Stick-lac | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Hemp | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Dried fish, *Plaheng* | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| ,, *Plasalit* | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Sapan wood | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | ,, |
| Salt meat | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Mangrove bark | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | ,, |

| | Ti-cal. | Sa-lung. | Fu-ang. | Hun. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Rosewood | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | per picul. |
| Ebony | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Rice | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | per coyan. |

SECTION II.

The undermentioned articles being subject to the inland or transit duties herein named, and which shall not be increased, shall be exempt from export duty.

| | Ti-cal. | Sa-lung. | Fu-ang. | Hun. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sugar, white | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | per picul. |
| ,, red | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Cotton, cleaned and uncleaned | 10 per cent. | | | | |
| Pepper | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | per picul. |
| Salt-fish, *Platu* | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | per 10,000 |
| Beans and peas | One-twelfth. | | | | |
| Dried prawns | One-twelfth. | | | | |
| Tilseed | One-twelfth. | | | | |
| Silk, raw | One-twelfth. | | | | |
| Beeswax | One-fifteenth. | | | | |
| Tallow | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | per picul. |
| Salt | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | per coyan. |
| Tobacco (bundles) | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | per 1000. |

SECTION III.

All goods or produce unenumerated in this tariff shall be free of export duty, and shall only be subject to one inland tax or transit duty, not exceeding the rate now paid.

JOHN BOWRING.

(L.S.)

(Signatures and seals of the five Siamese plenipotentiaries.)

On the 13th of May, 1856, a supplementary agreement to this treaty was signed with the Siamese authorities, by Harry Smith Parkes, Esq., on behalf of the British. The object of this supplementary agreement was two-fold: first, that such articles of an old treaty, made in 1826, as were abrogated by the new, should be distinctly mentioned; secondly, that any clause of the new treaty, not sufficiently clear, should be fully explained. The only article of this supplementary agreement which need be stated is the following:—

ARTICLE I.

*On the old treaty concluded in* 1826.

The articles of the old treaty not abrogated by the new treaty, are I, II, III, VIII, XI, XII, XIII, and XIV, and the undermentioned clauses of Articles VI and X. In Article VI the Siamese desire to retain the following clause:—

"If a Siamese or English merchant buy or sell, without inquiring and ascertaining whether the seller or buyer be of a good or bad character, and if he meet with a bad man, who takes the property and absconds, the rulers and officers on either side must make search and endeavour to produce the property of the absconder, and investigate the matter with sincerity. If the party possess money or property, he can be made to pay; but if he does not possess any, or if he cannot be apprehended, the authorities cannot be held responsible."

Of Article X, Mr. Parkes desires to retain that clause relating to the overland trade, which states:

"Asiatic merchants of the English countries, not being Birmese, Peguans, or descendants of Europeans, desiring to enter into and to trade with the Siamese domi-

nions, from the countries of Mergui, Tavoy, Tenesserim, and Ye, which are now subject to the English, will be allowed to do so freely overland and by water, upon the English furnishing them with proper certificates."

Mr. Parkes, however, desires that all British subjects, without exception, shall be allowed to participate in this overland trade. The said royal commissioners therefore agree, on the part of the Siamese, that all traders, under British rule, may cross from the British territories of Mergui, Tavoy, Ye, Tenesserim, Pegu, or other places, by land or by water, to the Siamese territories, and may trade there with facility, on the condition that they shall be provided by the British authorities with proper certificates, which must be renewed for each journey.

The commercial agreement annexed to the old treaty is abrogated by the new treaty, with the exception of the undermentioned clauses of Articles I and IV.

Of Article I the Siamese desire to retain the following clause:

"British merchants importing fire-arms, shot, or gunpowder, are prohibited from selling them to any party but the government. Should the government not require such fire-arms, shot, or gunpowder, the merchants must re-export the whole of them."

Article IV stipulates that no charge or duty shall be levied on boats carrying cargo to British ships at the bar. The Siamese desire to cancel this clause, for the reason that the old measurement duty of 1700 ticals per fathom included the fees of the various officers, but as this measurement duty has now been abolished, the Siamese wish to levy on each native boat taking cargo out to sea, a fee of 8 ticals 2 salungs, this being the charge paid by Siamese traders; and Mr. Parkes undertakes to submit this point to the consideration of her majesty's minister plenipotentiary to the court of Siam.

In the treaty of Sir John Bowring, it was stipulated that British subjects should have the right to buy and occupy houses and lands, under the conditions specified, but their right to sell them again was oddly overlooked. Mr. Parkes inserted a clause in the new agreement giving them that right.

The Siamese government insisted on the powers of prohibiting the exportation of rice, salt, and fish, in seasons of famine. Mr. Parkes consented to this on the condition that a month's notice should always be given before the prohibition should be enforced. By the seventh article of the treaty, bullion may be exported or imported free of charge. With reference to this clause, the Siamese royal commissioners agreed, at the request of Mr. Parkes, that foreign coins of every description, gold or silver, in bars or ingots, and gold leaf, should be imported free; but manufactured articles of gold and silver, plated ware, and diamond or other precious stones, must pay an import duty of three per cent.

One article of the supplementary agreement was eminently absurd on the part of Mr. Parkes. The Siamese commissioners requested that whenever the Siamese government deemed it to be beneficial for the country to impose "a single tax or duty" on any article not then subject to a public charge of any kind, it might do so without infraction of the treaty, so far as non-duty articles were concerned. Mr. Parkes considered that he had kept clear of this trap by adding, "provided that the said tax be just and reasonable."

The indefinite article of the treaty, allowing British residents to travel a journey of twenty-four hours' distance, was made more satisfactory by clear definitions of distance by actual measurement or mutual agreement.

Rates of assessment upon English plantations, established in Siamese territory, were to be the same as those paid by the native planters or gardeners.

The neighbourhood of Bangkok, especially some distance in the interior, is admirably adapted to the growth of valuable fruits and timber; such as betel-nut, cocoa-nut, siri vines, mango, maprung, darian, mangosteen, langsat, orange, jack-fruit, bread-fruit, makpai, guana, laton, and rambuton trees. Excellent pine apples are grown in every direction around the capital; also tamarinds, custard-apples, plantains, and pepper vines.

From various causes this treaty and the supplementary agreement, failed to give that satisfaction in India which, from its terms, generally might be expected. It was alleged that Sir John Bowring was outwitted; that a consciousness of this led to the mission of Mr. Parkes, to amend the treaty; that the mender had done no better than the original maker; that the treaty with Siam was practically a nullity; and that the opening up of the commerce of that country is yet a *desideratum*. It is certain that several of the stipulations are useless, and others mischievous, laying the foundation for future disagreements; but on the whole the treaty and its supplement must appear to those, not initiated in the tricks of Eastern trade and the subterfuges of Eastern diplomatists, as fair and reasonable. Better terms would have been desirable; but so far, something considerable was accomplished by her majesty's negotiators, which may lead, and is likely to lead, to more intelligent and liberal arrangements. It is well that some of the best organs of public opinion, both in England and in India, appreciate what has been done. One of the best edited publications in India, *The Bombay Quarterly** expresses its approval in no measured terms:—"It establishes a just and reasonable scale of duties, destroys monopoly, and offers every inducement to increased cultivation and enterprise on the part of the Siamese. It is very creditable to their present monarchy to have so freely overthrown the previously existing system of

* July, 1857.

taxation, and to have adopted a liberal policy before unknown to the country. The innovation was startling, and it required considerable foresight and faith in principles to introduce it without preliminary experience. In taking this step, the kings abandoned their former sources of revenue, and trusted entirely to the effect of a moderate tariff, and to the rapid increase of transactions under its fostering influences. The abolition of the corn laws, and the reduction to penny postage—measures forced out of our own government—in no way adequately represent the comparative magnitude of the reform now freely accorded by the sovereigns of Siam."

The same writer again expresses himself in his review of the treaty, and of the spirit and policy of the Siamese government, in these hopeful terms:—"We are inclined to believe that the measure, concluded by the moderation and good management of Sir John Bowring, may be but the first stride of a people rapidly and continuously proceeding up the scale of civilization." That there are good grounds for such a hope must be evident to all who look into the circumstances of that country, and who consider the spirit of its rulers. The climate is one of the finest in the East, although the mean temperature is as high as 84°. It is a healthy country, there being few places in the world where instances of longevity are so frequently met with. The American missionaries, who have been the benefactors of the country, say that it is not at all uncommon to meet with persons whose age exceeds a century.

The productions of the country may, as already observed, be seen from the list of commodities in the tariff appended to the treaty. The articles which form the grand staple of Siamese exports, are, sugar, pepper, cotton, hemp, rice, metals, gums, cardamums, gamboge, ivory, horns, hides, silks, sapan-wood, &c. The cotton of Siam is of the finest quality yet discovered, and in the growing demand for this commodity, and the slowness of America and India in approaching the pace of that progress, Siam may become a grand mart for its production. Soil, climate, facilities of river navigation, and the enlightened character of the government, all combine to justify this prospect. There are other valuable productions capable of vastly enlarging its commerce: the finest and purest copper exists in great abundance; there are also tin, lead, zinc, antimony, and iron. It is alleged that there are auriferous districts in Siam rivalling any existing elsewhere; certainly gold has been obtained there by the natives in quantities which sustain such an opinion. Silver, it is supposed, will yet be obtained there in sufficient quantities to re-adjust the relative value between it and gold. Precious stones are also abundant in districts much resembling those in which they are found in Ava. A French gentleman, travelling in a hilly district for a short distance, gathered in the course of his progress two handsful of rubies, topazes, garnets, and sapphires.

The rice and sugar exports might be vastly increased by British merchants and capitalists settling in other places as well as Bangkok.

The chief import of Siam is, unhappily, opium. This, however, is consumed in a great proportion by the Chinese, who are very numerous at Bangkok and elsewhere, and who serve the country by their industry. The religious belief of the majority of the Chinese being identical with that of the Siamese, and the habits of the two people being similar in many respects, the Chinese are allowed to settle in the country, where, as usual, they work hard and thrive well.

The time which has elapsed since the signatures of the plenipotentiaries were attached to the agreement supplementary to the treaty has been so very short, that it is difficult to gather from its events the probabilities of the future. By way of China it is reported that the effect has been surprising. During a decennial period, previous to the treaty, the average number of vessels entering the river of Bangkok from foreign parts was *ten;* since the treaty the number has increased twenty-fold, a progress unparalleled in any part of the Asiatic world.

The area of the country is not less than two hundred thousand square miles, well watered by mountain streams and by undulating rivers, which enrich a large portion of country suitable for rice and other tropical commodities. Besides the great distance which the navigable rivers enable ships to pass to the interior, there are innumerable canals suitable to boat navigation, in which art the people are very expert. There is a very important consideration connected with the commerce between India and Siam, which has not yet sufficiently engaged the attention of engineers and scientific persons acquainted with the Indo-Chinese peninsula. It is alleged that water communication could easily be opened between the Bay of Bengal and the Gulf of Siam across the isthmus, so as to save the comparatively long voyage round by the Straits of Malacca. By an examination of Wyld's maps, with scale, the reader will perceive how considerable a space might be saved by a ship canal, so as to avoid the *détour* of the Straits. The direct distance

across the isthmus is about fifty miles. A ship-canal would not be required for the whole of this distance, as there are navigable rivers which might be united by a few miles being cut for the purpose. The chief river, the Meinam, on the banks of which the capital is built, fertilises a vast extent of country, which is at once extremely rich and very beautiful. The area of the valley of the Meinam has been computed at upwards of twelve thousand miles. From such a country what may not be expected for British commercial enterprise? Should a ship-canal connect the existing water-ways, so as to open up a connection between the Bay of Bengal and the Gulf of Siam, it would be important not only as to the trade of the latter country, but also with Cochin China and China. The expectations entertained as to the future commercial intercourse are justified by past experience. Calcutta and Canton were at one time the only superior ports to Bangkok in the Eastern seas —there were more than sixty British ships engaged in the trade.

The chief causes of the decline arose from the misgovernment of the monarchs and the tyranny of the nobles. The former adopted a policy exclusive and barbarous, and especially jealous of foreigners; the latter ground down the people by the heaviest oppression. This class is still inimical to all improvements as dangerous to its privileges; it regards foreign commerce with hostility, and those who profit by it, natives or strangers, with envy and dislike. The nobles are especially hostile to the settlement of European planters, or the travels of Europeans within the interior. It is a pleasing and encouraging circumstance that the kings* are opposed to the nobles in those illiberal ideas, and that the premier—who is the most influential man in the kingdom—is decidedly adverse to the policy of the prejudiced and selfish sections of the people. There is no Eastern country which presents three such men as the two kings of Siam and their vizier. The kings are brothers, the sons of the chief queen of a former monarch, and occupy the throne legitimately according to the laws and regal usage of Siam. A son of their father by an inferior queen possessed himself of the throne, and one of the present occupants was for twenty-seven years an inmate of a Buddhist monastery. There he devoted himself to the study of European science, and of the English language, of which he is master, but writes it quaintly, after the old models. The reception given by this monarch to Sir John Bowring, and afterwards to Mr. Parkes, was enlightened and cordial. The second king is a more accomplished man than the first, and writes much more accurate and agreeable English than either her majesty's plenipotentiary Sir John Bowring, or his diplomatic adjutant Mr. Parkes. The second sovereign is, like the first, liberal and enlightened, and favourable to the English. Both are authors, and have written works, not only in Siamese, but in other oriental languages, and in English. These works are of a practical nature, such as geography, topography, Siamese history, law, and government. They have also written some modest scientific books. They are especially fond of astronomy, in which science they have made considerable progress, and when they dispatched, in 1857, two ambassadors to Queen Victoria, they especially enjoined upon them to procure them scientific instruments, models of steam engines, telescopes, and various optical instruments, &c. From such monarchs good government is to be expected, and a friendly feeling towards our merchants. The nobles are adverse to the policy of their sovereigns, on the ground that if the English gain a footing within their dominions they will increase their acquisitions of land until they become masters of the whole country. The kings entertain some timidity on the same ground. The missions of Sir John Bowring and Mr. Parkes were calculated to dispel this alarm, and the advent of the ambassadors here from their Siamese majesties, and the impressions they derived during their sojourn, are still more conducive to the like results. The chief minister, however, appears to be the mainstay of Sir John Bowring's hopes for the stability of his treaty, for in a work* recently published by the learned doctor and gallant knight, he represents this dignitary as one of the most remarkable men he ever met. In the journal of Sir John the following references relating to this minister occur:—"His excellency also pressed much the necessity of opening the trade with Cochin China. Again and again the *kalakon*† said he wished that the treaty should benefit the people; that the government could make the sacrifice of revenue for two or three years, and wait for the beneficial results which trade would bring with it. He insinuated more than once that if there were difficulties they would be from other quarters. He again and again told me that if my policy is to save the people from oppression, and the country from monopoly, he shall labour with me, and if I succeed my name will be blest to all

* There are two—called First and Second, who, however, act together in one government.

* *The Kingdom and People of Siam; with a Narrative of a Mission to that Country in* 1855. London, J. W. Parker.

† Designation of the minister.

ages. He unveils abuses to me without disguise, and often with vehement eloquence. If he prove true to his profession, he is one of the noblest and most enlightened patriots the world has ever seen. To him Siam owes her fleet of merchant ships. They * urged the conclusion of the treaty, so that the *Rattler* might get away by the next tide. They wished to have them one after another,† in the hope that the whole may be concluded to day. Inshallah! Such promptitude was, I believe, never before exhibited in an Asiatic court. It is mainly due to the Phra kalakon's energetic influence; he has a great work to accomplish, and he is working while it is day, aye, and by night as well." However excellent the dispositions of this friendly court and government towards the English, and however hospitable towards her majesty's representative, it is obvious that they were very desirous to see the last of the negotiator, and more especially of his war steamers. This desire may have been in part dictated by the impatience of the nobles, and even of the highest courtiers, at the presence of the plenipotentiary, and the vicinity of the men-of-war; and it is not impossible that more than a spark of oriental suspicion glimmered in the breasts of the monarchs and their ministers, that some evil purpose might lurk behind those British guns, for although Bangkok contains four hundred thousand inhabitants, a large portion of them are Chinese, and the city would probably prove even more helpless for defence than Canton.

As no description was given of Siam in the geographical part of this work, no portion of it being under British sovereignty, and it having never been a theatre of battle to our forces, it seemed desirable to dwell more at length, under the head of commerce, upon the resources of the country, and the character of its rulers, as connected with the prospects of future commercial intercourse with it.

The character of commercial men and commercial dealings in India have been the subject of much animadversion of late years. This subject might properly come under the head of the social condition of India, but it is still more appropriate in this place. The character of the East India Company as traders has already come up incidentally, and will in the historical portion of this work be frequently brought before the reader; it is therefore unnecessary here to point out in what respects the monopoly had a moral influence, favourable or otherwise, upon those who profited by it, or upon others. When the trade became free, and in proportion as it became so, speculators from England, especially from London and Liverpool, embarked in Indian commerce, which, through their instrumentality, soon assumed new features. Many of the adventurers had little capital, and their enterprises were undertaken upon the principle of making such an appearance as to gain credit, and so trade upon the capital of others. The nature of their resources gave a character to their dealings, which were a series of desperate risks, sometimes successful, far more frequently otherwise, bringing ruin upon all who had trusted to them. There was nothing in the nature of the trade essentially to make it perilous, but those engaged in it of the description here referred to were uneducated men, ignorant of the principles of political economy, and the laws of finance, and who, by sharp practice, specious appearance, and a thorough intimacy with the usual dodges of corrupt trade, were enabled to find creditors, and to impose upon them. The respectable capitalist and merchant was often robbed and sometimes destroyed by this class, in his personal dealings with them; besides, he sustained injury by a competition based upon capital extensively and fraudulently obtained; upon credit procured by the cleverly sustained-appearances of noted resources.

In the year 1830–1, a monetary and commercial crisis occurred in the great trading cities of India. The gambling which had taken place in all East Indian commodities, had reached a degree of desperation which precipitated a convulsion. There was a general crash. "Houses" had been trusted by old officers, civil servants, and their widows. Those establishments had been the banks of the non-trading classes for the custody of their savings; the poor soldiers, who had saved a little to purchase discharge, or send home to wife or child, had placed it in the hands of those "great merchants," whose philanthropy was as ostentatious as their benefactions were large, and their style of living magnificent. The hollowness of the system, and the faithlessness of those who, through its instrumentality, practised such extensive imposition, became at once apparent amidst the loss and pecuniary destruction of all the confiding classes who supposed that the mansions and charities of "the merchant princes" were indices of their wealth and magnanimity. It would be difficult for description to convey the extent of the disaster which the overthrow of the great Indian trading establishments caused at that time.

* The kings and minister, and the minister of foreign affairs, also an able and enlightened man.

† Sir John here refers to the articles of the treaty, but his style of writing is so loose and inaccurate, it is often difficult to determine his meaning.

Many begged their bread, whose deposits in the hands of the speculators had amounted to a handsome fortune. Upon them the desolation permanently rested; but the traders, after passing the ordeal of failure, of composition, or bankruptcy, began again, and soon lived in the same splendour, and easily found fresh victims—so credulous and ignorant were the respectable classes from whom this plunder was gleaned. Calcutta obtained an unenviable notoriety in this species of piracy. One house there failed for a sum which would have been incredible, if named beforehand—amounting to four millions sterling! The assets were a little more than a shilling in the pound. It must not be supposed by the astonished reader that this illustrious "house" stood alone; it was surrounded by others almost as great. One of these failed for only £300,000 less than the amount of the liabilities of the former; another for three millions six hundred thousand sterling; a fourth for three millions; a fifth for two millions and a quarter; but these houses paid on an average a fifth of their obligations. More than eleven millions sterling was lost to the community by the failure of six houses, after all their assets were valued and applied.

The individuals who entailed all this misery by means so palpably culpable, did not "lose caste" (as the natives would say); they were treated by the officers of government, and by the commercial world more particularly, as unfortunate; but the moral effect upon the European and native communities, as well as upon the character of English commerce, was soon obvious. The civil and military functionaries did not so generally leave their money in the custody of these houses. The native capitalists, themselves frequently dishonest, had been outwitted and lost much; they therefore became more timid of trusting their money in the hands of Englishmen. The traders succeeded in regaining the confidence of European officials, or at least of gaining new victims in that class, long before any considerable number of natives were caught in the same trap. Credit slowly revived; by degrees officers, and the families of deceased officers, civilians, and Europeans in the humbler walks of trade, were again ensnared, to form a renewed illustration of the fraudulent system which had so largely obtained in banking and commercial transactions in the East.

One of the consequences of these failures was the establishment by the civil and military servants of banks, in which they could have confidence. The first of these was at Agra, whence branches were formed in various other great cities and stations. This institution was followed by the Bank of Bengal, which started with a capital, or nominal capital, of five hundred thousand pounds; other establishments of a like kind, on a great scale, were speedily placed in competition with the first two, and all appeared to prosper. The nature of these banks was very peculiar; they have been with propriety described as "Loan Societies," as their business consisted in lending money, chiefly to civil servants, on personal security; in cases of large advances some collateral security was taken, but not generally of a more substantial nature. Many of the shareholders were unable to pay "the calls" when the great custom (for there were plenty of borrowers) of the banks rendered it necessary to make them. These shareholders being civil servants were allowed to hold over their shares, the amount of the calls being treated as debts to the banks, and as the shares were at a premium, the holders were soon able to dispose of them, and after remitting the debt thus incurred, enjoyed a profit. The progress of the new banking establishments was as iniquitous as that of the old; and, finally, as disastrous. The very classes who had been plundered by the bankers of a former period, became in their turn fleecers of others. All the disclosures in the case of the British Bank, and other banking institutions in England, in 1857-8, appear to those acquainted with Indian banking incidents, from 1847 up to a recent period, as a mere repetition of what was so well known in Calcutta. Planters and merchants were befriended, until the entire capital of the banks were absorbed; indigo factories were jobbed on private account with bank funds; bank post bills, at a heavy discount, were received from directors as cash; paper of all descriptions was floated; liabilities of presidents and secretaries were transferred to the bank in the company's books; young civilians were accommodated with loans at a heavy interest; all ordinary precaution and proper management were neglected; bills sent them for sale and remittance, on account of others, were disposed of, and the proceeds applied to stop a momentary gap;—although the directors must have known that they were insolvent, and that a month or two at most would witness the termination of their fictitious existence. The new houses of business were unable to obtain credit on the same facile terms as their predecessors, and were obliged to lean almost wholly on the banyans, a native class described in a former page. Many sircars, or native accountants, who had saved or gained money were now lenders; and the business of Calcutta more especially fell, so far as the capital was concerned, chiefly into native hands. These men bear them-

selves with intolerable insolence; they treated all Europeans, but especially those not engaged in the direct service of government, with most insulting contempt. They displayed the same spirit, in their own degree and opportunity, which the sepoy revolters showed in 1857. The bitterest dislike and scorn for Europeans were openly avowed whenever the natives had a money power over them. The roguery of the banyans is more systematic and secure than that of his European customer, or servant, as he may almost be termed. The banyan cheats his English confederate in every conceivable way. He alleges that a higher price is paid for a commodity than is actually given, and he ships off an article inferior to the sample, entailing loss and financial and commercial disarrangement on the part of the English branch of the firm. The merchant in India in vain remonstrates, upbraids, denounces; the banyan only reiterates his innocence, and alleges that the evil doing has been in England, not with him; and, as he is a heavy creditor, disposes of the subject with one of those impudent and caustic sneers which the native has always at his command for a European in his power. A gentleman, well acquainted with the morality of Indian commerce, thus describes the course of trade as it proceeds in the present day:—

"Formerly all the London houses acting as agents for Calcutta and Bombay firms were possessed of ample means, and to a limited extent this is still the case. It was then the practice for these agents or correspondents to purchase or make advances against consignments of manufactured goods, either on their own account, or jointly with their Indian friends, who sold the invoice on arrival, and remitted home the proceeds in bills of exchange or in some article of produce. Under the new *régime* this is no longer the case. The London firm have a little credit and less money; but they cannot accept bills drawn against goods to be shipped either on the manufacturers' or their Indian friends' account. This done, the bills are discounted, and so the manufacturer is reimbursed. The goods—grey cloths from Manchester perhaps—are shipped; and then the London merchant, who has not paid a farthing for them, is enabled to draw against them on his India correspondent, through a bank, who takes the bill of lading for security; and in this way the shipper obtains hard cash, with which he buys another parcel of goods—metals, possibly—ships these, draws against them, and with these fresh means repeats the operation, which, it is clear, may be thus carried on to a large extent. Before the first parcel of goods can be sold at Bombay or Calcutta, the manufacturer's bill upon the shipper falls due, and is met by a renewal; that is, by another bill drawn in a similar manner, and understood to be for the purpose of being discounted, to enable the accepter of the first bill to take it up, in other words, to pay it when presented.

"Meanwhile the goods arrive at their destination. The agent of the London bank who advanced money upon them holds the bills of lading; and to get these, and consequently the goods, the 'Calcutta correspondent' applies to his banyan, who at once does the needful, redeems the grey goods from their bondage, and sells them for his principal. The proceeds are now remitted home in sugar, or silk, or indigo, the bills of lading for which are forwarded to the London house, which at once draws against it, in order to meet the 'renewals' of the Manchester bills then falling due; finally, the produce-broker in Mincing Lane makes an advance to the importer on the arrival of the sugar or indigo, which enables him to redeem the bills of lading from the strong box of the bank, and the goods are sold.

"So long as the selling prices at both ends leave a shadow of profit over and above the amount of commissions and other charges, all goes on well. The shipper, the banker, the correspondent, the banyan, the London broker, the Manchester manufacturer, all are content. The operations are extended considerably, the commercial wheel is kept moving, money is made, the houses at both ends obtain the reputation of doing a large stroke of business, the partners are looked upon as sharp, shrewd men, and although there may be a few bad debts, a few losses, and now and then a heavy year, the books show a large amount of commissions earned. Still the banyan is a large creditor, though by interest, per centage, &c., he has cleared off more than the amount of their liabilities to him. One or two bad seasons follow rather rapidly; the house has invested largely in estates, an operation popularly termed developing the resources of the country; the banyan becomes rather more troublesome and overbearing than of wont; the senior partner takes alarm, withdraws with a hundred thousand pounds, and twelve-months afterwards the firm suspend payment for a million and a half sterling, at which nobody is in the least degree surprised, except the banyan, who wonders how they managed to keep up so long. This, reader, is a faint, and no doubt an imperfect sketch of the course of operations of an Indian commercial house of the present time; and it deserves a place in these pages, as illustrative of that Saxon energy of character, that fine spirit of enterprise which so distinguishes the

men of Liverpool and Glasgow, and by means of which they rear gigantic fabrics out of literally nothing. Here we have seen how a fortune of a hundred thousand, and an insolvency of a million and a half, had their first origin in nothing more than a few bales of Manchester 'grey goods.'" *

It is alleged that within the last two or three years an improvement has taken place; that more capital is embarked in commercial undertakings; that the finance of commerce is conducted on sounder principles; and that the commercial morality of bankers and merchants stands higher than at any previous time.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

### SCIENCE AND ART OF THE HINDOOS.

LITTLE acquaintance can be had with the condition of any people, and a very imperfect opinion can be formed of their prospects, unless information be possessed concerning their progress in science and art. Of late years the state of the ancient Hindoos in these respects has been investigated with pertinacious inquisitiveness; their ancient writings have been ransacked for the purpose by scholars whose capacity was equal to the self-imposed task. The state of the people of Hindostan as to science, and to a great extent even as to art, is now what it was two thousand years ago, notwithstanding the invasions which have swept over portions of their country by peoples more advanced in these particulars. The colleges and schools established by the English for the advantage of native youth, both of the higher and lower classes, have effected but little,—except so far as the religious influence extended. The number of educated natives of the wealthy classes who have a knowledge of European science, and a perception of the fine arts as cultivated in Europe, is, however, steadily increasing.

The progress both of science and art among all ancient peoples seems to have run a similar course. The science of astronomy seems universally to have been the first cultivated; and the natives were familiar with the phenomena of the heavenly bodies, and philosophised concerning them, long before sublunary subjects of investigation engaged their attention. This is not difficult to account for. A philosopher, to whom economical science in Great Britain owes much, has thus given the rationale of the fact:—

"There are various causes which render astronomy the very first of the sciences which is cultivated by a rude people: though from the distance of the objects, and the consequent mysteriousness of their nature and motions, this would seem not to be the case. Of all the phenomena of nature, the celestial appearances are, by their greatness and beauty, the most strikingly addressed to the curiosity of mankind. But it is not only their greatness and beauty by which they become the first objects of a speculative curiosity. The species of objects in the heavens are few in number; the sun, the moon, the planets, and the fixed stars. All the changes, too, which are ever observed in these bodies, evidently arise from some difference in the velocity and direction of their several motions. All this formed a very simple object of consideration. The objects, however, which the inferior parts of nature presented to view, the earth and the bodies which immediately surround it, though they were much more familiar to the mind, were more apt to embarrass and perplex it, by the variety of their species, and by the intricacy and seeming irregularity of the laws or orders of their succession. The variety of meteors in the air, of clouds, rainbows, thunder, lightning, winds, rain, hail, snow, is vast, and the order of their succession seems to be most irregular and inconstant. The species of fossils, minerals, plants, animals, which are found in the waters and near the surface of the earth, are still more intricately diversified; and if we regard the different manners of their production, their mutual influence in altering, destroying, supporting one another, the orders of their succession seem to admit of an almost infinite variety. If the imagination, therefore, when it considered the appearances in the heavens, was often perplexed and driven out of its natural career, it would be much more exposed to the same embarrassment, when it directed its attention to the objects which the earth presented to it, and when it endeavoured to trace their progress and successive revolutions." *

The admirers of everything Indian have praised the attainments of the Hindoos in the science of astronomy. Sir William Jones has given them credit for an amount of erudition in this direction, only to be accounted for by his kindly feeling to the people begetting a

* *Rise and Progress of the British India Possessions.*

* Dr. Adam Smith's *Essays*, pp. 97, 98.

generous credulity of anything alleged in their favour, and of their own pretensions to an enlightened antiquity. Mr. Mill, on the other hand, seldom credulous when the glory or greatness of the Indian race is concerned, unsparingly decrys the claims which their panegyrists urge on their behalf. Professor Playfair, of the University of Edinburgh, who, in his good opinion of early Indian science, was, according to Mill, a disciple of Monsieur Bailly, the distinguished French mathematician, gives the following estimate of the Indian astronomers of modern times:—

"The astronomy of India gives no theory, nor even any description of the celestial phenomena, but satisfies itself with the calculation of certain changes in the heavens, particularly of the eclipses of the sun and moon, and with the rules and tables by which these calculations must be performed. The Brahmin, seating himself on the ground, and arranging his shells before him, repeats the enigmatical verses that are to guide his calculation, and from his little tablets and palm-leaves, takes out the numbers that are to be employed in it. He obtains his result with wonderful certainty and expedition; but having little knowledge of the principles on which his rules are founded, and no anxiety to be better informed, he is perfectly satisfied, if, as it usually happens, the commencement and duration of the eclipse answer, within a few minutes, to his prediction. Beyond this, his astronomical inquiries never extend; and his observations, when he makes any, go no further than to determine the meridian line, or the length of the day at the place where he observes." *

Professor Wilson of Oxford, reviewing the different opinions entertained, thus sums up the evidences adduced:—"As compared with the state of astronomical science in modern times, Hindoo astronomy, of course, is far from excellence, as Schlegel remarks, 'Il n'est pas besoin de faire de gros livres pour le prouver;' it is, perhaps, inferior to the astronomy of the Greeks, but it exhibits many proofs of accurate observation and deduction, highly creditable to the science of Hindoo astronomers. The division of the ecliptic into lunar mansions, the solar zodiac, the mean motions of the planets, the precession of the equinoxes, the earth's self support in space, the diurnal revolution of the earth on its axis, the revolution of the moon on her axis, her distance from the earth, the dimension of the orbits of the planets, the calculation of eclipses, are parts of a system which could not have been found amongst an unenlightened people. That the antiquity of the Hindoo astronomy has been exaggerated is no doubt true, but there is no reason to conceive that it is not ancient. Even Bentley himself refers the contrivance of the lunar mansions to B.C. 1424, a period anterior to the earliest notices of Greek astronomy, and implying a course of still earlier observation. The originality of Hindoo astronomy, if this era be granted, is at once established, but it is also proved by intrinsic evidence, as although there are some remarkable coincidences between the Hindoo and other systems, their methods are their own. 'If there be any resemblances,' says Professor Wallace, 'they have arisen out of the nature of the science, or from what the Indians have borrowed from the Arabians, who were instructed by the Greeks, rather than from anything borrowed from the Indians by the Arabians or the Greeks.' * There is no occasion to suppose the Greeks were instructed by the Hindoos, but the Arabians certainly were. Their own writers affirm that Indian astronomers were greatly encouraged by the early caliphs, particularly Haroun-al-Reschid and Al Mamun; they were invited to Bagdad, and their works were translated into Arabic.* The Hindoos were, fully as much as the Greeks, the teachers of the Arabians."

. The divisions of the zodiac among the Birmans, as well as among the Brahmins, are the same as among Europeans; and Dr. Buchanan, as well as Sir William Jones, ascribes to them a Chaldaic origin. Much of the reputation of the Hindoos for early astronomical knowledge, founded upon ancient writings, is accounted for by Dr. Buchanan by the fact of the necessity for renewing the writing at short intervals, because of the fragile quality of the paper. Upon every such renewal the learned doctor opines that such additional knowledge as had gained access into India would, by the Brahminical transcribers, be linked with the original, in order to support the authority of the caste for ancient learning, and so sustain their power over such portions of the people as would be likely to be reached through such media of influence. This view is reasonable, for the Brahmins arrogated the exclusive possession of learning; and, as Mr. Mill well observes, in promoting an admiration of it among the people, they were promoting an admiration of themselves.

Forming an impartial judgment upon the arguments of the Philo-Indians, and those who are unfavourable to the extravagant claims set up by them, it must be pronounced

* *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.* Playfair on the *Astronomy of the Brahmins*, vol. ii. pp. 138, 139.

* *An Account of British India.*

that astronomy was at a very remote period cultivated by the Hindoos, and that the probability is that they derived it, with the elements of their religion, from the Chaldeans. For very many centuries the Hindoo philosophers made no progress; and since the first settlement of Europeans on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, any scientific progression is due to what has been learned from them.

The works transmitted to the present time are scientific treatises and tables. The principal among the former is called the *Surya Siddhanta*, upon which those of the latter description have been based. The pretensions made for the extreme antiquity of the *Surya Siddhanta* have vanished before proper investigation. Of the tables based upon this book there are four, known to Europeans as the *Tirvalore Tables*.

It has been observed that the Hindoos divided the zodiac, and designate those divisions, in nearly the same manner as the Arabs, from whom the European mode is derived. The signs are thus noted:—

*Mesha*, the Ram.
*Vrisha*, the Bull.
*Mit'hunna*, the Pair.
*Carcota*, the Crab.
*Sinha*, the Lion.
*Canya*, the Virgin.
*Tula*, the Balance.
*Vrischica*, the Scorpion.
*Dhanus*, the Bow.
*Macara*, the Sea-monster.
*Cumbha*, the Ewer.
*Mina*, the Fish.

The imperfect notion of the planetary system from which our days of the week were originally taken is the same with theirs, showing also a common origin of their ancient system and our own. *Addita*, the sun; *Toma*, the moon; *Brahaspati*, Jupiter; *Mangala*, Mars; *Bonta*, Mercury; *Soucra*, Venus; *Sanni*, Saturn. Their week begins on Friday, and the days are thus named:—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. *Soncravaram* | or day of | Venus . . . . | Friday. |
| 2. *Sanivaram* | „ | Saturn . . . | Saturday. |
| 3. *Additavaram* | „ | the Sun . . . | Sunday. |
| 4. *Somavaram* | „ | the Moon . . | Monday. |
| 5. *Mangalavaram* | „ | Mars . . . . | Tuesday. |
| 6. *Boutavaram* | „ | Mercury . . | Wednesday. |
| 7. *Brahaspativaram* | „ | Jupiter . . . | Thursday. |

To find the latitude of a place, the Hindoos observe the length of the shadow of a perpendicular gnomon when the sun is in the equator, and compute the angle which their instrument makes with the line drawn from its top to the extremity of the shadow. The longitude is found by observations of lunar eclipses calculated from the meridian of Lanca, which passes through Ongein, in the Mahratta country.

A glance at the chronology of the Hindoos will appear in the opening chapter on their history. The claims made for their nation by the Brahmins, to an antiquity beyond the existence of man according to the Scripture account and the chronologies of Archbishop Usher, and Hales, are too absurd to require confutation. Those claims have been submitted to every test applicable to the subject, and the result has been irrefragable proof that they are spurious: the astronomical tests by which they have been tried have especially furnished a complete and obvious confutation, and a confirmation of the Christian Scriptures, wherever such could incidentally arise.

Closely connected with astronomy, mathematical science must of necessity be found; and accordingly the Hindoos, at a very remote period, had made progress in that science. They demonstrated the properties of triangles; they understood that of the area being expressed in the terms of the three sides; they were aware of the proportion of the radius to the circumference of a circle. The *Surya Siddhanta*, already referred to, contains a treatise on mathematics as well as astronomy. Interwoven with many absurdities, this book contains a rational system of trigonometry, which differs entirely from that first known in Greece or Arabia. In fact, it is founded on a geometrical theorem, which was not known to the geometricians of Europe before the time of Vieta, about two hundred years ago. And it employs the sines of arcs, a thing unknown to the Greeks, who used the chords of the double arcs. The invention of sines has been attributed to the Arabs; but it is possible that they may have received this improvement in trigonometry, as well as the numeral characters, from India.*

The supposition of Professor Leslie (of the chair of moral philosophy in Edinburgh), that the Arabs derived their trigonometrical science and their numeral characters from India, is generally disputed; and some maintain, notwithstanding the high and well-grounded claims of the Hindoos to considerable attainments in geometery, that the Arabs had been their teachers, and that both had received their knowledge from a more ancient race. The invention of some signs by which to record and preserve the results of arithmetical computations seems almost as necessary as language itself, and would be undoubtedly coeval with, if not anterior to, written language. According to Prescott, the Mexicans had from time immemorial signs for numbers; Humboldt also affirms this. Algebraic signs have given rise to similar discussion, arising

* *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*—Geometry.

from the facts, that we have received these signs from the Arabians, and that their neighbours, the Hindoos, possessed the like from an extreme antiquity. It seems a palpable *non sequitur* to affirm that the Arabians derived this invention from the Indians; but the admirers of the latter very energetically maintain it on no better evidence. The algebraic forms which Europe obtained from Arabia were little better than signs for *words*; they were rather stenographic than scientific. Mr. Colebrooke, the great Sanscrit scholar, attributes to the Arabians a knowledge of algebra anterior to that possessed by the Hindoos, but he considers it next to certain that they derived it immediately from the Greeks. He, however, gives the Hindoos credit for an independent progress, displaying superior mental endowments, perseverance, and discriminating study, and indicating a high degree of very early civilization. Mr. Mill, who is extremely jealous of the claims of that race to any considerable civilization at a remote period, takes advantage of an admission of Mr. Colebrooke, that the object for which the Hindoos studied mathematics was to aid them in astrology, and that astronomy was pursued for astrological purposes. Upon this acknowledgment Mr. Mill founds a decision, so far as Mr. Colebrooke's evidence goes, that the civilization of the Hindoos must have been inferior when sciences of such value were prosecuted for objects so worthless and foolish. Professor Wilson, whose edition of Mill is more properly a confutation than a continuation of that work, makes the following remarks:—"The authority of Professor Wallace is recognised by Mr. Mill, and his conclusions from Mr. Colebrooke's publication are of a very different complexion from those of the text. The *Surya Siddhanta*, he states, contains a very rational system of trigonometry. In expressing the radius of a circle in parts of the circumference the Hindoos are quite singular. Ptolemy, and the Greek mathematicians, in their division of the radius, preserved no reference to the circumference. The use of sines, as it was unknown to the Greeks, forms a difference between theirs and the Indian trigonometry. Their rule for the computation of the lines is a considerable refinement in science first practised by the mathemetician Briggs. However ancient a book may be in which a system of trigonometry occurs, we may be assured it was not written in the infancy of the science. Geometry must have been known in India long before the writing of the *Surya Siddhanta*. The age of Brahmagupta is fixed with great probability to the sixth or beginning of the seventh century, a period earlier than the first dawn of Arabian sciences. Aryabhatta appears to have written as far back as the fifth century, or earlier; he was therefore almost as old as the Greek algebraist Diophantus. The *Lilavati* treats of arithmetic, and contains not only the common rules of that science, but the application of these to various questions on interest, barter, mixtures, combinations, permutations, sums of progression, indeterminate problems, and mensuration of surfaces and solids. The rules are found to be exact, and nearly as simple as in the present state of analytical investigation. The numerical results are readily deduced; and if they be compared with the earliest specimens of Greek calculation, the advantages of the decimal notation are placed in a striking light. In geometry, though inferior in excellence to the algebra, there is much deserving of attention. We have here the celebrated proposition that the square on the hypothenuse of a right-angled triangle is equal to the squares on the sides containing the right angle, and other propositions, which form part of the system of modern geometry. There is one proposition remarkable—namely, that which discovers the area of a triangle when its three sides are known. This does not seem to have been known to the ancient Greek geometers. In algebra the Hindoos understood well the arithmetic of square roots, and the general resolutions of equations of the second degree, which it is not clear that Diophantus knew—that they attained a general solution of indeterminate problems of the first degree—which it is certain Diophantus had not attained—and a method of deriving a multitude of answers to problems of the second degree when one solution was discovered by trial, which is as near an approach to a general solution as was made until the time of La Grange. Professor Wallace concludes by adopting the opinion of Playfair on this subject—'that before an author could think of embodying a treatise of algebra in the heart of a system of astronomy, and turning the researches of the one science to the purposes of the other, both must have been in such a state of advance as the lapse of several ages and many repeated efforts of inventors were required to produce.' This is unanswerable evidence in favour of the antiquity, originality, and advance of Hindoo mathematical science, and is fatal to all Mr. Mill's references and conjectures. We have also historical evidence that the Arabs derived their mathematical sciences in part from the Hindoos; and we have every reason, from the differences of method, and in some instances superiority of progress, as well as from the absence of all evidence to the contrary, to conclude that the

Hindoos were as little indebted to the Greeks. A people who had pursued for ages researches of this nature could not have been merely upon the threshold of civilization. The test of civilization proposed by Mr. Mill, and the school to which he belonged, 'utility,' will not be generally admitted in the restricted sense in which he employs the term: but even that is inapplicable, for in the estimation of those nations amongst whom astrology was credited what could, in their eyes, be more useful than rules of conduct derived from astrological calculation? It is not true, however, that the mathematical sciences of the Hindoos were applied to astrology alone, as the greater number of the results which their arithmetic, algebra, and geometry, and even their astronomy, afford, have no relation to that kind of knowledge, but are indispensable to the ordinary purposes of social life."

Although the bias of Colebrooke and Wilson, in common with nearly all the company's officers, civil or military, who have served in India, in favour of the Hindoos, is obvious throughout the arguments they maintain in favour of the early possession by that people of a civilization of a superior type, and although the jealousy entertained by Mr. Mill of the statements and arguments of the writers of that school however learned and honest, was wise and necessary—yet, in this case, the impartial reader cannot refuse the weight of evidence to be on the side of the Philo-Hindoos. The early mathematical knowledge of the Indians, wheresoever derived and whatever the objects for which they prosecuted it, was very extensive; so as to excite surprise when the little improvement made afterwards, through so long a period, is considered. Notwithstanding the allegation of Professor Wilson, in reply to Mr. Mill, as to the social and practical purposes for which the Hindoos studied mathematics, the assertion of the latter gentleman is not invalidated. The *main object* for which such studies were valued, was their supposed subservience to astrology; and upon this, in all its absurdity, the time, talent, and energies of the scientific Hindoos were wasted. There is little evidence of any extensive application of the science of Hindostan to practical and social purposes; while it must be obvious to Professor Wilson, that astrological practices and studies were intensely followed.

The ancient natives of India had made less progress in geography than in any other science. This surprises the student of Indian history, when he is told of a people so far skilled in mathematics and astronomy, as authorities quoted in the foregoing pages allege. So far as the geography and topography of India were concerned, or at all events portions of India, there was an accurate knowledge, but beyond India little was known. Allusion is made to a people called Chinese, who resided in the north-west, who it is supposed were the early occupiers of the vast land to the east now called China, or who overrun that country, conquering an earlier race of inhabitants. The country of China was known to them, and something of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. The Scythians and Greeks made themselves known on Indian soil, and are spoken of as the Sacæ, and the Yawans, or Javans. A very imperfect knowledge was formed of the direction of the countries from which these warlike intruders came. The Persians and Egyptians were known to the Indians from the connection maintained with India by these people, as noticed on other pages. Some have maintained that the Egyptians themselves are an Indian race.

In the eighth century a Hindoo writer, describing the different languages spoken in the world, says that there are four barbarian tongues. The Parasica (by which the Persians are evidently meant); the Yavana (intended for the Greek); the Raumaen (obviously the Roman or Latin); the Barbera, a generic name for the languages which they could not characterise.

Of chemistry, or any other of the natural sciences, they had no knowledge, but practised a rude alchemy, without appearing to have stumbled by its instrumentality upon any important discoveries.

Botany was less studied, and so far as it was studied, was less systematically and successfully pursued than would be readily supposed of an ingenious people, such as the Indians are represented to be, and in a country prolific in the produce of the soil.

The arts, and especially those most intimately connected with science, evidently did not flourish so much as the Philo-Indians love to represent, and are themselves so ready to believe, upon slender evidence.

Agriculture is not one of the earliest attainments of man, although the cultivation of the soil is a necessity to them, unless when the nature of their country, and the scantiness of the population lead rather to the wild and unsettled life of the hunter and fisher. Probably no ancient people equalled the Egyptians in the knowledge of proper cultivation of the soil, except the Jews, who acquired from them their knowledge. The institutions of Moses were much better adapted than the institutions of Menu to regulate the relations of classes, and secure the occupation of the land on a system the most enlightened. There

is great diversity in the present cultivation. Professor Wilson, in his vigilantly performed task of showing Mill to be in error, thus eulogises the present agriculture of India :—"That there is much slovenliness in Indian agriculture may be admitted, but Hindoo cultivators are by no means deficient in common observation and good sense, and are regulated in their proceedings by a knowledge of their soil and climate; in which the heavy implements and laborious culture of Europe would be wholly out of place. To say that the Indian farmer is ignorant of the fittest season for sowing is the contradiction of known facts; as nothing can be more regular than the periodical recurrence of the harvests. Nor is the Indian farmer unacquainted with the advantage of a rotation of crops; although, in general, the soil does not require it:—where, as in the case of sugar-cane, the produce exhausts the soil, we have Dr. Roxburgh's evidence that the Indians 'do not attempt to rear a second crop oftener than every third or fourth year; allowing the land either to rest, or employing it for the growth of such plants as are found to improve the soil; *of which the Indian farmer is a perfect judge.*'* Few persons had better opportunities of estimating the character of Indian agriculture than Sir Thomas Munro, and he calls it 'a good system.'"†

A gentleman who resided in India, and is certainly an impartial observer, gives an account which scarcely harmonises with that of the learned and amiable professor:—"With such a soil, and at the same time with so few inducements to exercise any agricultural ingenuity, the Hindoo raises most of his vegetable productions in a very imperfect and inferior condition. Indifferently grown, often taken from the ground before reaching maturity, imperfectly cured, badly housed, and taken to market in a slovenly and dirty condition, the agricultural productions of Hindostan are all highly susceptible of improvement. That this is so, there cannot be a greater proof than in the vast changes effected in some articles which have been taken in hand by Europeans. Wherever their skill and capital have been brought to bear, we find a perfect revolution effected in the quality and value of the productions grown or manipulated; and, although in the article of cotton not nearly so much has been accomplished as in other produce, an improvement is still visible in that valuable staple."‡ Again the same author describes the general appearance of the country as to its agricultural aspect:—"An agricultural district in the East bears but small resemblance to such a tract in England. No hedges mark the boundary of every field, or the possessions of each cultivator; no stacks of corn greet the eye; no well-filled barns stud the country. A row of stones,* or a small ridge of earth, defines the extent of the ryots possessions; while rice, cotton, fine grain, and tobacco, may be seen growing in close proximity, as though the seed had been scattered over the land by the merest caprice."

The character of the agricultural implements given by the author of the *Three Presidencies of India*, is precisely that given by Mr. Mill, with whose strictures upon Indian agriculture Professor Wilson is so much displeased. Mr. Capper, with the desire evidently of describing things as they are and have been, and without any reference to disputed questions of ancient Indian civilization, observes:—"There is little doubt that in their agriculture as in many other matters, the Hindoo pursues identically the same system as was followed by his ancestors at the commencement of the Christian era. The agricultural implements of the natives of India are simple to rudeness. Their ploughs are usually of a light and fragile description, only calculated, and indeed only required, to make a slight entrance into the friable soil. These are of hard wood, and drawn by one or at most two bullocks or buffaloes. A heavier iron-shod plough is occasionally employed on ground that is rather stiff, or which has perhaps become weedy or less fruitful, and therefore requires somewhat deeper ploughing. Their harrows consist of a mere board pierced with rough pegs, or more frequently a tree, upon which a weight is set, or some children are seated, to give it the necessary pressure. These, and a hoe and mattock comprise the entire stock of farming utensils." This passage not only gives a picture of the present, but past, life of agricultural India for thousands of years. This photograph of the Indian cultivator agrees with the representations presented of other oriental nations in remote ages. Dr. Jahn, in his *Biblical Antiquities*, gives the following account of the agricultural instruments of the Jews, in the earliest and in advanced periods:—"The culture of the soil was at first very simple, being performed by no other instruments than sharp

* *Asiatic Annual Register*, 1802; *Tracts*, p. 8.

† Evidence, 1813

‡ *The Three Presidencies of India*, by John Capper, F.R.A.S.

* "The custom of marking the boundaries of lands by stones, although it prevailed a long time before (Job xxiv. 2) was confirmed and perpetuated in the time of Moses by an express law, and a curse was pronounced against him who, without authority, removed them."—*Biblical Antiquities*, by JOHN JAHN, D.D.

sticks. By these the ground was loosened, until spades and shovels, and not long after ploughs, were invented. All these implements were well known in the time of Moses. (Deut. xxiii. 13; Gen. xlv. 6; Job i. 14.) The first plough was doubtless nothing more than a stout limb of a tree, from which projected another shortened and pointed limb. This being turned into the ground made the furrows; while at the further end of the longer branch was fastened a transverse yoke, to which the oxen were harnessed. At last a handle was added, by which the plough might be guided. So that the plough was composed of four parts; the beam, the yoke, which was attached to the beam, the handle, and what we should call the coulter. (1 Sam. xiii. 20, 21; Micah iv. 3.)* It was necessary for the ploughman constantly and firmly to hold the handle of the plough, which had no wheels; and that no spot might remain untouched, to lean forward and fix his eyes steadily upon it. (Luke ix. 62.)† The staff by which the coulter was cleared served for an ox-goad. In the East, at the present day, they use a pole about eight feet in length, at the largest end of which is fixed a flat piece of iron for clearing the plough, and at the other end a spike for spurring the oxen. Hence, it appears that a goad might answer the purpose of a spear, which indeed had the same name. (1 Sam. xiii. 21; Judg. iii. 31.) Sometimes a scourge was applied to the oxen. (Is. x. 26; Nah. iii. 2.) There seems to have been no other harrow than a thick clump of wood, borne down by a weight, or a man sitting upon it, and drawn over the ploughed field by oxen; the same which the Egyptians use at the present time. In this way the turfs were broken in pieces. At a later period wicker-drags came into use, which Pliny mentions. (N. H. xviii. 43.) All the ancient vehicles were moved upon two wheels only."‡ Those used for agricultural purposes were extremely rude in construction.

The spirit of patient industry manifested by the natives is worthy of the highest praise. Were they not so wedded to their customs, and prejudiced against even the most advantageous changes, lest innovation should in any way affect their religion, or their injurious social distinctions, they are capable of carrying out improvements, originated by others, to ultimate success. Mr. Capper says that where irrigation has not been provided on a large scale by the local governments, it is throughout many parts of the country performed by the villagers themselves. "For miles the patient Hindoo will carry the tiny stream of water along the brow of mountains, round steep declivities, and across yawning gulfs over valleys, his primitive aqueducts being formed of stones, troughs, and hollow bamboos. Sometimes, in order to bring the supply of water to the necessary height, a bucket-wheel is employed, worked by oxen."

The following description of the dangers and difficulties of the poorer Indian agriculturist excites sympathy and interest, as well as furnishes information of the state of the ryots:—"Harvest-time is a season of anxiety to the Indian cultivator; for there are many destructive foes ready at this time to prey upon his little field. His sugar-canes may be swept away in one night by the ravages of the elephant, the wild boar, or the porcupine; his tobacco may be uprooted or trampled down by herds of wild swine; and his grain may be devoured in the ear, in open day, by flights of birds, which are everywhere most numerous and harassing. To guard against all these calamities, the ryot is compelled at the critical season to mount guard over his little tract of produce, which he usually does perched up in a sort of jungle-stage, open on all sides but covered at the top, whence he is able to watch the whole extent of his field, and by dint of cries and sundry artificial sounds, he is enabled to scare away all unwelcome intruders. The harvest being secured, the grain is trodden out by the feet of buffaloes, and the little that may remain, if indeed it be any, is carefully stored in deep pits lined with straw; but in too many cases all that the ryot retains possession of will be just sufficient for seed for his little tract of land at the next sowing time." With the above statements the accounts given by all modern travellers in India agree, who are not committed to some particular theory, religious, philosophical, or political, in connection with the character of the people, the country, or the government.

The art of weaving has been referred to when treating of the commerce of the country, the perfection to which the natives of India have for ages brought their manufacture of cotton and silk is notorious. In this the Indians share a reputation common to Asiatic nations from time immemorial. Some have attributed the art of weaving to the Hindoos, but it is certain that the Persians attained high eminence in it as far back as history can trace their usages. Pliny attributes the invention to Semiramis. According to Mr. Bryant it was in the city of Arachne that the art was first carried to any degree of perfec-

* Pliny (N. H. xviii. 47) speaks of ploughs constructed with wheels, which in his day were of recent invention.

† Pliny, N. H. xviii. 49, No. 2.

‡ Ward's *Library of Standard Divinity.*

tion. Mr. Mill describes the process of the manufacture in India as extremely rude:—"That ingenuity is in its infancy among the Hindoos, is shown by the rudeness still observable in the instruments of this their favourite art. The Hindoo loom, with all its appurtenances, is coarse and ill-fashioned to a degree, hardly less surprising than the fineness of the commodity which it is the instrument of producing. It consists of little else than a few sticks or pieces of wood, nearly in the state in which nature produced them, connected together by the rudest contrivances. There is not so much as an expedient for rolling up the warp. It is stretched out at the full length of the web, which makes the house of the weaver insufficient to contain him; he is therefore obliged to work continually in the open air, and every return of inclement weather interrupts him."

Dyeing, and printing on cloths, were arts as ancient probably as weaving; it appears to have been so with the Hindoos, for in all ages of which we have any record, their dyers were celebrated. Tennant, in his *Indian Recreations*, describes the beauty of "the painted cloths," which he appears to designate as painted because the dye was applied to them instead of the cloth being dipped in a vat. Staining by application of the colouring matter to the fabric was the most ancient form of dyeing. Tennant attributes the richness, brilliancy, and durability of the colours to the climate and the clearness of the water; but in many places the rivers of India, especially the large rivers, hold much earthy matter in solution, and are rendered opaque or discoloured by the substances which they carry in their current: the Brahmapootra and Ganges are so through a large extent of their course. It is more likely that the patient and ingenious method of preparing the dye stuffs, and the length of time taken in the processes of their application, will account for the purity and permanancy of colours in Indian textile fabrics.

The fine arts never flourished in India, although instances of genius and taste in this department have not been wanting there in either ancient or modern times. Those arts, however, which, without being classed with the fine arts, border on their domain and partake of their character, were much better known.

The jewellery of the Bengalees has been referred to in previous chapters. At the museum of the India-house magnificent specimens of the skill and taste of the Indian jeweller attest the talent of the natives in polishing gems and precious stones, and the chasing of gold and silver. These works are accomplished by the simplest tools, two or three of the rudest kind serving the purpose of numerous instruments of ingenious and scientific construction, which would be used in European processes. The time consumed by the oriental workman is, however, in proportion to the common construction of his tools. The rose chains of Trichinopoly exemplify the skill displayed in working the precious metals. The inlaid-work of Benares rivals most executions of Indian skill. Although the setting of precious stones is a work on which the Hindoos pride themselves, and for which many English writers demand large praise on their behalf, others impugn their taste in this particular occupation:—"Scarcely equal to their other productions are the works of the Indian jewellers: the setting of precious stones forms an exception to the general good taste and high finish of Eastern artificers. There is invariably a heaviness and total absence of propriety in the jewelled ornaments of India, which, despite the rare beauty of the gems, and the richness and profusion of the ornamental work lavished upon them, cannot fail to strike an European eye as singularly in contrast with their other mechanical productions, whether of the loom, the forge, or the crucible."*

The pottery of the Hindoos assumes the character of artistic excellence. In its general features it resembles the pottery of Egypt, and ancient specimens of the former rival in beauty the best specimens of the latter. Bengal is the chief seat of this art. In the Hyde Park Exhibition of 1851, the Indian department was rich in specimens; and in the South Kensington Museum, and in the Museum of the India-house, specimens are to be seen of kindred character.

Marble and petra dura vases, garden seats, ornamental vessels, and figures, are executed by the Indians with much delicacy and propriety of style. Specimens of such works may be seen in the London museums above-named.

The architecture of the Hindoos has of late years engaged much attention, and, like everything else connected with India, excited much discussion. There are two classes of architectural remains in India, which are very distinct: one class is of constructions cut in rocks, or formed in caves, the other of raised buildings. The notices of both have been so numerous when describing the various districts and cities in which they are, that it will not be necessary to dwell long on the subject here. The cave temples of Ellora, Ajunta, Elephanta, and Cashmere, are wonderful for their number. The mountains of Cashmere

* *The Three Presidencies of India.*

are said to contain twelve thousand, a number which is probably an exaggeration. Their magnitude is in some cases vast, and their peculiarities most striking. Perhaps there are none more celebrated and truly magnificent in their solemn vastness than the caves of Ajunta. They are situated in a wild and picturesque part of the peninsula, excavated from a portion of the huge ghauts, which, to the south of the valley of the Tapty, rises some hundreds of feet, and supports the great table-land of the Deccan. The entrance to the caves is through one of the many narrow and winding ravines which exist in various parts of these ghauts. They are twenty-seven in number, and vary as much in their size as in their form and degree of ornament. A few of them are vaulted without cells; but by far the greater number are monastic in construction, having cells and flat roofs. In one or two of these caves there exist no ornaments whatever beyond a reeded course over each of the cells; whilst in shape they are square, and about thirty-six feet each way. In others pillars are found; and here they have been used standing on the sills for the purpose of dividing the windows into three lengths. On the walls are sculptured various figures of lions, antelopes, and boys in attitudes of prayer, executed in the very best style of the Hindoos. It would appear that in more than one instance the walls have been stuccoed and painted; but of these works of art little now remains, not more than sufficient to determine their nature. The largest of these cave temples had at one time as many as twenty-nine pillars surrounding the nave; they are simple octagons, without either capital or base, and have been at one time elaborately decorated. The aisles in this cave are of stone, whilst the nave had evidently been ornamented with wood, which has now disappeared, with the exception of some of the pins and battens which served to fasten it to the rock, as also the fastenings of the ribs, which, having been sunk to some depth in the solid rock, still remain. The whole of the walls appear to have been covered with ornamental stucco-work; and on some of the pillars, as well as in the panels of the roof of the aisles, a few of the paintings still remain in tolerable preservation. There are also the remains of several inscriptions, but, with the exception of one on the exterior of the cave, high above the entrance, they are too imperfect to be of service. The external inscription alluded to is of some length, and in the Lath character, from which it may be inferred that these excavations were the work of the first or second century before our era.*

* *The Three Presidencies.*

The walls of some of the cave temples are covered with human figures; and Mr. Capper, no indiscriminate admirer of the Indians, thus describes them:—"Many are fully armed, and illuminated with scrolls and wreaths of flowers, whilst the pillars are gracefully and artistically formed. Some of these groupings are executed with a high degree of art, bearing in mind the age in which they must have been executed; they certainly leave the works of Europe of the same period far behind in perspective, grouping, and general details. The human figure is especially well executed. The character of all these caves is Buddhistical, the figure of that deity being found in several of them."

In the manipulation and laying on of their colours they were very successful—so much so, that at the present time many of the paintings to be found in these rock-cut temples appear as fresh and brilliant as though but the work of a few years since, whereas many of them must have existed for little less than two thousand years. In the paintings alluded to, especially those in Ajunta, there has been far more attention bestowed on the grouping than is usually met with in Hindoo works of art, and, at the same time, a nearer approach to modern notions of perspective.

There existed remarkable facilities for these extraordinary constructions such as few countries—if, indeed, any country—could present. A gentleman who has rendered large services to art, and has brought a more correct estimate of Indian art before the British public, says:—"The whole cave system of India is composed of horizontal strata of amygdaloid, and other cognate trap formations, generally speaking of very considerable thickness and great uniformity of texture, and possessing, besides, the advantage of their edges being exposed in perpendicular cliffs, so that no rock in any part of the world could either be more suitable for the purpose or more favourably situated than these formations are. They were easily accessible, and easily worked. In the rarest possible instances are there any flaws or faults to disturb the uniformity of the design; and when complete they afford a perfectly dry temple or abode, singularly uniform in temperature, and more durable than any class of temple found in any part of the world."* In India proper (without passing into the boundary of Cashmere, Scinde, or the Punjaub) there are about fifty groups of caves, and the number of distinct caves is about a thousand. Those which are of Jain and Brahminical origin, taken together, do not exceed a hundred; all the rest are Bud-

* *The Illustrated Handbook of Architecture.* By James Fergusson, M.R.I.B.A.

dhist temples or monasteries, the temples not exceeding thirty in number.

About nine-tenths of the caves known are on the western side of India. The oldest are those of Bahar, supposed to have been excavated B.C. 200. These are without decoration, square, with a sloping jammed doorway, narrower at the top than the bottom. The style is commonly called Egyptian; and similar constructions exist in Ethiopia, Etruria, Asia Minor, and Greece. Some of the Bahar caves were obviously temples, and these have decoration of form, but are gloomy and heavy. From the date at which these were constructed up to nearly the era of the Mohammedan conquest, the habit of forming cave temples and monasteries existed in India. It is, however, believed that the taste, skill, and zeal for their formation began to decline a few hundred years after the Christian era.

The group which is probably next in antiquity to that at Bahar is the Oodaygeeree, near Cuttack. The rocks were peculiarly adapted to excavation, and accordingly an opportunity was afforded to the excavators for more taste, variety, and grandeur of design and decoration. This group affords examples of all varieties of these residences, from the simple cell of the solitary ascetic to the rich and populous monastery. The small cells consist of rooms not more than ten or twelve feet square, with a porch of two pillars protecting the single doorway. The caves, however, were gradually extended in length, verandahs were formed in front of them, wings were projected at right angles with the principal façade, and, lastly, second stories were added to the height, so that the larger residences were capable of accommodating from forty to fifty monks. No shrine, nor any position in which one could be placed, is discoverable; and the probability therefore is, that these caves were attached to some sacred edifice which has long since disappeared.

In Western India the simplest form which the cave assumes is that of a square hall, surrounded by small cells. As the hall grows longer, first four, then twelve, and eventually a larger number of columns are introduced, to afford the necessary support to the superincumbent rock. At length, the worship having by this time degenerated considerably from its original purity, a sanctuary is added, which contains an image of Buddha, and sometimes two side chapels, with images of subordinate saints, sometimes male, sometimes female. The extreme depth of excavation required by the square arrangement offers an obstacle which appears to be perceived when the caves have attained a large size. A more oblong form is therefore subsequently adopted, and the sanctuary projected forward assists with the pillars in supporting the roof; by-and-bye it is even pushed out into the centre of the hall, and made to form the only real support. The decadence of the style has, however, here been reached, and the dignity and beauty of the composition have almost entirely disappeared.*

In their ornamentation the cave architects employed with great skill that system of equal distribution of both form and colour, the introduction of which to European notice was one of the successful results of the Great Exhibition of 1851, and which has since that time become the fashionable object of Western design, though the oriental artists to whom its invention is due are still without rivals in its employment. As regards the cave-pillars, where ornament is employed at all, it is not confined merely to the base and capital, but is spread nearly equally over the whole surface of the pillar, thus not only giving singular richness, but also, paradoxical as it may appear, greater simplicity, because the grand outline is thus uninterfered with, and the attention undistracted, by patches of too great brilliancy. The general mode of embellishment adopted in the caves is painting in some sort of distemper.† "In some of the older caves," says Mr. Fergusson, "not only the walls and roof, but even the pillars, are wholly covered with stucco, and ornamented with painting. This painting is divided, generally speaking, according to the following rule:—On the walls are extensive composition of figures and landscapes; on pillars single detached figures, representing either Buddha or Buddhist saints; while the paintings on the roof are almost invariably architectural frets and scrolls, often of extreme beauty and elegance, rivalling many of those at Pompeii and the Baths of Titus. This threefold division is in fact the only one admissible in good taste, or only with the slightest possible modification where figures and conventional ornaments are to be combined. At a later period many of the ornaments which had been painted on the earlier pillars came to be carved on them in relief, as happened in Europe on the transition from the Norman to the Gothic style. The pillars were naturally the first to undergo this transformation, but it was extended in some instances to the walls, and even to the roofs. In some cases there still exist traces of painting on these engraved ornaments, but it seems that in the last ages of the style, the architects were satisfied with the effect produced by the light and shade of bold reliefs, and abandoned

* *Bombay Review*, vol. v. No. II.

† Ibid.

colour to a considerable extent at least, if not altogether."

The cave temples date in the first century after Christ, and in the eight or nine following centuries; the best example is that of Karlee, and the other principal specimens are at Ellora and Kanari. They vary in dimensions from about a hundred and twenty-five feet in length by forty-five feet in width, to forty-five by twenty-three. The first objects which strike the visitor are two lion-pillars, resembling in some degree the lats described on another page. The outer porch is considerably wider than the body of the building, and is closed in front by a screen composed of two massive octagonal pillars, which support a plain face of rock ornamented by a wooden gallery. Above is a dwarf colonnade of four pillars, with pilasters, which, with a wooden cornice, complete the façade. Within this porch is the entrance, placed under a gallery, exactly corresponding with the rood loft of a Gothic cathedral, and consisting of three doorways, one leading to the centre, and one to each of the side aisles. The whole end of the hall above the gallery forms itself into one great horse-shoe window, through which all the light is admitted. The interior of the cave temple corresponds to a great extent with that of an early Christian basilica; it consists of a nave and side aisles, terminating in an apse or semi-dome, round which the aisle is carried. The pillars which separate the nave from the aisles have tall bases, octagonal shafts, and capitals, whose rich sculpture supplies the place occupied by frieze and cornice in Grecian architecture. In other examples plain painted surfaces occupy the same space. Above the columns springs the semicircular roof, ornamented either by a series of wooden ribs, or by imitations of them in stone. The aisles are dark, and the nave itself in comparative obscurity, but one undivided volume of light, passing through the single-arched opening overhead, falls directly upon an altar under the apse, which is the principal object in the temple, and which recalls the more ancient Buddhist tope or dagoba. "It certainly is," says Mr. Fergusson, "as solemn and grand as any interior can well be;" and when to the general mysterious gloom and the brilliancy of the sacred object are added the solemn associations of a mountainous and secluded situation, and the sound of the royal drum, whose rich tones reverberate from the rock-hewn dome, an effect is obtained which may well induce in the half-civilized worshipper every sensation of superstitious awe.

Intermediate, as it were, between the Buddhist caves and the structural edifices are the rock-cut Shaivite temple of Kylas, at Ellora, and the raths of Mahavellipore. The Kylas belongs to the ninth or tenth century; its general form is extremely similar to that of the southern Hindoo structural temples, externally as well as internally; for in this case the excavators were not satisfied with the more natural design of cutting away a chamber, like the Buddhists, in the rock, but aspired to the formation of a complete temple such as might have been erected in the plain. For the purpose of providing an exterior they were compelled to dig down into the rock, thus placing the temple "in a pit," and giving it much of the appearance of an exhumed edifice. At Mahavellipore, on the contrary, the carvers escaped this dilemma by the employment for their purpose of seven massive boulders of granite protruding from the sands on the edge of the ocean. The raths were excavated probably about A.D. 1300. Mr. Fergusson discovers in them close copies of the monasteries and temples of the Buddhist style of architecture—transition specimens in fact—which link that style with the architecture of the south of India. They are particularly valuable in reference to the older style, as rendering intelligible the external forms of buildings, of which the rock-hewn caves were probably merely internal copies. One of the raths "represents with great exactness all that we know and all that we read of the Buddhist monasteries;" a second exhibits to us the form of a cave temple such as that of Karlee, with the side aisles, however, open externally; a third displays an approximation to the many-pinnacled pyrimidal roof, common afterwards in Hindoo styles. The raised structures do not attest so much industry, nor so singular and original a character of mind on the part of their builders.

The admirers of everything Indian are extremely lavish in their praise of Indian architecture; and it is obvious that there is a disposition to decry it on the part of some who deemed it a duty to check the incessant praise of all things connected with the Hindoos, fashionable a short time ago. Mill, always on this side of the dispute, quotes with elaborate industry an array of authorities unfavourable to the architectural genius of the Hindoos. Sonnerat informs us "that the architecture of the Hindoos is very rude, and their structures in honour of their deities are venerable only from their magnitude." "Mailcotay," says Dr. Buchanan, "is one of the most celebrated places of Hindoo worship, both as having been honoured with the actual presence of an avatar, or incarnation of Vishnu, who founded one of the temples, and also as being one of the principal seats of the

Sri Vashnavam Brahmins, and having possessed very large revenues. The large temple is a square building of great dimensions, and entirely surrounded by a colonnade, but it is a mean piece of architecture, at least outwardly. The columns are very rude, and only about six feet high. Above the entablature, in place of a balustrade, is a clumsy mass of brick and plaster, much higher than the columns, and excavated with numerous niches, in which are huddled together many thousand images, composed of the same materials, and most rudely formed. The temple itself is alleged to be of wonderful antiquity, and to have been not only built by a god, but to be dedicated to Krishnu, on the very spot where that avatar performed some of his great works." Of the celebrated pagodas at Congeveram the same author remarks that "they are great stone buildings, very clumsily executed, both in their joinings and carvings, and totally devoid of elegance or grandeur, although they are wonderfully crowded with what are meant as ornaments." Elphinstone in the main agrees with Mill, but praises the tall columns as graceful. According to the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, Hindoo architecture is characterised by a profusion of columns, sometimes of slender construction, and raised to considerable elevation, sometimes massive, square at the base, octagon in the second division, having sixteen sides in the third architectural division, and round at the top. Various other columnal forms are described, and so various in their descriptions, that it would require a separate treatise to give the detail.

The interior temple ornaments are various and original, although some of the mouldings resemble those known in Europe. Frequently the walls are covered with representations of the gods, especially in their wars. A people whose ethical taste surrounds the glory of their deities with the enmities and havoc of war, are not likely to remain themselves at peace longer than their interests or weakness constrain. It should be no matter of surprise to those Europeans who have stood within these temples, that India has been a land of civil feud and foreign war throughout its history.

The chief defects of Hindoo architecture are want of boldness, grandeur, and proportion, with too minute attention to minor excellences, and an exuberance of ornament.

According to Mr. Fergusson, the architecture of the Hindoo temples differs in style in different parts of the country, that of the south more especially being well defined in its difference from the north. The southern Hindoo temple is enclosed in a rectangular court, the walls of which are high and plain externally, but internally ornamented by colonnades and cloisters, or buildings of various sorts adapted to the service of the sacred edifice. In the centre of the front wall, and in the corresponding position in the rear, are two gateways with lofty pyramidal roofs. A second inclosure succeeds the first, which exhibits, however, but one gate pyramid; within this again is the temple itself. The sacred building consists of two porches, or *mundups*, an ante-temple, or *pronaos*, and the *veeman*, which contains the object of worship. Each mundup is a square building, with a flat or pyramidal roof, and having a door on each of its four sides. The porches are sometimes detached from each other. When they are joined together the outer porch is open in front, so that it does not materially obstruct the passage of light to the interior. One of the principal objects of the architect is that of shrouding the adytum of the temple in mysterious darkness: he effects this partly by the ante-temple, which is usually of the same width as the cell, and about half as deep as it broad, and partly by excluding all light except such as is admitted by a single door. In addition to the principal shrine itself, the inclosures contain smaller temples, tanks of water, gardens, and colonnades or choultries. These last are of all grades, from the little pavilion supported on four pillars to the magnificent "hall of one thousand columns." "Their uses, too," says Mr. Fergusson, "are most various: in ancient times they served as porches to temples; sometimes as halls of ceremony, where the dancing-girls attached to the temples dance and sing; sometimes they are cloisters, surrounding the whole area of the temple; at others swinging porches, where the gods enjoy at stated seasons that intellectual amusement. But by far their most important application is when used as nuptial halls, in which the mystic union of the male and female divinities is celebrated once a year."

The details of these buildings can hardly be made intelligible without the aid of models. The veeman is square in plan, the perpendicular part of it is decorated with pilasters and niches, and supports a pyramidal roof, in small temples one story in height, but in the larger examples sometimes fourteen; the whole is invariably covered with a small dome-like termination, deriving its origin probably from the Buddhist tope. The gate-pyramid, or *gopoor*, is identical in form with the veeman, except that it is oblong instead of square in plan; its longer side is pierced with a gateway, and the circular crowning ornament is lengthened out to suit

the general shape of the building. In some cases the pillars of choultries are placed at equal regular intervals, and number as many as twenty-four in the width, but in others the central aisle is wider than the outer ones, and a space is thus presented which is too wide to be simply roofed by flat stones as in the smaller examples. A slender shaft is then added to the usual square pillar, and from thence a system of bracketing is carried up until the central space remaining to be roofed, has been sufficiently diminished in size.*

Mr. Fergusson expresses himself in terms of high admiration of the Southern Indian temples, which he affirms bear a striking similarity to the Temple of Jerusalem, as rebuilt by Herod, and described in the pages of Josephus. The great choultry Mr. Fergusson represents as corresponding with the Stoa Basilica, and the outer court with that of the Gentiles.

The style of temple architecture in Northern India, according to Mr. Fergusson, begins abruptly upon the line within which that of Southern India flourishes. Examples are found in Orissa. The temple and superstition of Juggernaut, at Orissa, were described in a former page. The northern temple is in plan nearly identical with its southern neighbour. It is surrounded by a square court, enclosed by high walls, perfectly plain externally, but on the interior ornamented by cloisters or colonnades. A square mundup, with a door on each face, stands in front of the great tower which contains the object of worship. There are sometimes two porches, but when this is the case, the foremost one is either wholly detached, or connected only in a slight and temporary manner. The door-ways of the porches project, and are very richly ornamented, and the whole walls are covered with sculpture of elaborate minuteness. Above the perpendicular part rises a roof divided horizontally into three stages; the lower portion of each face is adorned with a range of caryatides, the upper portion is formed by five or six projecting ledges of stone. The whole is crowned by a termination of singular grace and beauty, which resembles an inverted lotus, and upon which rests the finial, called in modern temples a *kulus*, and probably deriving its origin from the umbrella ornament of the Buddhist style. The lower part of the tower corresponds exactly with that of the mundup, except that only the door opening into the porch is pierced, the others being filled in with sculpture. That which forms the distinguishing feature of the style is, however, the *shikur*, or spire, which rises above the cell containing the sacred object: it is no longer pyramidal in outline, but always curvilinear or bell-shaped; the divisions are vertical instead of horizontal, as in Southern India; and the summit is crowned by the kulus just described. In advance of this style is that of the now desecrated temple at Barolli, in Upper India, situated in a wild and romantic spot near the falls of the Chumbul, whose distant roar in the still night is the only sound that breaks the silence of the solitude which surrounds them. This is also a temple of Siva, and it was erected, in Mr. Fergusson's opinion, "probably in the eighth or ninth century." Its general outline is identical with that of the Orissan temples, but the porch, instead of being essentially astylar, or devoid of pillars as heretofore, is now columnar; and in front of it is a detached porch, called—perhaps from its having been employed in similar festivals with those to which we have seen the choultries of Southern India were principally dedicated—a *choree*, or marriage-hall.* Another style kindred to that of Northern India is called by Mr. Fergusson the Jain style, but by other and still more recent writers the Gujerat style, for the reason that it was not confined to the objects of the Jain religion. It would appear, however, to have originated with the professors of that creed. A description of the difference of this style from the styles of Northern India generally would be too technical for a popular and general work. There is a representation of one of these buildings in a work called *Ras Mâlá, or Hindoo Annals of the Province of Gujerat*,† which will afford the general reader a good idea of their character. The dome in this description of temple is extremely elegant. Colonel Tod, comparing its mode of construction with that of the domes of sacred buildings in the Western world, observes:—"One of the consequences of this mode of construction was, that all the decoration of the Indian domes was horizontal, or in other words, the ornaments were arranged in concentric rings one above the other, instead of being disposed in vertical ribs as in Roman or Gothic vaults. This arrangement allows of far more variety being introduced, without any offence to good taste, and practically has rendered some of these Jain domes the most exquisite specimens of elaborate roofing that can anywhere be seen. Another consequence deduced from this mode of construction was the employment of pendants from the centres of the domes, which are used to an extent that would have surprised even the Tudor architects of our own country. With them, however, the pendant

* *Bombay Quarterly*

* *Bombay Quarterly Review.*

† Richardson Brothers, Cornhill, 1856, vol. ii. p. 183

was an architectural *tour de force*, requiring great constructive ingenuity and large masses to counterbalance, and is always tending to destroy the building it ornaments; while the Indian pendant, on the contrary, only adds its own weight to that of the dome, and has no other prejudicial tendency. Its forms, too, generally have a lightness and elegance never even imagined in Gothic art; it hangs from the centre of a dome more like a lustre of crystal drops, than a solid mass of marble or of stone. 'It appears,' says the annalist of the Rajpoot clans, speaking of one of these pendants, 'like a cluster of the half disclosed lotus, whose cups are so thin, so transparent, and so accurately wrought, that it fixes the eye in admiration.'"

The Gujerat temple, however professional architects from Europe may enter into minute disquisitions as to the distinction of style, is very like that of Northern and Southern India, which also resemble one another in great national characteristics, notwithstanding the distinctions noticed. The temples of the province which gives its name to this peculiar style, consist of one or two mundups or porches, and a square tower containing the idol, and surmounted by a curvilinear spire. An enclosure containing pools, triumphal arches, and pillared halls, surround the temple proper, or *sanctum sanctorum* of the idolatry. The porch is sometimes detached, and it is then, as under similar conditions in other parts of India, called a choree or marriage-hall. In front, and on either side of the temple, is placed an ornamental frontispiece, called a *keerttee-stumbh*, or triumphal pillar. It is formed of two columns, with upper columns or attics, and double capitals. A *torun* of the circular form is placed between the columns, and touches at its upper point the centre of the entablature. Above is a cornice and curvilinear pediment, ending in a kulus. The whole frontispiece is covered with sculpture, from the base to the apex. The torun is a sort of truss placed between columns, which is skilfully used both to afford strength and decoration. The name was originally applied (and is still so used), to the garland of leaves, and the drapery festoons which are hung up at the doors of Hindoo houses on occasions of marriages and festivals. The application of the term to this particular feature of architecture is happy, and tastefully conceived. Frequently a koond or oblong reservoir of water is placed before the temple. It is surrounded on all four sides by flights of descending steps, with landings at intervals, and is ornamented with small niches placed chequer fashion. At the central points, with the exception of that nearest the temple, and at the four corners, are placed small shrines, with shikurs or spires. Some of these temples were two or three stories in height, but almost the only remaining example of this class—the Roodra Mala of Sidhpore, is too much mutilated to afford us full information upon the subject. The defect is partially supplied by the minarets of Mohammedan mosques, which follow most faithfully the old Hindoo forms, and afford—if for their arched and foliated panels we substitute idol-sculptured alto-reliefs—perfect representations on a small scale of the two stories of a shrine tower, to which the imagination may easily add the curvilinear spires.

The edifice thus described stood within a square or rectangular court, the enclosure of which was formed by numerous small temples similar in form and style to the principal building, but of considerably smaller dimensions, and possessing each but a single columnar mundup. In some cases a small distance was allowed to intervene between these, but in most they were actually connected. The towers and shikurs were always placed on the outside, and the porches towards the great temple. In the centre of the rearmost side of the enclosure three small temples were pushed somewhat backwards, so as to form a break in the line, and the other central points were occupied by three pillared halls pierced for gateways. If, as at Sidhpore, the temple was placed on the bank of a river, the front gateway opened upon a *ghat*, or flight of steps, which was carried for some distance along the edge of the stream. These portraitures are of the Gujerat temple in its most complete form. The shrines commonly met with are, however, rarely complete; some want the enclosure, or the reservoir, or both; others possess but one columnar mundup; and not a few dwindle down to the simple idol-tower and spire.

The temples hitherto described belong to the Brahminical faith; those of the Jain religion are, however, nearly identical in form, but the reservoirs being unadapted to its ceremonies, are always omitted. In Jain temples, and in those dedicated to Shree Krishn also, there are not unfrequently three spire-covered idol cells instead of one, and the central shikur is raised higher than the other two.

Gujerat contains several of the sacred mountains of the Jains. Mount Aboo, Girnar or Joonagurh, Shutroonjye or Paleetana, Taringa, and Tulaja. It is amidst the sublime natural scenery and romantic associations of these consecrated spots, that the architecture of the Jain faith is exhibited most impressively. The temples are here clustered

together in greater or less numbers, and the whole mass is surrounded by a fortified wall. At Palcetana especially, where, arranged in street after street, and square after square, and interspersed with subordinate buildings of a palatial character, with terraces, with reservoirs of water, and with gardens, they cover the rocky summit of the mountain, they impress the beholder with some such vivid ideas of sanctity, of beauty, and of power, as those with which the Jew of old must have contemplated, in her prime, the holy fortress-city of Mount Zion.

Perhaps the choicest examples of the style are those marble edifices which were erected about the middle of the eleventh century after Christ, upon Mount Aboo, and at Khoombhareea, upon the not far distant hill of Arasoor, by Veemul Sha, the viceregent of Bheem Dev I., King of Unhilpoor. At Khoombhareea the general features are almost identical with those of the Brahminical temples. At Aboo the temple of Veemul Sha has but one mundup, which is composed of forty-eight pillars, and is immediately connected with a double colonnade of smaller pillars, forming porticoes to a range of cells, fifty-five in number, which enclose the principal temple on all sides, exactly as in a Buddhist veehar. Externally, this temple is perfectly unadorned, and as the subordinate cells are without spires, there is nothing to indicate the magnificence within, except the shikur of the great temple peeping over the plain wall.

This system of connecting the central temple with the surrounding buildings, so as to form a more complete whole, is carried to perfection in the edifice which Koombho Rana, of Odeypore, erected at Ranpore, near Sadree in Mewar, "in a deserted glen running into the western slope of the Araullee, before his favourite fort of Komulmer." "It is nearly a square," says Mr. Fergusson, "200 feet by 225 feet, exclusive of the projection on each face. In the centre of this stands the great shrine, not, however, occupied as usual by one cell, but by four, or rather four great niches, in each of which is placed a statue of Adeenath or Rishub Dev, the first and greatest of the Jain saints. Above this are four other niches similarly occupied, opening on the terraced roofs of the building. Near the four angles of the court are four other smaller shrines, and around them, or on each side of them, are twenty domes, supported by about 420 columns; four of these domes, the central ones of each group, are three stories in height, and tower above the others; and one, that facing the principal entrance, is supported by the very unusual number of sixteen columns, and is 36 feet in diameter, the others being only 24 feet. Light is admitted to the building by four uncovered courts, and the whole is surrounded by a range of cells, most of them unoccupied, each of which has a pyramidal roof of its own. The immense number of parts in the building, and their general smallness, prevent its laying claim to anything like architectural grandeur; but their variety, their beauty of detail—no two pillars in the whole building being exactly alike—and the grace with which they are arranged, the tasteful admixture of domes of different heights with flat ceilings, and the mode in which the light is introduced, combine to produce an excellent effect. Indeed, I know of no other building in India of the same class, that leaves so pleasing an impression, or affords so many hints for the graceful arrangement of columns in an interior."

In their religious buildings the Mohammedans borrowed largely from the Hindoos, although bringing with them a style of architecture peculiar to themselves. The *Builder*, a professional periodical published in London, and celebrated for its architectural lore, has suggested that the derivation of western religious architecture from the East is more easily traceable than many suppose, and, *apropos*, relates the following anecdote:—"I remember once standing before the magnificent west front of Peterborough Cathedral, in company with an old Indian officer, when he said, 'Why, this is just what we see throughout the East; huge pointed portals running up to the top of the building; spires, pinnacles—everything like the minarets—the aspiring character of Mussulman architecture.' And this style came into general use very shortly after the great crusade. We do not say that the dogma *post hoc, ergo propter hoc* is always correct, but surely it is in this instance."

It should be remembered that the oldest architectural monuments in India are religious, and were not erected by the Brahmins, but by the seceders from the Brahminical religion, who adopted the Buddhist creed. The lats are the oldest of these, and are undoubtedly of an antiquity which can be traced for nearly two thousand two hundred years. They are pillars, technically called monoliths, very slender and graceful, and apparently erected for the purpose of receiving superscriptions. They are generally about forty feet high, and are surmounted by capitals crowned with seated lions. There are ornaments upon them which connect them with the architecture of Western Asia and Eastern Europe. These lats were placed before buildings set apart for worship, serving in this respect as "the keertlee stumlehs and deep malas" of mediæval and modern Hindoo architecture;

and as the two pillars—Joakim and Boaz—which Solomon placed before the temple in Jerusalem. The lats were placed before the buildings called topes. In Central India, at Sanchi, near Bhilastone, of the best preserved of these is to be seen, although its antiquity is very great, dating more than a century before the Christian era. "The topes were domed structures, rising from a circular and sloping base, and crowned by a square terminal with projecting cornice. A broad double ramp, or sloping platform, such as that which conducts to the summit of the Campanile of St. Mark, Venice, afforded access to the top of the base, and at this level there ran round the foot of the dome a balustraded terrace, which was probably employed in the circumambulations commonly used in the Buddhist ceremonials, as in those of the nations of classical antiquity, of the British Druids, and of the disciples of the Poorans. The topes sometimes contained relic chambers called *dagobas*, at other times they were mere solid mounds of brickwork faced with stone, over which was laid a thick coating of cement, adorned either with painting or ornaments in relief. The terminal, which was called a *tee*, consisted of a square box, probably at first of wood, and afterwards copied in stone; around the upper part of it was a frieze of horse-shoe-shaped window heads, and the cornice was formed by three horizontal slabs projecting one beyond the other. There can be very little doubt that it was, or at all events represented, a *chasse*, or relic box, and it is more than probable that originally the relic was placed not in the tope, but on the top of it; a supposition which would account for the absence of relic-chambers in one class of these structures. The terminal appears to have been frequently surmounted by one or more umbrellas—the common symbols of regal state—which, originally of wood, but afterwards copied in stone, assumed at length a strictly architectural character, and very nearly resembled the kulus, or water-vessel, which forms a common feature in temples of Vishnu or of Siva. The tope was enclosed by a balustrade of stone posts, connected by horizontal cross-pieces, and at regular intervals in the circle thus formed were four gateways. These consisted each of them of two square pillars richly sculptured, and terminating in bold elephant capitals; they rose above the balustrade, and were continued upwards beyond the capitals, forming, with three cross lintels, and the uprights inserted between them, frontispieces of a peculiar and striking character. In the immediate vicinity of the tope, caves and tumuli presented themselves to view, the former being the residences of priests, the latter for the most part burying-places, perhaps in some instances smaller relic shrines. The tumuli of India now remaining have no features which would entitle them to be regarded as architectural objects, but are remarkably analogous to the barrows of Europe and other parts of the world; it is probable, however, that many of them, like the tombs of Ceylon, Thibet, and other Buddhist countries, were decorated similarly with the topes. The dagobas, or copies of them, occupied the sanctuaries of the cave temples." *

The same authority supplies us with the following description of buildings for warlike purposes in the province where the style of sacred architecture just referred to is most generally found:—"The fortresses of Gujerat, such at least as are situated in the plains, are square, or nearly square, in form, with large gateways in the centre of each side, and outworks or barbicans in front, and second gateways in the sides of the outwork. At each corner is a bastion of the 'broken square' form, and four rectangular bastions intervened between each corner tower and the central gateway. The walls are of solid mason work, ornamented at intervals with sculptured bands, and completed by semicircular *kangras*, or battlements, screening the platformed way in the interior, along which the warders passed. The gateway resembles the nave of a southern choultry: there are six engaged pillars on either side, from which springs large brackets, or rather systems of three rows of bracketing, and upon these is laid a flat stone roof.† A colonnade follows the line of the walls on the inside, forming a lengthened covered portico, with a broad platform above. Each fortress contains reservoirs of water of two kinds: the first tank, the *surowur* or *tulow*; the second is the well, the *wav* or *bowlee*. Besides the sacred edifices and fortresses of the Hindoos, there are various other architectural remains.

The tanks may be considered not only as great and useful public works, but as affording in many cases opportunities for architectural skill and taste. These works were stupendous, covering frequently an area of several miles. Temples were built round their edges, and shrines were placed on the steps leading to them. This, however, was not so generally the case when they were constructed for irrigation, as when intended for religious lavations. At Veerumgaum there is a tank, which is crowned with three hundred shrines. At Unhilpore Puttem there is a tank, the shrines and other archi-

* *Bombay Quarterly Review.*

† For a view of one of these gateways, see *Ras Mâlâ*, vol. i. pl. i. For plans and elevation of corner towers, see figs. 1 and 2, vol. i. pp. 251, 252, of the same work.

tectural designs connected with which have long ago disappeared, which bears a name, meaning, "The reservoir of the thousand temples of Siva." The Mohammedans paid much attention to the preservation of these tanks, and frequently erected in the centre a mound, connected with the edge of the reservoir by a viaduct. These mounds were sites of tombs or garden palaces. It is likely that the Mohammedans derived this custom from the Buddhists, for in purely Buddhist countries, where large tanks are used, the habit of erecting small garden palaces on islands in the centre still exists.

The wells are broad and deep. Galleries pass round the walls, and flights of stone steps, admirably constructed, descend to the water.

The bridges were once numerous, but have fallen into decay; the remains of some are interesting in an architectural point of view. They are generally composed of stone posts, held together by beams of masonry, some of which are surmounted by small gothic arches.

The houses of the wealthy Hindoos are often mean and clumsy, but generally they are well adapted to the requisites of a private or palatial residence, as the case may be. In some places, as at Bombay and Serampore, considerable taste and much opulence is displayed by the more powerful natives. There is, however, a disposition to imitate the style of the English, whose dwellings are not erected in much better taste in India than at home.

The tombs are magnificent, especially those founded by Mohammedan princes. Several of them have been described in the chapters set apart to the subjects of provinces and chief cities. The mausoleum of Sheik Selim, at Futtehpore Sikree, is one of the finest, of which no description is given in previous pages. The celebrated Akbar, led by superstitious feelings, took up his residence at Sikree, and erected numerous edifices for religious and civil purposes. Captain Stocqueler gives the following account of them:—"The quadrangle, which contains a mosque on the west side, and the tomb of the old hermit in the centre, is perhaps one of the finest in the world. It is five hundred and seventy-five feet square, and surrounded by a high wall, with a magnificent cloister all around within. On the outside is a magnificent gateway, at the top of a noble flight of steps, twenty-four feet high. The whole gateway is one hundred and twenty feet in height, and the same in breadth, and presents beyond the wall five sides of an octagon, of which the front face is eighty feet wide. The arch in the centre of this space is sixty feet high by forty wide. The gateway is extremely grand and beautiful, composed of red sandstone, with inlaid decorations of marble; but the beholder is struck with the disproportion between the thing wanted and the thing provided. There seems to be something quite preposterous in forming so enormous an entrance for a poor diminutive man to walk through; and walk he must unless he is carried through on men's shoulders; for neither elephant, horse, nor bullock, could ascend the flight of steps. 'In all these places the staircases, on the contrary, are as disproportionately small. They look as if they were made for rats to crawl through, while the gateways seem as if they were made for ships to sail under.' The tomb of Sheik Selim, the hermit, is a very beautiful little building, in the centre of the quadrangle. It once boasted a great deal of mosaic ornament." The same author describes certain erections attributed to the Jats in the following terms:—"At Deeg is a noble quadrangular garden, constructed by the Jats during their ascendancy. It is four hundred and seventy-five feet long by three hundred and fifty feet wide; and in the centre is an octagonal pond, with openings on four sides, leading up to four buildings, which stand in the centre of each face of the garden. These buildings are justly accounted the most beautiful Hindoo edifices for accommodation ever erected. They are formed of a very fine ground sandstone, brought from the quarries of Roopbas, which are eight or ten miles south-west of Futtehpore Sikree. These stones are brought in in flags, some sixteen feet long, from two to three feet wide, and one thick, all sides as flat as glass, the flags being of the natural thickness of the strata. The openings spoken of above have, from the centre of the pond to the foot of the flight of steps leading from them, an avenue of *jets d'eau*."

The architectural remains of the Mohammedans are necessarily more modern than those of the Hindoos, but only a few of their religious buildings are of remarkable pretension. Palaces, tombs, and halls of justice, of great beauty, built by the followers of the prophet, are found in Upper India. In the pages which described these provinces, notices have been given of several of them. Captain Stocqueler, whose admiration of these buildings is excessive, says:—"India abounds with monumental remains, and when all that England has accomplished in the architectural way shall have crumbled into dust, those majestic remains will remain to attest the superiority, in this respect, of Hindoos and Mussulmen."

Mr. Fergusson, who looked upon the ar-

chitectural works of India with the eye of an accomplished artist, gives a more sober and judicious estimate, and yet one highly creditable to the Hindoo race:—"It would be as reasonable to compare the Indian epics and dramas with those of Homer and Sophocles, as to compare the Indian style of architecture with the refined elegance and intellectual superiority of the Parthenon and other great works of Greece. Probably a nearer comparison might be instituted with the Gothic styles of the middle ages; yet, while possessing the same rich irregularity and defiance of all rule, it wants that bold manliness of style, and loftiness of aspiration, which distinguishes even the rudest attempts of those enthusiastic religionists. Though deficient in these respects, the Indian styles are unrivalled for patient elaboration of the details, which are always designed with elegance, and always executed with care. The very extent of ornamentation produces feelings of astonishment, and the smaller examples are always pleasing, from the elegance of the parts, and the appropriateness of the whole. In no styles is the last characteristic more marked than in those of India; for whether the architects had to uphold a mountain of rock, or the airiest domes, or merely an ornamental screenwork, in all instances the pillars are exactly proportioned to the work they have to do, and the ornaments are equally suited to the apparent strength or lightness of effect which the position of the mass seems to require. No affectation, and no imitation of other styles, ever interfere to prevent the purpose-like expression of every part, and the effect consequently is always satisfactory and pleasing; and when the extent is sufficient, produces many of the best and highest modes of expression of which the art of architecture is anywhere capable."

To the architecture of Western Europe Mr. Fergusson assigns a place inferior to that which the art in India is entitled to occupy in the general estimation of the educated. He bases this estimate upon a principle: he affirms that the architecture of Europe generally, for some hundreds of years, has been a servile copying of ancient styles, and under circumstances where utility and appropriateness to the purpose of the building have been excluded from consideration; and he opines that by this means improvement has been rendered next to impossible, and the creation of a style suitable to modern genius and European ideas, entirely so. In the first period of the progress of the architectural art, he avers that development arose by the constant maintenance of the principle, that the character of the structure should be in keeping with its intended use. His words are:—"In the first period the art of architecture consisted in designing a building so as to be most suitable and convenient for the purposes it was wanted for, in arranging the parts so as to produce the most stately and ornamental effect consistent with its uses, and applying to it such ornament as should express and harmonise with the construction, and be appropriate to the purposes of the building; while at the same time the architects took care that the ornament should be the most elegant in itself which it was in their power to design. Following this system, not only the Egyptian, the Greek, and the Gothic architects, but even the indolent and half civilized inhabitants of India, the stolid Tartars of Thibet and China, and the savage Mexicans, succeeded in producing great and beautiful buildings. No race, however rude or remote, has failed, when working on this system, to produce buildings which are admired by all who behold them, and are well worthy of the most attentive consideration." It is from the want of the principle here insisted upon, and the prevalence of an absurd and servile imitation, that in Mr. Fergusson's opinions the architecture of Europe suffers in comparison with India, notwithstanding the faults by which the latter is characterised. Mr. Mill, in his History, instances the success of the Mexicans and other nations, reported rude in works of architecture, as proofs that nothing favourable to the early civilization of India can be inferred from the admirable public edifices which adorn that land, or tell of its architectural glory in ages remote. The philosophy of the facts that people of an inferior civilization in many respects are capable of great things in this, is fairly stated by Mr. Fergusson. He regrets that India has not advanced to perfection, but still more deplores that Europe has retrograded, and, on the whole, puts forward a high claim for the renown of the former.

In the nations contiguous to India proper, such as the Punjaub, Cashmere, Affghanistan, and which, although generally, are not specifically, included in the term India, very early progress was made in architecture. Traces of Greek style have been found in the remains extant, which some have attributed to the influence of the invasion of Alexander, but which others affirm have an anterior origin. Important and skilful investigations have been made as to the architectural remains of Cashmere. It is alleged that these evidence the influence of Grecian art, and the style has received the designation "Arian," from the Greek term in architecture—*Araiostyle*, which is applied to the intercolumniation of four

diameters, a feature of the architecture of Cashmere. The Cashmerian is distinguished by graceful outline, massiveness, suitable ornament, "lofty roofs, trefoiled doors surmounted by pyramidal pediments, and wide intercolumniations." The Cashmere temples are of three kinds—oblong, square, and octagonal; which are again subdivided into the closed and the open, the latter having doors on four sides; the former but one entrance. In their proportions the architects appear to have generally made the height of the temple equal to twice its breadth. These basements are divided into two kinds, the massive and the light, according to the character of their mouldings. The walls of the Cashmerian temples are made of huge blocks of grey limestone, secured together by iron clamps; their dimensions vary considerably, the older ones being shorter than those of more modern origin. The roofs of these Cashmerian temples are of pyramidal shape, sometimes broken into two equal portions, divided by a broad moulding, and occasionally into three or four such divisions. The height of the portico varies in different localities; sometimes it reaches only to one-third of the height of the roof; in others it extends to the top of the roof. The pillars in the Cashmerian temples are of two kinds, round and square; and, unlike the many varieties of Hindoo pillars, are always divided into the three distinct parts of base, shaft, and capital. The square pillars are only employed in corner positions; whilst the round pillars are used throughout the colonnades, and in porches. These are always fluted with from sixteen to twenty-four flutes; the numbers decreasing with the diameter of the column. The shafts were usually three or four diameters in height. The capital seems to have been nearly always equal in its height to the upper diameter of the column. The heights and breadths of the bases do not appear to have been formed by any fixed rule. The distances between the columns were nearly always equal to two-thirds of the total height of the pillars.*

In the Punjaub, especially on certain portions of the frontiers of Affghanistan and Cashmere, there are very ancient and interesting remains. The province of Peshawur, although its more perfect buildings, especially around the city of Peshawur, are Mohammedan, contains various ruins of a remote antiquity. A British officer† published in 1852, in the *Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society*, an account of this province very general in its character, but more particularly as to its geographical and topographical peculiarities, and the traces of ancient peoples and their works. He travelled in the Eusufzai country. In describing the neighbourhood of Kathamar, he relates that a stone or slab was regarded with reverence by the people, and called by them *Lang-i-Newishtah*, or "the inscribed stone." The characters inscribed were unknown to the people, but from their description he supposed it to be Greek. The lieutenant had been refused, by his superior officer, leave of absence for the purpose of visiting it, on the ground of the danger he would incur. He says: "I tried to get a copy of the character of the stone, but without success. There is no doubt but that there are numerous remains of antiquity in this part of the country; and it is here we must search for the rock of Aornos, and the cities of Ora and Beziza, mentioned by the Greek historians." Writing of the hill of Chechar, he observes:—"Its summit consists of a space of ground four hundred yards long by a hundred yards in breadth, and is covered with the remains of buildings built on platforms. One in particular, the largest, consisted of a raised platform of about eighteen feet in height, and sixty square. On this stands what appears to be the remains of a temple, and the whole place was strewn with the carvings of men and elephants in different positions. The buildings are constructed of a bright yellow-coloured soft stone, whilst the carvings are all in slate. Since I saw the place several figures, as large as life, and extremely well executed, have been dug up. They are of a white composition, something similar in appearance to plaster of Paris. One of these figures has, I believe, been forwarded to the governor-general. The ruins are evidently Buddhist. The plain at the base of this hill is covered with a forest of wild tea and other trees." On the Koh-i-Rama Mountains, near the summit, the lieutenant saw a cave called the *Ismus-i-Kashnir*, which is said to lead into Kashmir (Cashmere). Within the cave were numerous images; but Mr. Raverty found entrance difficult, in consequence of the extraordinary number of flying foxes.

West of Suyedabad there is a range of hills, the summits of which are "covered with ruins of various sorts and dimensions; but they are so fresh and sharp in appearance, that one would suppose they had not been erected for a year. The southern part, which is the highest, is covered with an extensive ruin, called by the country people *the throne of Behee* (one of the sons of a celebrated rajah). About the centre of the hills to the west there are the ruins of a temple, or something of the kind, on a very large scale; and

* *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*

† Lieutenant H. G. Raverty.

the remains of a great number of pillars, of a curious shape, and hollow inside, the stone of which all the ruins are composed, is of a bright yellow colour, soft, smooth to the touch, and breaks into flakes. The blocks of stone are merely squared on the inside and outside, the interstices being filled up with fragments of the same kind of stone, but so exquisitely, that it would almost lead one to suppose that the stone had been used in a melted state, and had turned into stone exact in appearance with the other blocks. From what I have said of the stone being only squared inside and out, it must not be imagined that the work was clumsily executed, for the workmanship is beautiful; and the whole seems to have been the work of a people as well versed in the science of architecture as we are, if not better. The hills round Pallai were covered with similar ruins. The architecture bears no similarity to the Greek style; and the inhabitants say they are the ruins of Caffre cities, with which the whole of the surrounding country is covered, more particularly Suwat. I have no doubt that important discoveries might be made here at very little trouble and expense."

The painting of the Hindoos may be described very much as in the chapter on China that of the Chinese was represented—accurate in imitation, the colours skilfully manipulated, but deficient in taste, originality, and perspective. Mr. Capper says:—"The Hindoo paintings are generally accurate, but they seldom evince much attention to light and shade. Some of their walls are ornamented by mythological representations, others by battles, figures of human beings, and animals, sometimes accompanied by an awkward attempt at a landscape. They have also pictures and illustrated manuscripts, but with the figures of these they were not very happy. The portraits executed by the Mussulmen are far superior to those of the Hindoos."

During the spring of 1858 a very interesting collection of paintings, which had been brought from India by Mr. G. P. White, C.E., was exhibited in the Strand, London, at the shop of Mr. Bone, silversmith. It consisted of miniatures done on ivory by the native artist of the King of Delhi, likenesses of that personage, and of members of his family. There were also views taken in and around Delhi, executed with delicacy, and highly finished. In the museum of the India-house there are specimens of pictures executed by native artists.

Although in sculpture the people of India made some progress, and their talent for carving figures in hard wood and pith is admirable, the statuary of the Hindoos is far inferior to that of the nations in Europe least famed for that department of the fine arts. None of the figures executed by the Hindoos, whether of men or deities, objects of common life or mythological subjects, bear a comparison with the works of the Greek and Roman, or modern Italian, British, and French artists. Some of the facts here recited appear somewhat contradictory to the statements of a very recent and credible writer.

In Yule's *Ava* an estimate of Indian pictorial art, as compared with that of the Indo-Chinese, is worthy of remark, as bearing on this subject. Captain Yule acted as secretary to the mission of Major Phayre to Ava in 1855, and was well qualified to pronounce an opinion on this subject. "The Birmese took much interest in the pictures which Captain Tripe, Mr. Grant, and the sketching members of the mission, produced; and even the photographs, though all remaining in the negative stage, appeared to be understood, and in some degree appreciated by them; while they were gratified, and perhaps somewhat surprised, at the interest and admiration expressed by us for many of the buildings which formed the subjects of pictorial representation, especially the highly-carved monasteries. It was very striking to see this capacity for the appreciation of views and sketches on the part of the Birmans, for the organ of such appreciation is absolutely a wanting in all the people of India with whom we are accustomed to deal. The fact is singular; but I believe all who have lived in India will bear testimony to it, that to natives of India, of whatever class or caste, Mussulman, Hindoo, or Parsee, 'Arryan or Tamulian,' unless they have had a special training, our European paintings, prints, drawings, and photographs, plain or coloured, if they are landscapes, are absolutely unintelligible. If portraits, they may know them to represent humanity; but the most striking *likeness* they scarcely ever recognize. Maps rarely can be made intelligible to them. I have been asked in good English by a Parsee, who looked over my shoulder at a print of Kensington Palace, whether it did not represent a steamboat! A learned pundit has been known to inquire, on being shown a print of the winner of the Derby, 'Is that *London Khas!*' (Royal London). The memory of every Anglo-Indian will suggest such anecdotes. As to rough pencil sketches, they convey to the natives of India as little intelligible meaning as the graven edicts of Asoka did to the world before James Prinsep. This defect is the more strange, because found so universally among those Indian races whose features and language seem to class them as kindred with our German ancestry, while among the Indo-Chinese nations, so far as my

experience goes, including the people of Birmah and Arracan, and ruder tribes of our Eastern frontier, the faculty of appreciating the meaning and accuracy of drawings and resemblances in portraiture, even when of a very sketchy character, is never altogether absent. Of the objects and meaning of a map also they have generally a very fair idea. I present this to the ethnographers as an interesting distinctive feature, which I do not remember to have seen noticed before."*

The rage for panegyrising ancient Indian art so prevalent among the Philo-Indians has been unscrupulous, certainly much of the praise bestowed is not founded in the merits of the works themselves. The arguments employed by these panegyrists, to prove the derivation of Western art from India and Egypt, are refuted by modern investigation. The mental peculiarities and taste which accompanied the Arryan invasion of India were not superior to the qualities by which other families of men were distinguished among the ancient wanderers, who, departing from the Armenian tableland, sought permanent settlements in every direction. This might be proved by a great variety of facts and illustrations. Choosing one not likely to be thought of by the majority of readers,—the ancient civilization of Ireland,—demonstration is afforded. At a period quite as remote as any fixed upon by Anglo-Indians for the development of taste in works of art in India, the Irish had attained great proficiency. There are no specimens of Indian art extant which can compare with the remains of ancient art in Ireland. The execution in metals, especially in the precious metals, attained among the Irish to a very high point of perfection. The caligraphy of ancient Irish manuscripts far surpasses anything that has ever been seen in India. The illuminated Irish manuscripts now in Trinity College, Dublin, in the British Museum, London, in Paris, and other cities of the continent, are superior to any ever known either in the Eastern or Western world. The engravings on stone yet remaining on the Irish crosses are exquisitely artistic—so much so, that persons unwilling to concede an early civilization to Ireland have represented them as the work of Italian artists, and sent from Italy to that country, or at all events the work of Italian artists there. The answer is that the style in which these gravings are executed was unknown to Italy; the materials are not Italian, but Irish; and the inscriptions are invariably in that language, and in a style identified with the period to which the works executed are attributed. In another chapter—that on the religions of India—the origin of various Christian superstitious customs was shown to be Eastern, traceable to Babylon. There is reason to believe that while Ireland did not receive her art thence, she did receive certain superstitions, which have left their impress upon her Christian remains. The form of the ancient crosses, upon which elaborate carvings are found, is not Christian, but pagan, and evince a style of art older than Christianity, and which had existed from a period near to that when the Deluge subsided, and the progeny of Adam went forth again to people the earth. It would not be pertinent to the subject of art in India to follow this theme farther than to quote a few authorities, showing that Europe is indebted to Ireland, not to remote Asia, for her early knowledge of various departments of art, and for much of her civilization. Geraldus Cambrensis, who accompanied Henry II. of England as chaplain, thus refers to what is commonly known to antiquarians as the *Book of St. Bridget*:—"This book contains the four gospels, and is adorned with almost as many illuminated figures as it has pages [after a minute description of the figures, he proceeds], which, if carefully surveyed, seem rather blots than intertwined ornaments (*ligaturæ*), and appeared to be simple where there was in truth nothing but intricacy. But, on close examination, the secrets of the art were evident; and so delicate and subtle, so laboured and minute, so intertwined and knotted, so intricately and brilliantly coloured, did you perceive them, that you were ready to say they were the work of an angel, and not of a man." Of the *Book of Kells*, another illuminated work of ancient Ireland, Mr. J. O. Westwood writes:—"Ireland may justly be proud of the *Book of Kells*. This copy of the gospels, traditionally said to have belonged to St. Colomba, is unquestionably the most elaborately executed manuscript of early art now in existence." The same writer says:—"At a period when the fine arts may be said to have been almost extinct in Italy and other parts of the continent—namely, from the end of the fifth to the eighth century—the art of ornamenting manuscripts had attained a perfection almost miraculous in Ireland. Another circumstance equally deserving of notice is the extreme delicacy and wonderful precision, united with an extraordinary minuteness of detail, with which many of these ancient manuscripts are ornamented. I have examined with a magnifying glass the pages of the *Gospels of Lin-*

* *A Narrative of the Mission sent by the Governor-general of India to the Court of Ava in* 1855, *with notices of the Country, Government, and People.* By Captain Henry Yule.

*disfarne* and the *Book of Kells*, without detecting a false line or irregular interlacement; and when it is considered that many of these details consist of spiral lines, and are so minute as to have been impossible to have been executed by a pair of compasses, it really seems a problem not only with what eyes, but also with what instruments, they could have been executed. The invention and skill displayed, the neatness, precision, and delicacy, far surpass all that is to be found in ancient manuscripts executed by continental artists." Sir William Bentham, in his *Irish Antiquarian Researches*, says, speaking of various ancient illustrated books, "They are monuments which Irishmen may exultingly produce as evidences of the civilization and literary acquirements of their country, produced at an age when other nations of Europe, if not in utter ignorance and barbarism, were in their primers, their very horn-books." Henry Noel Humphreys, in his work entitled *Illuminated Works of the Middle Ages*, observes:—"It was in *the West* that the extraordinary variety and fertility of invention that distinguished the art of the illuminator arose." The style appears to have arisen among our British and Irish rather than among our Saxon ancestors, although such manuscripts are generally termed Anglo-Saxon. M. Digby Wyatt, a name well known to British art, avers:—"In the practice of art the Irish were in advance of all Europe. The zeal of the Irish missionaries, and their peculiar creed and art, were not confined to the British Isles. In the seventh century the Monastery of Babbio, in Northern Italy, was established by Columbanus, and that of St. Gall, in Switzerland, by Gallus, both Irish missionaries. Of the same period and country was St. Kilian, the apostle and martyr of Franconia, St. Fridolm, founder of the Monastery at Seckingen, and St. Fenden, of that of Rheinau. Pelagius, the propounder of the celebrated Pelagian heresy (*circa*, A.D. 400), had set an example of Irish vigour of thought and activity of body which appears to have been lost on the later missionaries. Abuin, the friend and instructor of Charlemagne, calls them *gloria gentis*; whilst another writer observes that travelling appears to be their prevailing passion. In the seventh century especially, Ireland was celebrated for its illuminated books, its authors, its music, and its academies. That its influence extended much farther than is generally supposed would appear to be certain; and not only did Scotland, Wales, Cornwall, the north of England, and Scandinavia, adopt its peculiar system of ornament, but some of the most celebrated illuminated works in the various libraries of Europe are now discovered to have emanated from that school."

Among the beautiful remains of Irish art, her sculptured crosses must stand as the most remarkable. The reader who has leisure to peruse the work of Henry O'Neil, on the *Ancient Crosses of Ireland*, will find abundant proof of this assertion.

The same author in another of his works * shows that Irish workmanship in metals arrived at distinguished perfection in a far remote age.

If these statements be correct, then it follows that from an age anterior to any of which we have clear proof of the existence of art in India, to a period when the early art of India had long sunk into decay, Ireland had maintained a high, and in some respects the highest, place, although she never attained to the perfection of Greece in executing representative figures. The extravagant assertions of the highest and most ancient place in art for the race which now chiefly peoples Hindostan, is confuted by the facts which research in Irish antiquarian lore has brought to light. It is probable that many other ancient races have also surpassed the Hindoos in this respect, as has been repeatedly asserted by those who, unconnected with India, have no fascination or prejudice for what relates to it.

According to the *Asiatic Researches*, the Hindoo music consists of eighty-four modes, each of which possesses a different expression; they are capable of exciting emotions of as many different kinds. These modes receive their name from the seasons of the year, and the hours of the day, with which it is believed they have some mystical or occult connexion. The melodies are often plaintive, and a resemblance to old Celtic music has been recognised, although distinguished by a wild cadence altogether peculiar. Some distinctive peculiarity will be found in all national music, the soul of a people is breathed in their native melodies; the joy and sorrow of their history, and the aspirations of their hopes, are all made vocal in their song. It is to be expected that this would be the case with so original a race as the Hindoos; and it is therefore, as well as on other grounds, to be regretted that so little attention has been paid by the musical doctors of Europe to this department of Indian art. The musical instruments employed are rude: the vecca, or Indian lyre, the fiddle, drum, tom-tom, and some others coarse and most dissonant, are sources of delight to the people. It is said that there are many among the educated

* *A Descriptive Catalogue of Illustrations of the Fine Arts of Ancient Ireland.* Collected by Henry O'Neil.

natives who appreciate good music; the masses of the people, and a large majority of the higher classes, certainly do not. On occasions of their festivals, the thumping of drums with their hands, the strange commingling of other instrumental sounds, with a hubbub of screaming voices, constitute an uproar of the most unendurable discord to the European, but a means of entertainment to the native that greatly conduces to his enjoyment. The finest military bands fail to awaken similar sensations. The singing by a native woman of one of their planxties would attract the roughest marauder, and detain the most time-bound traveller among the natives. The sepoys became accustomed to British tunes, and during the mutiny caused the captured European drummers and fifers to play *Cheer, boys, cheer*, and other tunes which served as marches. In the chapter on Ceylon it was shown how formidable to Europeans the beating of tom-toms, and screeching of dissonant pipes, constantly maintained day and night during the seasons of Buddhist religious ceremonies; along the coast of Coromandel and Malabar a similar din is kept up during certain seasons devoted to Brahminical or Mohammedan devotion.

The medical science of the natives of India, like most other of their attainments, has been a subject of discussion in Europe. Some have contended that the medical knowledge of the ancient Hindoos was derived from the Greeks; others have strenuously maintained that the Greeks derived all their knowledge of medicine and the healing art from oriental sources. The most ancient book on medical subjects extant in India is the *Ayur Veda*, this work is attributed by the Brahmins to Brahma himself; from the notices which oriental scholars afford of it, the ancient state of medical science in India was extremely rude. Certain other works, those of Susruta and Charaka, contribute some little additional knowledge of early Hindoo medical knowledge. From all the records we possess, it appears that anatomy formed the basis of the medical and surgical arts. The laws of caste do not appear to have interfered materially with the study of anatomy, the end, in the eyes of the Brahmins, sanctified the deed. From their anatomical researches they obviously understood the danger of wounds inflicted upon various parts of the person inducing tetanus; their ideas of the nervous system were confused and contradictory, but the existence of such a system was known. According to Wise's *Hindoo System of Medicine*, life consists of the soul, mind, physical senses, and the moral qualities of meekness, passion, and goodness. The vital principle is supposed to reside in the centre of the man, which, according to "the system," is in his chest, and is believed to be a mingling of all the human qualities.

Death is the separation of the soul from the body. It occurs naturally from old age, but it happens also in a hundred other ways, chiefly caused by sin either in the present or a former state of existence. Disease has its origin from sin, from derangement of the humours of the body, or from both those causes together. From the first and third of these sources, mortal diseases originate; those derived from the second medium are curable by skilful treatment.

The number of diseases attributable to these media are exceedingly numerous. Measles and small-pox were well known to the Hindoos in remote antiquity, and there are proofs that the latter was propagated from Asia to Europe, and some writers say from India. Inoculation was resorted to at an early stage of Hindoo civilization, but it seems rather to have spread the disease, although in a less virulent form. The beri-beri, a dropsical disease, prevalent in both Western and Eastern India,—although not common on the highlands of the Deccan, nor in Hindostan proper,—is an ancient disease. Rheumatisms prevail after the monsoons, and among those who work in the paddy-fields,—and this appears to have been the case as far back as can be traced. Leprosy prevailed in ancient India as in other Asiatic nations; and epilepsy, so common to northern and western Asia, has been also common in India from remote ages. "We find, in their medical treatises, mention made of sixty-five diseases of the mouth, twenty diseases of the ear, thirty-one of the nose, eleven qualities of headache, besides an infinity of disorders of the throat. Mention is likewise made of consumption, as though it were not only of frequent occurrence, but oftentimes fatal in its result. The study of poisons and their antidotes formed by no means an insignificant portion of medical study among the Hindoo practitioners of all ages; a fact which, considering the oriental fashion of getting rid of an enemy by this means, is not to be wondered at. There was also the study of animal poisons; the dissertations upon the bites of snakes, poisonous insects, &c., are numerous, and at the same time in accordance with the practice of experienced surgeons of the present day. Hydrophobia was also known, and prescribed for in a variety of forms." It appears that the Hindoos possessed some herbal agency specific in that disease.

The general mode of treatment was influenced by superstition,—forms and ceremonies, as various as they were useless, were prescribed for the physician as well as the patient; and when the disease was incurable, the object seems to have been to hasten death by abstinence, mental excitement, or even suicide.

There is a striking resemblance in the treatment by the physicians in India to that relied upon by those of Ceylon and China. The medical system became at once more complicated and at the same time more superstitious after the introduction of Buddhism, although, according to the Institutions of Menu, very absurd obligations were laid upon the patient in cases of hopeless malady; thus, one article of that famous code ordains, "If a disease be incurable, let the patient advance in a straight path towards the invisible north-eastern point, feeding on air and water until his mortal frame totally decay, and his soul become linked with the supreme being."

The *Materia Medica* of the Hindoos embraces not only a vast number of drugs and vegetable simples abounding in their country, but a variety of chemical compounds, as well as acids and some of the oxides, with the uses of which they appear to have been conversant from an early period. Their pharmacy, although embracing many matters of value, and in some parts much in accordance with European practice, is nevertheless so overcrowded with innumerable substances as to bewilder and perplex the student. They employed in their pharmacy preparations of mercury, gold, zinc, iron, and arsenic to a degree that could scarcely have been expected from people who blended so much of the fabulous and the absurd in their practice. In their measures of time they commenced with fifteen winks of the eye; and their apothecaries might begin with four of the particles of dust which are seen floating in the sun's rays as they enter a dark room. The rules laid down for the administering of medicinal doses are minute to tediousness; and among other things it is expressly stated that the patient must not make faces when taking medicine, as by doing so he would be like Brahma and Siva, and therefore commit a great sin.

However deficient we find the present race of Hindoo practitioners in the science of surgery, there is no doubt but that their ancestors possessed a skill in the performance of delicate and dangerous operations scarcely to have been expected in those days. The treatises still extant on these subjects are good proof of the state of their surgery, which, however, was evidently, as in other branches of the art, mixed up with much puerility and childish superstition. Certain times were to be selected for the performance of operations; devils were to be driven away from the wound by burning certain sweet-scented flowers; the patient and operator must be placed in certain relative positions, and other observances equally frivolous and absurd.*

The philosophy of the Hindoos was speculative rather than practical. Their speculations were *de natura deorum*, or concerning the ultimate destiny of man, and the best means of promoting in this world a desirable condition in a future state of existence. Their philosophy and their theology are identical, and both, as has been shown in the chapter on the religions of India, are derived from the most ancient forms of the Chaldean and Persian, and are corruptions of both. In the system of Zoroaster, and that of the Brahmins, we find the same lofty expressions concerning the invisible powers of nature; the same absurdity in the notions respecting the creation; the same infinite and absurd ritual; the same justness in many ideas respecting the common affairs of life and morality; the same gross misunderstanding in others; but a striking resemblance between the two systems, both in their absurdities and perfections. The same turn of imagination seems to have belonged to the authors of both; and the same aspect of nature to have continually presented itself; the deformities, however, of the Hindoo system being always the greatest.†

That the Hindoos at a very early period cultivated metaphysics, Doctor H. Hayman Wilson,‡ and M. Cousin,§ have conclusively showed; but that their attainments were entitled to the praise bestowed by those eminent persons may well be denied.

The love of metaphysical and ethical speculation, so characteristic of the ancient Hindoos, has descended to the modern inhabitants of India, whether Brahmin or Mohammedan. Gibbon says that "metaphysical questions on the attributes of God, and the liberty of man, have been agitated in the schools of Mohammedans as well as those of the Christians;" and that this remark will apply to India Mr. E. Elphinstone confirms, for he says that, "if the rude Affghan is ever stimulated to any degree of literary activity, it is when pursuing the subtleties of metaphysical speculation."

The philosophical theory of materialism in

* John Capper, F.R.A.S.
† Mill's *British India*.
‡ *Notes on Mill's British India*.
§ *Cours de l'Histoire de la Philosophie*. Par M. V. Cousin.

its grossest forms existed among the early Hindoos, and was revived by the Buddhists. The doctrine of immaterialism, as it may be called, which the unbelieving Hume and the amiable and orthodox Bishop Berkeley laboured to revive in our country, had also a place in the philosophy of the Hindoos. The materialism of the Hindoos, as a religious doctrine, has been described to the reader in the chapter which treated of their theology; the opposite theory was embraced more as a philosophical than a theological doctrine, although it also, with certain sects of both Brahmins and Buddhists, became a religious tenet.

Dr. Dugald Stewart, to whose labours modern metaphysics—especially in Scotland—owes so much, records an expression of this theory, related to him by Sir James Mackintosh, from the conversation of a Brahmin. "He told me, that besides the myriads of gods whom their creed admits, there was one whom they know by the name of Brim, or the great one, without form or limits, whom no created intellect could make any approach towards conceiving; that, in reality, there were no trees, no houses, no land, no sea, but all without was Maia, or allusion, the act of Brim; that whatever we saw or felt was only a dream; or, as he expressed it in his imperfect English, thinking in one's sleep; and that the re-union of the soul to Brim, from whom it originally sprung, was the awakening from the long sleep of finite existence." The comment of Sir James himself upon this passage was as follows:—"All this you have heard and read before as Hindoo speculation. What struck me was, that speculations so refined and abstruse should, in a long course of ages, have fallen through so great a space as that which separates the genius of their original inventor from the mind of this weak and unlettered man. The names of these inventors have perished; but their ingenious and beautiful theories, blended with the most monstrous superstitions, have descended to men very little exalted above the most ignorant populace, and are adopted by them as a sort of articles of faith, without a suspicion of their philosophical origin, and without the possibility of comprehending any part of the premises from which they were deduced."

Sir William Jones takes a much more favourable view of this philosophy than Dugald Stewart or Sir James Mackintosh. He defends it in the warm, earnest, and eloquent language in which his apologies for the Hindoos are so often expressed. In defending this school (commonly called the *Vedanti* by Indian scholars) he thus writes:—"The fundamental tenet of the Vedanti school consisted, not in denying the existence of matter, that is, of solidity, impenetrability, and extended figure (to deny which would be lunacy), but in correcting the popular notion of it, and in contending that it has no essence independent of mental perception, that existence and perceptibility are convertible terms, that external appearance and sensations are illusory, and would vanish into nothing if the divine energy, which alone sustains them, were suspended but for a moment; an opinion which Epicharmus and Plato seem to have adopted, and which has been maintained in the present century with great elegance, but with little public applause; partly because it has been misunderstood, and partly because it has been misapplied by the false reasoning of some unpopular writers, who are said to have disbelieved in the moral attributes of God, whose omnipresence, wisdom, and goodness, are the basis of the Indian philosophy. I have not sufficient evidence on the subject to profess a belief in the doctrine of the Vedenta, which human reason alone could, perhaps, neither, fully demonstrate, nor fully disprove; but it is manifest, that nothing can be further removed from impiety than a system wholly built on the purest devotion."

Upon this passage, Dugald Stewart makes the just critique, that the philosophy of Berkeley and Hume, to which Sir William refers, was misunderstood by the great orientalist, and Mr. Mill exposes with just severity the hyperbolical eulogies which Sir William bestowed upon this philosophical school. Professor Wilson, whose vast oriental scholarship enabled him to detect the errors of fact into which Mr. Mill so frequently fell when treating of Hindoo antiquities, pursues him with his usual unsparing severity in this case, and describes him as reasoning unfairly concerning the Vedanti philosophy, the professor referring to the various authorities from which, since Mr. Mill's day, a correct knowledge of the matter may be obtained.* A fair investigation of these authorities will generally bear out Mr. Mill's opinions, and deliver him from the caustic censure of his learned but too stern critic. There can be no doubt that the ideal or immaterial theory of Berkeley was held by a philosophical sect of ancient Hindostan, but so modified by the polytheistic doctrines recognised by its disciples, as to present it in a very different aspect.

As far as one can judge from the scraps

* Colebrooke; Dr. Taylor; Ram Mohun Roy; Sir Graves Haughton; Colonel Van Kennedy. *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society; Translation of the Prabodha Chandrodaya; Translations from the Vedas; Asiatic Journal*, &c.

and opinions afforded to us by ancient Sanscrit scholars, there was a school of ancient philosophers who rejected the immaterial theory, reasoning from the starting-point of Descartes, *Cogito ergo sum*. From all that can be gathered, the early Hindoos appear to have cultivated general and abstract speculations, and to have imported into their theology their metaphysical theories, more and more corrupting the earliest system of religion which prevailed among them. Their metaphysical studies, instead of aiding religion, obscured it; instead of unfolding the constitution and operations of the human mind, made man more a mystery to himself; instead of laying the foundation for a pure theory of ethics, "darkened counsel by words without knowledge," set up false standards of practical guidance, and influenced unfavourably and lastingly the intellectual and social life of India.

The science of politics has been always at the lowest point throughout India. The people are highly gifted with diplomatic talent. The mental constitution of the Hindoo is subtle, and in a certain sense refined; but as a people they are deficient in directness of mind, always preferring the arts and devices of political intrigue to the manly honesty of avowing and maintaining broad and determinate principles. The condition of India throughout its whole history has fostered this spirit of underhand expertness. Divided into a great number of small states, perpetually making territorial encroachments upon one another, artifice was as important as arms. A perpetual struggle for land engaged all classes. Village communities, feudal chiefs, and princes, contested with one another, and each class strove within its own circle for aggrandizement of land—those took who had the power, those kept who could. Never, in any part of the world, were treaties made with less intention of keeping them, or more faithlessly and scandalously broken. The military art was cultivated purely for aggressive purposes, and never was brought to any high degree of attainment. The incidents of the Greek invasion proved how superior, not only the genius of Alexander, but the knowledge of arms on the part of his followers. The Mohammedan warriors also showed more acquaintance with the management of armies. The wars of native princes with Europeans revealed an inferiority in strategy and tactics, which cannot be disputed. Gibbon's description of the military weakness of Asiatic nations generally, and of the Persians more particularly, describes as graphically as if meant especially for it, the state of the martial art in India, until the example of the British, and the instruction derived from them, modified the system of the native chiefs. But notwithstanding the improvement made under English influence, the language of Gibbon in the main applies to the armies of the rajahs, and the mode of warfare adopted among them:—"The science of war, that constituted the more rational force of Greece and Rome, as it now does of Europe, never made any considerable progress in the East. Those disciplined evolutions which harmonise and animate a confused multitude, were unknown to the Persians. They were equally unskilled in the arts of constructing, besieging, or defending regular fortifications. They trusted more to their numbers than to their courage: more to their courage than to their discipline. The infantry was a half-armed, spiritless crowd of peasants, levied in haste by the allurements of plunder, and as easily dispersed by a victory as by a defeat. The monarch and his nobles transported into the camp the pride and luxury of the seraglio. Their military operations were impeded by a useless train of women, eunuchs, horses, and camels; and in the midst of a successful campaign, the Persian host was often separated or destroyed by an unexpected famine."

The general mind of the better classes in India is more favourable to the study of modern science, although there are still difficulties in the way. The Brahmins are extremely jealous of instruction conveyed to the people from a European source; the Mussulman teachers are still more so, as any views of science different from those contained in the Koran is contrary to religion. The Mohammedan clergy know well that modern science is at variance with the scientific doctrines of the Koran; and while on the one hand they make efforts to reconcile the discrepancies, on the other their exertions are incessant to prevent "the faithful" from obtaining "infidel knowledge."

But even where religious prejudices do not bar out the instructions of English literature and science, there exists an extreme hindrance in the inability of Europeans to converse in the languages of India on subjects of politics, history, philosophy, or science. It is well known that there are native gentlemen desirous to glean information on such subjects from the English with whom they meet, and that the want of facility on the part of the latter in speaking the languages of the country impedes the gratification of a desire so much to be encouraged and commended.

Lieutenant-colonel Sleeman, an officer who has spent a long life in India, and is considered an oriental scholar, writes:—"The

best of us Europeans feel our deficiencies in conversation with Mohammedans of high rank and education, when we are called upon to talk upon subjects beyond the every-day occurrences of life. A Mohammedan gentleman of education is tolerably well acquainted with astronomy as it was taught by Ptolemy; with the logic and ethics of Aristotle and Plato, with the works of Hippocrates and Galen, through those of Avicenna, or as they call him, Booalee Shena; and he is very capable of talking upon all subjects of philosophy, literature, science, and the arts, and very much inclined to do so, and of understanding the nature of the improvements that have been made in them in modern times. But, however capable we may feel of discussing these subjects, or explaining these improvements in our own language, we all feel ourselves very much at a loss when we attempt to do it in theirs. Perhaps few Europeans have mixed and conversed more freely with all classes than I have, and yet I feel myself sadly deficient when I enter, as I often do, into discussions with Mohammedan gentlemen of education upon the subject of the character of the governments and institutions of different countries—their effects upon the character and condition of the people; the arts and sciences; the faculties and operations of the human mind, and the thousand other things which are subjects of every-day conversation among educated and thinking men in our own country. I feel that they could understand me quite well if I could find words for my own ideas. But these I cannot find, though their languages abound in them; nor have I ever met the European gentleman who could. East Indians can, but they commonly want the ideas as much as we want the language. The chief cause of this deficiency is the want of sufficient intercourse with men in whose presence we should be ashamed to appear ignorant; this is the great secret, and all should know and acknowledge it. We are not ashamed to convey our orders to our native servants in a barbarous language. Military officers seldom speak to their sepoys and native officers about anything but *arms*, accoutrements, and drill, or to other natives about anything but the sports of the field; and as long as they are understood they care not one straw in what language they express themselves. The conversation of the civil servants with their native officers takes sometimes a wider range; but they have the same philosophical indifference as to the language in which they attempt to convey their ideas; and I have heard some of our highest diplomatic characters talking without the slightest feeling of shame or embarrassment to native princes on the most ordinary subjects of every day's interest in a language which no human being but themselves could understand. We shall remain the same till some change of system inspires us with stronger motives to please and conciliate the educated classes of the native community. They may be reconciled, but they can never be charmed out of their prejudices or the errors of their preconceived opinions by such language as the European gentlemen are now in the habit of speaking to them. We must learn their language better, or we must teach them our own, before we can venture to introduce among them those free institutions which would oblige us to meet them on equal terms at the bar, at the bench, and in the senate. Perhaps two of the best secular works that were ever written upon the faculties and operations of the human mind, and the duties of men in their relations with each other, are those of Imamod Deen, Ghuzzalee, and Nuseerod Deen, of Thons. Their idol was Plato, but their works are of a more practical character than his, and less dry than those of Aristotle."

Indophilus, so well known by his recent popular contributions to the diurnal press on subjects connected with India, observes as follows upon the efforts of the government to promote in that country the literature and science of Europe by public educational establishments, and the willingness to learn of certain portions of the natives, both Brahminical and Mohammedan:—"The first step taken by our government in native education was the foundation of the Mohammedan College at Calcutta, by Warren Hastings, in 1781, and of the Sanscrit College at Benares, by Lord Cornwallis, in 1792. The object was to make a favourable impression upon the natives by encouraging their literature, and to train moulvies and pundits to assist the European judges; but, as the literature and the law of the Mohammedans and Hindoos cannot be separated from their religion and morality, the entire *corpus* of these systems was taught in the new colleges. The next step had its origin in a voluntary movement of the Hindoo gentlemen and pundits of Calcutta to form an establishment 'for the education of their children, in a liberal manner, as practised by Europeans of condition.' Christianity was carefully excluded; but 'general duty to God' and the 'English system of morals' were comprehended in the plan. The government of the college was vested in a body of native managers, by whom the teachers were appointed and removed. The line taken by the Calcutta government, and the effect of it, will be seen from the following extract

from a letter from Sir E. H. East, the chief-justice, dated May 21, 1816:—

"'When they were told that the government was advised to suspend any declaration in favour of their undertaking, from tender regard to their peculiar opinions, which a classical education after the English manner might trench upon, they answered very shrewdly, by stating their surprise that any English gentleman should imagine that they had any objection to a liberal education; that if they found anything in the course of it which they could not reconcile to their religious opinions, they were not bound to receive it; but still they should wish to be informed of everything that the English gentlemen learnt, and they would take that which they found good and liked best. Nothing can show more strongly the genuine feeling of the Hindoo mind than this clinging to their purpose under the failure of direct public encouragement in the first instance. Better information as to their real wishes, and accumulating proofs of the beneficial effects of an improved system of education among them, will, I trust, remove all prejudices on this subject from among ourselves, with some of whom they actually exist in a much stronger degree than among the Hindoos themselves.'"

The importance of inculcating the truths of science upon the natives of India, is not confined to the advantages derivable to their own minds, and to their temporal condition; their whole character, moral and religious, is influenced, because of the essential connection between religion and science in their creeds. No people professing any form of Christianity could be influenced to a similar extent by education, literary or scientific.

It is sometimes made a matter of reproach to the government of India, the company in Leadenhall Street, and all who have had any power in India, that earlier efforts, more commensurate with the need of the people, and with the importance of the object, were not made to let the light of true science beam upon the mind of the higher classes. This reproach is unthinkingly made: the government had not the power to do as they pleased. Any step taken to teach science at variance with Hindoo and Mohammedan theories, would have been regarded by their professors as an underhand and treacherous attack upon their religious rights. The government, therefore, proceeded slowly and carefully, but erring on the whole by proceeding faster than the mind of India was able to bear, as is manifest by the outcry raised by a large party, notwithstanding the conviction felt by all Hindoo gentlemen, that some knowledge of European science and literature is an indispensable requisite for government employment. A popular but anonymous writer put this subject in its true light when he said:—"We may feel some indulgence even for those who hesitated to give the sanction of the government to the experiment of the Hindoo college, when we recollect that the reaction of the less advanced portion of the native community has severely tried our strength after an interval of forty years, and that it would probably have nipped improvement in the bud if it had taken place in those early days when the state of the native mind and of our own power was much less mature. Is it a small thing that we strangers from the other side of the world, differing from the people of India in colour, manners, language, and religion, have obtained their confidence; that we are recognized by them as teachers of all truth, human and divine; and that they flock by thousands to our schools and colleges to receive such instruction as we are willing to offer? When Warren Hastings founded the Mohammedan college at Calcutta, the question was, whether the natives would allow us to have anything to do with the education of their children. After this starting-point had been secured, a natural craving arose in the native mind for education of a better sort than could be furnished by their own systems. If we had taken the initiative at this critical stage, a spirit of suspicion would have been arrayed against us; and when the pundits, who co-operated in the formation of the Hindoo college, afterwards discovered to their dismay that they had evoked a power beyond their control, and that they had barred out Christianity in vain, because the truths of physical science taught in their new seminary were subversive of the untruths woven into the substance of Hindooism, we should certainly have been charged with bad faith, and the storm which the native managers had to bear, as they best might, would have burst upon us, and upon the new system advocated by us. The spontaneous character of native improvement is the natural fruit and just reward of our consistent caution. The natives, left to the natural working of their own ingenious and speculative minds, became impatient at being left behind, and took the matter into their own hands. This is the sure guarantee of further progress. If Hastings, the elder Thomason, or Bentinck, had transgressed the limits prescribed by the circumstances of their respective periods, we should not now be in so advanced a position. The day of small things is to the day of great things as cause is to effect, and those who despise weak and timid beginnings only display their own

want of foresight. The influence of the existing government system of education upon the moral character and religious belief of the natives has been much discussed. The first result is the destruction of the Hindoo system in the minds of the pupils. It did not occur to the ancient Indian legislators, when they placed fetters on the human intellect, by binding up their false theories of physical science with their false religion, that the whole fabric might one day be brought to the ground by the removal of the imported material. There is no subject of conversion so hopeless as a Hindoo who has been taught according to the perfect manner of the law of his fathers. There is no morality so bad as the sanctification of every evil propensity of our nature, and its being recommended by supposed divine example; all which the Hindoo religion involves. The youth of India are not only rescued from this state by the government system of education, but they are advanced one stage further: they are taught to think, and their thoughts are inclined towards Christianity by a literature which has grown up under its influence, which always assumes its truth, and is deeply imbued with its spirit. A new standard of morality is presented to them. 'The law is a schoolmaster to lead us to Christ;' and the study of the writings of Bacon, Milton, Addison, Johnson, and Locke, establishes this 'law' in their minds. It does not give the effectual motive which a firm belief in Christianity would impart; but it creates a conscience which will continually act upon them. According to the old unmitigated native system, the Mohammedans regard us as infidel usurpers of some of the finest realms of Islam, and the Hindoos as impure outcasts, with whom no communion ought to be held; and the sole idea of improvement of both classes is to sweep us off the face of the earth. The effect of a training in European learning is to give an entirely new turn to the native mind. The young men educated in this manner cease to strive after independence according to the original native model, and aim at improving their institutions according to English ideas."

Viewed as this writer presents the subject, the importance of diffusing a knowledge of western science in India may be regarded as important to ourselves, and bearing upon the religious future of that country in a manner the most salutary; but the author of the quotation just made, places too much reliance upon the *immediate* benefits of correct scientific attainments, upon the loyalty of the Hindoo gentry, and also upon the prospect of evangelising the country. Many of those most indebted to the Anglo-Indian colleges have proved themselves no less treasonable than the most inveterate devotees of Siva, or the most virulent followers of Mohammed. The success of true science in shaking the minds of such men loose from the influence of Brahminism and Islamism, is indisputable, but the prejudices of their former creed long linger about their hearts, as a disagreeable odour hanging upon the vessel that has been cleansed from the matter which produced it. In giving up the theories of the Hindoo Pantheon, they obeyed the command of science, plainly and authoritatively spoken, but the teacher, although a true one, instructs only within a limited province, and while it sweeps away boldly the theogonies of the heathen, its instructions as to the true God are rather to be inferentially deduced. As every phase and form of truth has its own determinate influence, and its measure of affinity to the whole region of the true, our duty is to preserve in teaching, as we best may, truth in all its phenomena, giving to the precise and beautiful, in art and science, their own useful and ennobling place. This done with fidelity, sooner or later the beneficial results to India and to the empire will be seen, and rich fruit will be gathered where good seed has been sown.

Even in the arts European instruction cannot fail to impress the mind of the Indian people with ideas of our power, and of our moral power. Whatever be the delicacy of manipulation for which the Indian workman is famed, and however in his slow processes he arrives at a degree of perfection in the departments of manufacture for which he has obtained celebrity, the appliances used by Europeans, and the results produced, cannot but shape the mind of the native from his old usages, and his old trains of thought, and consequently, to some extent from his old beliefs. The wonderful power of the steam engine in manufactures, in navigation, and in locomotion, has already produced such effects, and laid the foundation for far more decisive influences of the same kind. The electric telegraph had scarcely been introduced in India, when it suggested to the natives the certain ultimate victory of a people thus possessed of such marvellous resources of scientific, or, as the more ignorant regarded it, magic power. One of the results of these indications of superior wisdom, and a scientific knowledge beyond that contained in the sacred books of both Brahmins and Mohammedans, was to inflame the fanaticism of the Brahmins, priests, fakeers, and other interested religionists. They foresaw that those who wielded such extraordinary agencies, and proved the exist-

ence of laws and resources of nature unknown to the gods and to Mohammed, must revolutionize the religion of both, and eventually cause them to vanish before superior intelligence and power. Hence the maddened reaction of recent years in favour of blind and relentless religious bigotry among all concerned in supporting the old order of things. The teaching of the arts was thus expressed by Lord William Bentinck:—"Every indigo and coffee plantation, the Gloucester mills, the works of every description that are moved by steam, the iron foundries, the coal mines, worked after European fashion, and the other great establishments that we see around us in Calcutta, are so many great schools of instruction, the founders of which are the real improvers of the country; it is from the same sources that we must expect other schoolmasters of new and improved industry."

## CHAPTER XXV.

### THE SOCIAL CONDITION OF INDIA.

THE social condition of India, both ancient and modern, is a subject deeply interesting and important. The ancient social state of that country is full of philosophic interest to the antiquarian and the scholar, and its present state proposes to the statesman and the Christian the most difficult problems, and opens up to them the most serious and eventful prospects. Although employed by one of the heartiest friends of India, the following language can hardly be regarded as exaggerated:—"India is wedged into the heart of Asia, with the Mohammedan regions on one side, the Buddhist on another, and the ocean open to us on the third. She is rich in actual wealth, and still richer in undeveloped resources. The existing revenue of British India alone is £30,000,000, two-thirds of which are derived from the unimproved rent of land; and, with good laws well administered, with an extensive settlement of Europeans to show what use may be made of the wonderful powers of the soil and climate, and with the help of railways, irrigation, and other productive works, the £30,000,000 will soon become £60,000,000. The people of this great continent are intelligent, thoughtful, imaginative, fond of discussion, and from the most ancient times learning and learned men have been held in esteem among them. They had epic and dramatic poems of considerable merit, and systems of philosophy of extraordinary ingenuity and subtlety, at a time when our ancestors were clothed with the skins of wild beasts, and were entirely destitute of literature. We received from India, through the Arabs, our beautiful system of decimal notation. The fables known to the Western world as those of Æsop or Pilpay were discovered, when Sanscrit began to be studied, to have had their origin in the Hitopadesa. Unlike the Chinese, who are remarkable for their indifference to a future state, the Indians are strongly impressed with the religious principle. Long before the Christian era the old stem of Hindooism threw off a puritan-quietist shoot, which, originating in the district of Bahar, overspread Asia from Kamschatka to Sweden,* and from the Frozen Ocean to the great Southern Archipelago, until it included a larger portion of the human race than any other religion. Throughout this vast region the ancient vernacular language of Bahar, under the name of Pali, is either fully established as the sacred language, or has left traces which are easily recognised in local religious phraseology. If the resources of this great central Asiatic country are properly developed, so that she may acquire the strength which properly belongs to her; and if education, and free discussion, and Christianity, are firmly established there, a change will be wrought throughout the continent and islands of Asia, the blessings of which cannot be described by any human pen."

Of the early social life of India little is known, except as scattered fragments of the classics unfold it, beyond what the *Vedas* and the Institutions of Menu afford. Whatever the early civilization of the Hindoos, they did not possess the genius of history. Mr. Mill makes this a ground for underrating their civilization, and Dr. Horace Hayman Wilson reproves too harshly the historian for making this deficiency a test. It is beyond doubt proof of an imperfect civilization, nor is it the less so that all Asiatic nations are characterized by the same defect. This Gibbon has correctly and eloquently shown. Sir John Malcolm complains of the imperfection and inaccuracy of Persian annals; and some of the earliest historical writers among the Greeks make a similar complaint in their day, although it is obvious they were much in-

* The Swedish Lapps are more than half Buddhists.

debted to Persian records and the living testimony of persons in the service of Persia for what they knew of India. From what can be gathered of ancient life in India from the Sanscrit records made available to us either by translation or the accounts given from them by Sanscrit scholars, and from the notices of India in the classics, it may be inferred that the India of to-day is identical with the India of remote antiquity, except so far as modern European influence has effected changes. But notwithstanding that so much has been altered in the condition of India and its government by successive invasions, Mohammedan and European, the multitudinous population can faithfully refuse to adopt the trite admission of other peoples—

"O tempora mutantur, et mutamur cum illos!"

Dr. Hayman Wilson, who is probably better acquainted with India of the olden time than any other man, says that such is the permanent character of oriental, and more especially Hindoo customs, that the India of to-day reveals to us what it was in the remotest period of which we have any record.

The aboriginal inhabitants were probably of the same race with the ancient Ethiopians, for both are frequently referred to as one people in ancient writings. The race which we call *Hindoos* called themselves in the remotest periods *Arryans;* and the earliest Arryan writings refer to the aborigines in terms which show a strong natural distaste, pride of race, and some religious difference, but this last is not so prominent as the social and tribal antipathy. There are indications also of great difference in the complexion of the invaders and the invaded: the latter being dark, as the natives of India now generally are, especially in the south, the higher classes of the former fair, and the other classes of various degrees of colour. It is obvious that the race has received a much deeper tint after so many ages of exposure to the burning climate of India. So much is this the case, that the Brahmins, who, according to the glimpses given of them in early writings, were fair, are now in Southern India blacker than the Egyptians.

The first settlers were driven by the Hindoo incursions to the south, and their descendants in the Deccan, in the hill country, and on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, are black. Early references to the complexions of the Arryans represent the Brahmins as fair, the warrior class brown, the trading class yellow, and the servile class black. This description has been generally considered figurative, as indicative of the relative social dignity and qualities of the respective classes; but even if it be so, the estimate in which colour was held is sufficiently indicated. It is probable, however, that the description was intended literally. The ecclesiastical caste, less exposed to climate, and having come from a northern latitude, would be naturally fair; the military class would be bronzed by the exposure to the elements attendant upon their profession; the trading classes would, partly from exposure in cities, and partly from their peculiar occupations when indoors, receive a tint less russet than the warriors, but sallow, and unlike the complexion of those of higher-class habits, having superior and cooler dwellings, and more frequently having recourse to ablutions; the servile class would probably be composed of another race, coming in with the invaders, and acting under their orders, and mingled with the aborigines, who were despised for their colour, as well as for other peculiarities deemed attributes of inferiority.

The races of the invaded and the invaders are still somewhat defined by the languages. Southern India, which, by the pure Hindoo, is not considered holy ground, is inhabited by people speaking languages not of the Arryan stock; and although many in Southern India to whom these tongues are vernacular are of Arryan origin, yet the fact of those dialects of an ancient language being the vulgar tongues of these regions shows the predominating influence of a race or races not Arryan; whereas the prevalence north of the line, to the south of which these dialects are spoken, of languages of Sanscrit origin proves the prevalence of the descendants of the Arryan invaders and conquerors. Even now the contempt of the Hindoo or Arryan people for the tribes which are believed to have another origin, and where these tribes have not mingled with the dominant race, is intense. Thus, in the early social life of ancient India the bitterness of alien races existed as intensely as has been exhibited between Jew and Gentile, Greek and Barbarian, Goth and Sclave, Saxon and Celt.

The Gonds, Bheels, Coolies, hill-men of Boglipore, and Kookies of Chittagong, are, with some minor tribes, considered aboriginal; and if their present condition be any evidence of what it was when the Arryans entered India, they must have been barbarous even in the eyes of their invaders.

The religious element must always be important in the social condition of a people. With the exception of the Jews, there probably never existed any who introduced their religious peculiarities so prominently in the everyday affairs of life as the people of Hindostan whether Brahmins, Buddhists, or Mo-

hammedans. The Jews, indeed, although rigidly maintaining their religious observances, did not intrude them upon occasions naturally and conventionally unsuitable; but the Brahminical creed fills everything, and is felt everywhere, unpleasantly affecting strangers, like a tainted atmosphere. This was the case in the earliest ages of which we have note. In war or peace, in the drama or the tale, in politics and in private life, the gods, in all their absurdities of character and alleged operations, are introduced. An element of perverted devotion runs through all the social as well as individual being of India. The most impure and silly creatures of the imagination were adored, and a social existence attributed to the gods, which, in proportion as man admired, he must become intellectually and morally degraded. Not only are these gods everywhere, and all objects of nature themselves partaking of the divine, but one cannot walk in a solitary path by the river, or wander in the trackless woods, without the feeling that he may chance to put his foot upon, or stumble against, a deity. A little red paint smeared over a rock, or stone, a lump of clay, or a stump of a tree, makes a god of it, if the pigment be only applied in an orthodox manner. Before this the warrior and the noble bow, and the poor fall prostrate in adoration. Yet, with all this sameness of character in making the religious element appear everywhere, there is a wide diversity of creed and objects of adoration. "Any monster, any figure partly brutal, any multiplicity of heads and hands in the object adored, indicate a Brahminical place of worship. The presence of umbrella-covered pyramids, or semi-globes, and of plain human figures sitting cross-legged, or standing in a meditative posture, point out the temple or excavation of a Buddhist; the twenty-four saintly figures without the pyramid announce a temple of the Jain." Ever since the foundation of the Buddhist and Jain religions this variety has existed, and yet the sameness of social character connected with it has been maintained. The Brahmins have changed much in the objects and in the ceremonies of divine worship, new gods and idols having been adopted with a political time-serving which speaks much against the sincerity of the devotees, yet the genius of Brahminism has been *semper eadem*. The rise and progress of Buddhism compelled the Brahmins to adapt themselves to the ecclesiastical exigencies of the times; the suppression of the rites of the Buddhists and Jains by violence, strangely wrought similar phenomena of change. It was necessary for the Brahmins to conciliate races and parties who were attached to gods of their own, invented by themselves, or by some one for them, who was inventive in the line of god manufacturing. The worship of Rama and Krishnu, of Siva and Bhavani, was in this way intercalated among the devotions of more ancient deities. Brahminism from that date deteriorated; it gradually became less and less pure speculatively, and the unfavourable social influences of the system proceeded, *pari passu*, with the speculative decline. "Their religious rites have, in fact, degenerated to mere incantations, all directed to the same end, through the efficacy of a spell, and the requisite ceremonies have become so numerous and intricate, that no votary could accomplish them, were he to devote day and night to their performance." *

The existence of various tribes who all claim to be of Arryan stock would indicate that the original invaders were a federation of distinct tribes, or else that different portions of them mingled more or less with the aborigines, forming for their descendants distinctive personal and social characteristics. The placid but not unwarlike native of the south differs much from the timid Bengalee; and how unlike to either are the turbulent, sanguinary, and predatory Mahrattas. Between the Nerbuddah and the Indus almost all assume to be descendants of nobles or military chiefs, and are consequently called *Rajpoots* or *Rajwars*. These, governed by petty chiefs, waged, from time immemorial, savage warfare upon one another; their affinity of race seemed to inflame their mutual aggressive propensities. Mr. Walter Hamilton affirmed nearly forty years ago "that any general similitude of manners existed before the Mohammedan invasion is very doubtful, but certainly there are in modern times strong shades of difference in the character of the Hindoos dispersed over the several provinces." That there is some difference of character is obvious; but had Mr. Hamilton said creed, custom, race, and physical power, instead of character, he would have better expressed himself, for, notwithstanding the diversities in these respects, there is a strange identity of essential character among all the natives of British India. This moral monotone may be recognised throughout all the varieties of men and manners presented, although in "travelling through Hindostan, from Cape Comorin, up the Carnatic, the Deccan, and through Bengal, to Cashmere, an extent of about twenty-five degrees of latitude, under many general points of resemblance, a very great variety of habits, languages, and religious observances is perceptible—nearly as great as a native of

* *Hindostan and Adjacent Countries.*

India would find were he journeying from Gibraltar to St. Petersburg."* This seems to have been the state of things which Alexander the Great found existing within the limits of India whither he carried his arms; and the knowledge subsequently obtained by the Greeks, during the occupation of portions of North-western India by that people, confirmed the accounts afforded by the *savans* and *literati* who accompanied the imperial conqueror. Thus India, past and present, is connected by the unchanged character of the people. New religions have sprung up, and declined; new dialects have grown into existence; new conquerors have invaded the fair land; rivers have changed their courses; earthquakes have swallowed up or cast down once renowned cities; the sea washes where once the rice-field bloomed; and the salt marsh or the strand are seen where erst

"Old Ocean made his melancholy moan:"

but the people are like the people of the past; there is a psychological identity between the early Arryan disciples of the *Vedas*, and the modern worshippers of new gods and practisers of magical incantations. Far less enlightened, and less moral than the pupils of Menu, yet, amidst their grovelling superstitions, multiplied castes, and contact with Western civilization, they are the same in disposition, sympathy, tastes, capacities, and in the genius of their customs and social life.

In looking back to the India of the Arryan invaders, the most striking differences between the condition of the people then and the people now are those of different religious opinions and principles operating upon social institutions. Buddhism, Jainism, and Mohammedanism, were of course then unknown, and Christianity had not yet shed its radiance upon the gloom of human grief; the Day-star had not visited the overshadowed world. As shown in the chapter on the religions of India, monotheism, gradually undermined by a philosophic yet simple polytheism, prevailed, but men were not subject to the horrid rites which the gods, afterwards invented or received by the people, are believed to enjoin. The early life of Arryan India was simpler, purer, and more hopeful of the future, although the germs of religious corruption existed, which afterwards produced the deadly upas of Brahminical idolatry and superstition.

The two earliest evils that present themselves to the investigator of Arryan social life, are invidiousness of race and the institution of caste. With regard to the former, the language which betrays its existence is often suggestive of some exciting cause—such as the like feeling on the part of the aborigines, their resistance to the powerful settlement of the immigrants, or the practice of treacherous and cruel modes of warfare. There is in the devotional expression of the Arryans an aggrieved tone; they supplicate the Almighty as those who required the interposition of his justice, and felt that their cause was righteous. This of course would not *prove* that the aborigines gave just cause for the complaints made to Heaven against them, for we are familiar in the West with the prayers and *Te Deum*, where those who offer the petition or chant the triumph know that their cause is selfish and unjust. Still a very peculiar feeling breathes through the Arryan prayers against the native enemy, which shows either that conciliation had been tried in vain, that the settlement of the new race was designed to be a legitimate occupation of lands uncultivated and unsettled, without injury to those who had settled other portions, or else that the Arryan race were arrogant, grasping, and unjust, unable to comprehend the difference between *meum* and *tuum* beyond the limits of their own consanguinity, and withal malignant, even at the foot of the throne of Him whom they believed to be clement and benevolent.

The literature of a people will always reveal their social condition. In an early chapter the literature of India, ancient and modern, has been noticed. That which has come down to us is chiefly religious; and except so far as the *Vedas* disclose the existence of purer opinions, however far back we trace the social history of the country, the moral character of the compositions proves a low moral and social condition.

The drama in every country bespeaks the character of the people. All races may be tested by their amusements. The phrase *in vino veritas* may obtain a larger signification than that in which it is employed: the exhiliration of any pleasure, as well as of the cup, reveals our true nature. The Hindoo drama is intensely national. Its productions range over a long period of time; but those of later periods are altogether inferior to those of earlier times, deterioration attending most things worth cultivating in India. Whether this arises from the peculiar characteristics of the Indian mind, or is the result of the deadening and repressive influence of the Hindoo religion, is a problem yet to be solved. The following description of the drama by Mrs. Spiers gives one a glimpse into the social tone of the people which is very instructive:—"The greater part of each play is written in Sanscrit, although Sanscrit has ceased to be a living language; and thus, like the Latin

* *India.* By Walter Hamilton.

plays annually represented at Westminster in the present day, they were imperfectly understood by the audience, and were wanting in dramatic effect. All the droll parts were, however, given in the language of common life, and the puns and jokes will have been universally appreciated. The general rule is to make only the great people talk Sanscrit, and to allow buffoons and women (*sic*) to discourse in the vernacular." *

One of the most interesting Hindoo plays is *Sakoontala*, which has been translated by Mr. Monier Williams. Some of the passages are not only beautiful in a literary, but in a moral sense. A king who had reached the goal of his ambition, finds that elevated station does not exempt him from trouble, and often creates the necessity for taking new paths through the valley of tribulation. He thus moralises upon his experience:—

"'Tis a fond thought that to attain the end
And object of ambition is to rest.
Success doth only mitigate the fever
Of anxious expectation; soon the fear
Of losing what we have, the constant care
Of guarding it, doth weary. Ceaseless toil
Must be the lot of him who with his hands
Supports the canopy that shields his subjects."

In the same piece occurs a passage which shows that the higher ranks in ancient India had "an ear for sweetest harmonies." There is a lovely pathos in the breathing of these stanzas, which receives even a charm from the superstition with which it blends.

"Not seldom in our hours of ease,
When thought is still, the sight of some fair form,
Or mournful fall of music, breathing low,
Will stir strange fancies, thrilling all the soul
With a mysterious sadness, and a sense
Of vague yet earnest longing. Can it be
That the dim memory of events long past,
Or friendships formed in other states of being,
Flits like a passing shadow o'er the spirit?"

Another of these plays is called the *Toy Cart*, and Mrs. Spiers has justly observed of it, that "it gives pictures of daily life in India probably before the Christian era." The subject of it does not speak well for life in India in those days. The hero of the plot loves a courtezan, whose character seems no bar to her holding a high place in society, living in sumptuous splendour. To her is attributed various virtues which are thought to be compatible with her obscene profession, reminding one of an ejaculation elsewhere addressed to Indrya, "Thine inebriety is most intense, nevertheless, thy acts are most beneficent!" The parts of other personages make manifest that dissipation in its more revolting forms was not only common in Hindoo life, but complacently tolerated. This play also gives validity to the claims made for the Arryan natives of Hindostan, as to literary taste; the imagery, however, is ornate and ambitious for the most part. In the fifth act, there is a description in which, mingled with language of that character, are some beautiful pictures of an Indian storm:—

"The purple cloud
Rolls stately on, girt by the golden lightning;
From the dark womb in rapid fall descend
The silvery drops, and glittering in the gleam
Shot from the lightning, bright and fitful, sparkle
Like a rich fringe rent from the robe of heaven.
The firmament is filled with scattered clouds;
And as they fly before the wind, their forms,
As in a picture, image various shapes,—
The semblances of storks and soaring swans,
Of dolphins, and the monster of the deep,
Of dragons vast, and pinnacles, and towers."

The *Mudra Rakshasa* is considered by critics in Indian literature as a good specimen of the humour which occasionally pervades Indian compositions, but which is certainly not a prominent feature of Indian character. The following passage from this play affords an instructive glance at the social condition of a by-gone age, which would apply to the native states of the peninsula in the present day.

SCENE:—*Before* RAKSHASA'S *house.*

*Enter* VIRADHA, *an agent of* RAKSHASA'S, *disguised as a snake-catcher.*

*Viradha.* Those who are skilled in charms and potent signs may handle fearlessly the fiercest snakes.

*Passenger.* Hola! what and who are you?

*Viradha.* A snake-catcher, your honour; my name is Jirnavisha. What say you, you would touch my snakes? what may your profession be, pray? oh, I see, a servant of the prince,—you had better not meddle with snakes. A snake-catcher unskilled in charms and antidotes, a man mounted on a furious elephant without a goad, and a servant of the king appointed to a high station, and proud of his success; these three are on the eve of destruction. Oh! he is off.

*Second Passenger.* What have you got in your basket, fellow?

*Viradha.* Tame snakes, your honour; by which I get my living. Would you wish to see them? I will exhibit them here, in the court of this house, as this is not a convenient spot.

*Second Passenger.* This, you blockhead, is the house of Rakshasa, the prince's minister; there is no admittance for us here.

*Viradha.* Then go your way, sir; by the authority of my occupation I shall make bold to enter. So,—I have got rid of him.*

The glimpses afforded to us in the classics of the ancient social condition of India are on the whole numerous, although of course incomplete; they are, however, sufficient to confirm the general opinion, that notwithstanding the great diversity of creed and

* *Life in Ancient India.*

* *Life in Ancient India.* By Mrs. Spiers.

climate, and some diversity of race, he who sees the natives of India in the present generation, contemplates the India of ages long past, so far as the natural temperament of the people, and the genius of their social life, are concerned. Dr. Schwanbeck* in his *Megasthenis Indica*, has done much to recall attention to those portions of Greek literature in which India is referred to, and which have been so much neglected by the learned. The introduction to the doctor's treatise very ably discusses the knowledge which the Greeks possessed of India, previous to the time of Megasthenes, and comments upon the notices contained in the works of writers after him, down to the time of Albertus Magnus. The *Index rerum Memorabilium*, which concludes Dr. Schwanbeck's book, is extremely valuable to the student of India as known to the ancients; the space available to the author of this History forbids his minutely discussing this interesting topic. It is to the classics that we are indebted for any key we possess to the broken labyrinth of Indian history.

Sir W. Jones was not only a superior Sanscrit, but also a good classical scholar. In the year 1780, he encountered in his Sanscrit studies the names or name Chandragupta, Chadragupta, Chandra Gupta; he found also in the Greek and Latin writers references to an Indian king under various names, suggestive of this Sanscrit appellation, and concluding that the same person was referred to, he was enabled to fix the period of his reign, and thus open up a chronological clue to the history of India. By comparing the Sanscrit records with Arrian, Diodorus Siculus, Quintus Curtius, Plutarch, and Athenæus, no doubt was left in his mind as to the identity of the distinguished ruler to whom each referred, and it became possible, and in some instances easy, to fix the date of his rule. In another chapter devoted to the historical portion of this work, the age of Chandragupta will be noticed; it is here only necessary to point out that by this identification of the same person in Sanscrit and Greek writings, a clue is given not only to the chronology of Indian history, but to a recognition of the manners, custom, and social life of the people, at particular intervals in remote ages.

The first allusion to India in the classics is in Homer,† in the introduction of the *Odyssey*, where, under the term Ethiopians, the Indians are undoubtedly referred to. Under this name the aboriginal inhabitants of India are designated by various early writers, such as Scylax, Hecatæus, Herodotus, and Ctesias, and it is probable that the aborigines of India, and the Ethiopians proper, were the same race. In Virgil allusions are made to the Indians in terms which afford little or no light as to their habits. Virgil, in the *Georgics*, sings of the Gangarides as having been vanquished by Augustus, which was not historically true.* The same poet refers to the great rivers† of India, and to some of the characteristic productions of the country.‡ Horace affords but little brighter glimpses than Virgil of the habits of the Indians. He, however, like Virgil, refers to the characteristic productions of the country.§ He classes them with the tribes and people remote from the Romans, such as Medes and Scythians, and describes them as marvelling at the grandeur and greatness of Augustus.‖ In describing the day of glory about to shine upon the world, he describes the Indians as *superbi nuper*.¶ The Roman emperor is described as leading in triumphal pomp the Seres and the Indi, *subjectos Orientis orae*.**

Thus very little aid is given to the research of the scholar by the classics, as to the actual early Indian life, unless so far as the writers whose knowledge was based upon the experience gathered by the armies of Alexander, and the garrisons that remained after the conqueror himself retired from the scene.

There are legends extant which furnish some, but only few, means of conjecture as to the hearts and homes of the people previous to the invasion of Darius. There are four of these which connect ancient India with the west. The most ancient is the legend of Semiramis, who is represented as having invaded the East 1978 years before Christ. The legend of Rameses Sesostris, according to Langlet, dates B.C. 1618, and according to Dr. Hales, B.C. 1308. The legend of Dionysius, 1457 B.C.; the legend of Heracles, 1300 B.C. The most interesting of these legends is that of Dionysius or Bacchus, in which, under the name of *Parashri*, he is identified with India, which country, according to the legend, he conquered. The mythological story of Dionysius is sufficiently known from other sources not to require relation here. According to the myth, he not only vanquished the Indians, who are described as fierce tribes, but he taught them civilization, and is especially identified with their knowledge of the use of the grape. The represen-

* *Megasthenis Indica: fragmenta collegit, commentationem et indices addidita.* E. Schwanbeck, Ph. D. Bonnæ, MDCCCXLVI.

† *Odyssey*, book i., 23d and 24th lines.

* *Georgics III.* 27.
† Ibid. *II.* 138; *Æneid*, ix. 31.
‡ *Georgics I.* 57; *II.* 116—122.
§ *Carm. Sæculare, I.* 31. ‖ Ibid. *IV.* 14—42.
¶ Ibid. 56. ** Ibid. *I.* 12—56.

tations made of the travels and conquests of the god are varied. According to Arrian, he founded the city of Nysa on the Cophen, near Cabul, which opened its gates so freely to Alexander the Great, and where his troops are represented as having abandoned themselves to riotous enjoyments, as will be shown in a future chapter on the history of the Macedonian's conquests in India. According to the Alexandrine writers, Nysa was the confines of the god's Indian invasion: Euripides limits his travels to the bounds of the Bactrian empire:—

"Leaving the Lydian's gold-abounding fields,
The Phrygian's, and the Persian's sun-struck plains,
The Bactrian walls, and Media's rugged land,
I came to Araby the Blessed, and all
The coast of Asia, where it stretches out
Along the briny sea, where many Greeks,
Mixed with barbarians, dwell in fair-towered towns.
At length, arrived in Greece, I here am come,
That by my dances and my solemn rites
I may assert my high divinity."

The general tradition was that all India fell before the divine invader:—

"Where art thou, Conqueror, before whom fell
The jewelled kings of Ind, when the strong swell
Of thy great multitudes came on them, and
Thou hadst thy thyrsus in thy red right hand,
Shaking it over them, till every soul
Grew faint as with wild lightning?"

These lines give expression to the classic idea of Bacchus in connexion with India. Dr. Croly has conveyed it in a few lines, written on an antique head of Bacchus, the stanzas are entitled *The Education of Bacchus*:—

"I had a vision!—'Twas an Indian vale,
Whose sides were all with rosy thickets crowned,
That never felt the biting winter gale.
And soon was heard a most delicious sound;
And to its music danced a nymph embrowned,
Leading a lion in a silken twine,
That with his yellow mane would sweep the ground,
Then on his rider fawn—a being divine;
While on his foaming lips a nymph shower'd purple wine."

If these legends have any real basis, then it would follow that, however obscured by myth the stories may be, ancient India had a knowledge of the civilization, such as it was, of more Western Asia, of Egypt, and of Eastern Europe; and that whatever the peculiarities of the aborigines of India, and their Arryan conquerors, the social life of that country, and of the more western nations, was not then so greatly diverse. Probably this is so, and the changes which have occurred in the more western regions have placed the present social life of the East and West so widely apart. The language of a writer in the *Calcutta Review*, will in such circumstances bear peculiar significance:—"The genius of the Indian people is against the production of such records as books and manuscripts. Thoroughly unpractical, if the natural soul of the south Arryan race will force itself out in thought and feeling, the result will not be that of history and truthful annals, but of such epics as the *Rama Yana*, and the *Maha Bhorrat*, as vast in their extent as they are gigantic in their fancies and imaginings. Hence it is that the India of the past must be gathered from the India of the present; and that taking our stand on the immutability of Indian civilization, we must rest satisfied that what we now see existed in unaltered uniformity thousands of years ago.

"Keeping in view this fact, the present aspect of Indian civilization may be considered philosophically with more ease, however difficult it may be to trace the original causes by which that type of civilization was produced. Even with regard to ourselves, we are perhaps taking back to the banks of the Ganges a system of civilization, the first germs of which were originally borrowed from them."

Possibly the higher classes in British India are more like their prototypes in ancient India, than the poorer ranks resemble the lower orders of twenty centuries ago. There are many circumstances to justify such a supposition. The chiefs and higher orders in the native states seem, in all respects, to resemble those of whom we read in remote Indian antiquity. It is impossible but that some influence, the result of the Mohammedan invasion, modern education, the press, and the new ideas of science, which even India has not been able to shut out, has modified the customs of those who reside under British dominion, and also those of the Mohammedan chiefs. Yet when it is considered how little even the educated natives hold of intimate intercourse with Europeans, it will not be deemed surprising that so little light has fallen upon even this region of the native mind. There are a great many Europeans resident in India who do not understand any of the vernacular languages, and there are few who could travel amongst the natives from the apex of the peninsula to the Himalayas without requiring interpreters in most of the lingual divisions of the country. Some years previous to the mutiny of 1857, there appeared a great desire on the part of the respectable natives to promote an English education in colleges and schools, established partly by government, and partly by native support; but the imprudent zeal of many Europeans to make the teaching of Christianity in such schools a *sine quâ non*, roused the jealousy and alarm of the Brahmins, so

that many wealthy native promoters of an education which would extend the knowledge of English, and open up better means of intercourse between the two races, became opposed to the work they had at first espoused. Major Philips, who was commissary of ordnance at Cawnpore, gave, in 1858, the following account of his success in establishing Christian schools for natives:—"When I arrived at Cawnpore, in 1852, to take charge of the arsenal at that place, I found myself solicited by both Hindoos and Mussulmans to re-establish a school which should provide for the care and education of children while their parents were engaged in magazine duties. I told the applicants candidly,—'You come to me to aid your children to obtain knowledge. I shall be most happy to do so; but I wish you to consider that 'knowledge is power,' and I cannot aid you to obtain that power without providing the only safeguard for its proper use. As a Christian, I know the only safeguard is to be found in the teaching of God's book; therefore, if you desire my aid, the school must be opened with the reading of one chapter of the Bible daily.' It was so opened, and it throve steadily; for, though at first only about forty came, the attendance rose to as high as seventy-seven boys in numbers, while the school held on, as I believe usually, during the three years of my charge at Cawnpore. There were annually one hundred and eighty-one Hindoos and Mussulmans in the Cawnpore magazine establishment, and, possibly, seventy-seven was a good proportion of children received into tuition under the principle set forth."

The very success of such proceedings created disaffection. The better class of natives, and those engaged in the English military service in even humble situations often belonged to that class, might at first accept the terms offered in such cases as the above; but they would be sure to repent of their concession under the influence of their own religious teachers; and a re-action would be set up in their minds, causing suspicion of the motives of the English, and a bitter animosity to them. A very considerable number of British in India, especially ministers of religion, urged upon the East India Company pressingly, and even angrily, the duty of providing Christian teaching for the people, but more especially those in their employment. When the mutiny broke out this pressure increased both in India and at home, and measures were proposed to the company, which, if attempted, would lead to the loss of India, as certainly as an attempt on the part of the court and parliament to establish the Roman Catholic religion in Great Britain would lead to a revolution. The company was always willing to provide religious instruction for such of their servants as professed the Christian religion, but this did not satisfy those who believed that it was the duty of governments to instruct communities in religion, and who held as a consequence, that no education should be imparted unless religious instruction accompanied it. After the breaking out of the mutiny, and while an agitation prevailed in England on this question, the Free Church Presbytery of Edinburgh demanded of the court of directors increased facilities for spreading the Christian religion. The tone of the memorial was calculated to commit the company to a course which would inevitably lead to resistance on the part of the people of India. The following reply of the honourable the court of directors expresses the true policy to be observed in the matter:—"The court must decline to enter on a discussion of the questions brought forward in the memorial, but they command me to assure the memorialists that they have never failed to take such measures as have seemed to them requisite for securing the means and opportunities of religious teaching for such of their servants as profess the Christian religion. As regards the efforts of missionaries for the conversion of the natives to Christianity, free scope has been afforded to their labours, and the court are not aware that any hindrances capable of removal by government exist in the way of the reception of the gospel by those of the natives who come under the teaching of the missionaries."

Movements of the kind made by the presbytery are printed in the native journals, and commentaries are made pointing out to the chiefs and educated natives generally, that a conspiracy to destroy their religion exists in Great Britain; that the government is powerless before the will of the English people; and that it is time for those who love their religion, whether that of Brahma or Mohammed, to prepare to meet the change upon which the people of England have set their minds. The natives are also told by their newspapers to remember that the financial resources of India are to be employed for the forcible religious subjugation of the people who supply those resources; and such language as that of the Edinburgh memorialists, and of public religious meetings, and the religious newspapers of Great Britain, is produced and analysed, to show that it is not by moral suasion, but by government schools, and government schemes, that a large portion of the British people hope to subvert

the religions of Hindostan. Such articles are ably written, and fill with an incurable resentment to England the minds of the reading population of India. There can be no doubt that in this way a barrier has been raised between the higher classes of natives and the English, which confirms the former in their principles, prejudices, and customs. The extension of English education among the natives, without Christian instruction *by government*, is the remedy on the one hand; and the education of all officials in the languages of India is the remedy on the other against this social exclusiveness, which sets at defiance the desires and purposes of enlightened men to penetrate the dark circle of native society, with the civilization and opinion of the West, and more especially of England. In fact, every attempt to put down by law and force the customs of the people must alienate the higher classes as much as the lower, and in some respects even more. It is a sacred duty to interpose when the sacredness of human life is invaded, as in the case of suttee, infanticide, and immolations beneath the car of Juggernaut; but even this is difficult, as self-sacrifices cannot be prevented except when a part of some great public ceremonial, and scarcely even then. Yet in the face of so obvious a truth, it is demanded of the government by religious communities in India, and in England, to interfere with the customs of the people, whenever they are, in Christian opinion, immoral. Thus repeated appeals have been made to government to abolish polygamy, and to suppress the indecency of the ceremonials of heathenism. These requisitions amount to a demand for a holy war, a crusade against the whole people of India; which, if attempted, certain defeat and destruction to the British would in the long run be the result. The following graphic sketch of the horrors of Indian life, and of the situation of Englishmen exposed to a juxtaposition with it, from the pen of a missionary, at once illustrates the deep-seated customs of cruelty which pervade the social life of India, and the prevailing disposition on the part of religious Englishmen to urge upon the government the suppression, by the strong hand, of what the natives consider to be a part of their religion, and in defence of which, when they will defend nothing else, they will fight to the death:—

"There are thousands of my countrymen who hear of ghaut murders, and other horrors of India, but few realize them. Let me just give them an idea of the reality. At present I am residing near the Hooghly, not far from Calcutta, and scenes like the following constantly occur under our windows. For example, about midnight we hear the noise of a number of natives going down to the river, there is a pause, then a slight muttering, and sometimes you may catch the sound of some one as if choking; it is truly a human being, a man who is having his mouth crammed with mud and dirty water by 'his friends.' 'Hurree bol! hurree bol!' they urge him to repeat, and when he appears dead they push his body into the stream, then, singing some horrid song, they depart. Soon the tide washes the body ashore, and then we hear the dogs and jackals quarrelling over their horrid meal, as they tear the corpse limb from limb. In the morning a few vultures are sitting around the spot, and nothing remains but a few bones to attest one murder out of hundreds, perhaps thousands, committed every night on the course of this dreadful river! Within one-eighth of a mile I have counted the remains of six human bodies, and it is said that when property is in question it is not always a sick man who is thus treated. Every one knows that the bodies of men, women, and children pass constantly to and fro in the river, and all this goes on under the shade of our mission church and schools, where one or two persons are spending their lives to rescue a few of the millions who are engaged in these abominations. Yet it is a fact that every discouragement has hitherto been thrown in the way of those who, putting aside questions of sect, &c., are labouring at least to moralize the brute creation around them.

"About a week since the *churrockpoojah* was celebrated here. I saw a man, with hooks thrust through his flesh, whirled round and round more than one hundred times, some twenty feet in the air, in the presence of thousands of men, women, and children; while other devotees, almost naked, and smeared over with dirt and ashes, were sitting in a group below, and a third was smeared with coloured earth, carrying a bottle in his hand, the personification of debauchery, and all this amid the noise of tom-toms and barbarous music, which made the beautiful landscape appear peopled, as it were, with a batch of devils from hell. Hundreds of bad women fringed the whole assembly, and all this not ten miles from Calcutta, and under the eyes of our Christian government.

"There are innumerable abominations too filthy to be mentioned; the worship of the Ling everywhere, and the one great fact that the idolatry of Bengal is merely the deification of vice. The Romans, with all their corruptions, built temples to Pax and Virtus, but the Hindoo deities are merely devils. Surely these are crimes which ought to be put

down by any government, and which should be suppressed merely as being hostile to the fundamental principles of authority in any state."

The utterance of such appeals to the law and to its ultimate resort, the sword, is transferred to the native journals, eagerly read by the native chiefs and Brahmins, and the word is sent round that their "holy religion is at stake," that "the infidels are making ready to destroy by force all that is sacred in the land, and which they inherited from their fathers." No wonder, if the better classes, who might otherwise be ready to embrace our civilization, meet the English as enemies, scowl upon them with the animosity of religious rancour, or smile upon them with that deceptive flattery of which the native is so capable, and which even serves to nurse his hatred. In such a state of things, how philosophical and how just the language of Indophilus:—"While our Indian government has, on the one hand, invited suspicion and encroachment by sensitive timidity, it has, on the other, prohibited self-immolation and infanticide, abolished slavery, withdrawn from open connection with idol temples, and permitted the remarriage of widows. It is time that our policy should be clearly defined. To rule with diligence, and to protect all classes of persons in the exercise of their lawful occupations, is the special duty of government; and no advantage can be gained by a confusion of functions. Our influence as a Christian government will chiefly depend upon our full and successful discharge of this duty. We cannot legislate for India as we should for a Christian country. Polygamy is an immoral and degrading practice, but nobody in his senses would propose to abolish polygamy by law in the present state of India. To prohibit the obscene representations with which the idol temples and cars are covered, would be to turn iconoclasts on a grand scale, and to attempt to put down the Hindoo religion by force. If we would avoid a violent reaction which would put an end to all hope of improvement, we must follow rather than anticipate public opinion; and to enlarge the knowledge of the natives, and to induce them to take correct views, is therefore the condition of all solid progress. In dealing with immoral and inhuman practices which arise from false religion, we must consider time and circumstances; but a great deal may be done consistently with a prudent regard to practical results. The courts and offices have always been closed on Sunday, and Lord Hardinge extended the observance to the public works; but, in addition to this, public business is suspended in deference to certain heathen festivals, the longest of which occurs at the busiest time of the year. Every public servant should be allowed a certain number of working-days in the year for recreation, and the particular time at which each person takes his vacation should be a matter of mutual arrangement; but the public offices should, as a general rule, not be closed except for the necessary seventh day's rest. Caste is at the root of half the social evils of India. It is the life of Kulin polygamy; it promotes infanticide; elevates certain classes at the expense of others, whom it holds in a state of the most abject degradation, forbids the commonest offices of charity, and destroys all the kindly affections of our nature. The government ought not to interfere in an arbitrary manner with any man's caste; but let men of every caste and of no caste at all be equally admitted into the public service, and when they have been admitted let them be dealt with alike, and let not caste be pleaded as a ground of exemption from any duty. Caste would thus be placed on the same footing as drunkenness, which is not permitted to be pleaded as an excuse for any offence. If this system is faithfully acted upon, the school-bench,* the railway carriage, the public office, and the regimental company, in all of which the Christian, the Mohammedan, the Brahmin, and the Sudra will be found side by side, will in a few years extract the sting of caste, and reduce it to its proper level. These are, however, only the outward manifestations of a deep-seated disease, and if we would do effectual and permanent good, we must endeavour to operate upon the root of the evil. Many years ago some gentlemen at Calcutta formed a society to discourage cruel native practices, such as the exposure of the sick upon the banks of the Ganges, and the swinging on hooks fastened through the muscles of the back at the Charak Puja; but when they examined into the subject they found that these practices were so mixed up with the Hindoo religious system, and grew so directly out of it, that nothing short of the conversion of the natives to Christianity would effect any

* The following extract from the report of the director of public instruction under the Agra government, dated the 3rd of October, 1855, relates to the Saugor school:—"The fact of a Chumar heading the second Persian class with 282 marks out of 300, the second boy being a Rajpoot, the four next Brahmins, the seventh a Kaith, and the eighth a Mussulman, is deserving of note. The admission of the Chumar into the school had been violently opposed; some Brahmins left in consequence, but the committee remained firm, while the judicious treatment of the delicate question quieted the objecting parties. A similar case occurred a few months ago at the Budaon school, when the quiet determination of the authorities gained the day." The same thing had frequently occurred before, under the sanction of the committee of public instruction at Calcutta.

real moral change. The government has done all it can to put down Thuggee, but the seeds of Thuggee lie deep in the Hindoo religion; and the moment the repressive force is removed, Thuggee will spring up and flourish as much as ever. 'Either make the tree good, and his fruit good; or else make the tree corrupt and his fruit corrupt; for the tree is known by his fruits.' The chief difficulties of our civil administration are traceable to the same source. What can be done for a people who dare not complain, who habitually disregard the truth, and who, when they are intrusted with power, too often deceive the government, and oppress their fellow-countrymen? We must, of course, do what we can, by paying well and punishing well, and administering cheap and simple justice; but the only effectual remedy is to begin at the foundation by educating the young and infusing as much Christian principle as possible into native society. It is a great mistake to estimate the progress made towards the evangelization of India only by the number of persons baptized. If Christian truth is presented to the native mind by every available avenue, what is known in modern phrase as public opinion, will at last turn decidedly in its favour, and then a nation will be born in a day."

Of course the population of India, and more especially the high castes, would resist the purpose of Indophilus, as well as that expressed in the quotation from a missionary; they will do what *they* can to resist the infusion of Christianity, but the better classes of natives in India would not rebel on that account. They do distinguish between a desire on our part of "infusing as much Christian principle as possible into native society," and an attempt by the sword to revolutionize their whole social system, and put down what is opposed to Christian ethics. The religious test established by Major Phillips at Cawnpore was sufficient to provoke insurrection, and was unchristian, for it was a breach of faith. Such a test is not consistent with the 87th clause of the act 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, which is justly regarded by the natives of India as a charter of their liberties:—"And be it enacted that no native of the said territories, nor any natural-born subject of his majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said company." If this charter of Hindoo liberty continue to be broken, as the people of India believe that it is broken, our efforts to conciliate them to our government and civilization, will be in vain, and all our efforts to open a free communication between the English and native mind unavailing.

On the 22nd of February, 1858, a voluminous paper, or rather series of papers, was presented by the home government to the public, illustrating the feelings of the company, and the views by which on this subject they had been regulated. It contains the copy of a despatch from the East India Company to the governor-general of India, dated the 21st of April, 1847, directing the issue of orders to all public officers, forbidding the support of missionary efforts, and of despatches from the government at Calcutta, with a series of papers referred to therein, in in reply to such despatch. The original despatch of the directors of the company (21st of April, 1847) runs as follows:—"You (the governor-general of India) are aware that we have uniformly maintained the principle of abstaining from all interference with the religion of the natives of India. It is obviously essential to the due observance of that principle that it should be acted on by all our servants, civil and military. The government is known throughout India by its officers, with whom it is identified in the eyes of the native inhabitants, and our servants should therefore be aware that while invested with public authority their acts cannot be regarded as those of private individuals. We are, however, led by circumstances of recent occurrence to conclude that a different view of the subject is taken in India, and we therefore deem it necessary to call your immediate and particular attention to the absolute necessity of maintaining this most important principle in its fullest extent." A good deal of the correspondence which follows the despatch refers to the best and most politic mode of acting on the above injunction of the company, but the details are barren of interest. A mass of papers follow, relating to the temple of Juggernaut, the withdrawal of the government donation thereto, and the placing of a military guard within or without the temple, and including lengthy memorials from local missionaries of various persuasions.

It is desirable that our readers, and the people of England, should be convinced that a stern struggle has commenced between the people of India in defence of their religious rights, and a class of Englishmen who seek to invade those rights from the best motives; and that this struggle tends to alienate from us the natives of India, and especially those classes upon whose intelligence reliance was placed for co-operation in the work of civilization. The grand barrier now to any melioration of the social condition

of India has been raised by ourselves by espousing the adoption of force, however modified, in the propagation of Christianity. The writer last quoted has eloquently and truly placed the whole matter in a true light in the following passage:—"Religion imparts a superhuman intensity to whatever it touches, and the natives of India are eminently a religious people. The whole strength of the empire has been put forth to subdue the revolt of a portion of our native army. What if our whole native army and armed police force, the native states, and the majority of the population, were hereafter to declare against us? Systematic violation of the rights of conscience is quite capable of producing such a result. The nationality of the natives of India is bound up with their religion; they concentrate in that one idea all the feelings with which Englishmen regard Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights, and every other guarantee of their civil and religious liberties.* To this some would reply:—'Nothing is further from our intention than compulsion; but let a class be established in every government seminary for Christian instruction, which those who choose may attend.' This, however, is only another application of the same principle. The government would still usurp the office of the missionary. The produce of the taxes would still be employed in propagating one religion in preference to every other. Religious equality, which is the sacred principle of justice in connection with the highest interests of man, would still be as far removed as ever. There would also be a constant cause of irritation and antagonism in the same institutions between the conformists and nonconformists to the Christian teaching. The Hindoos in vain put forth the strong arm of power against the Buddhists, and the Mohammedans against the Hindoos; but the kingdom of Christ, which will be the last and greatest, will be established by the 'sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God.' We could not hope to trample out the old faith in blood and ashes, as the Reformation was suppressed in Belgium—and what would be gained merely by irritating? Does Ireland, where the experiment has been made under far more favourable circumstances than can be hoped for in India, offer any encouragement? And what would be the value of converts made under the influence of fear or favour? What security should we have that they had not merely added hypocrisy to their other vices? Our own religious divisions here in England, although far less than those which prevail in India, have made it impossible for us to agree upon any united plan of education; but from the collision of different opinions has been struck out the grant-in-aid system, which was extended to India in 1854. This is the true solution of the much vexed question of religious education. Far more may be done by encouraging private effort than by the direct action of the government. The English in India take a warm interest in the improvement of the natives; the English in England have at last awoke to a sense of their duty to India; and the natives themselves are not only craving for instruction, but are disposed to aid the good work by liberal contributions and endowments. The part which the government has to perform is the establishment of universities on the plan of the London University, and the Queen's University, in Ireland, for the purpose of testing and certifying the attainments of such students as may present themselves for examination; the providing instruction in branches of knowledge which are of so special and advanced a kind that they are beyond the reach of private associations—such as law, medicine, civil engineering, geology, chemistry and metallurgy, and the fine arts; and, above all, the maintenance of an efficient system of inspection over all schools and colleges which desire the pecuniary assistance of the government, or the guarantee for efficiency and for the faithful application of appropriated funds which such a supervision would afford." Such a course would at all events disarm the higher ranks, and deprive the Brahmins of much of their power. If, however, we would influence the social condition of the upper walks of Indian life, not only must Englishmen study the native tongues, English be extensively taught, and education in science and the arts be afforded without the least interference, direct or indirect, with the religion of the people, but the literature of England must be made of easy access to those of the educated Hindoos who chose to make themselves acquainted with it. Indophilus has also put this subject in an instructive form before his readers:—"Another potent engine for the formation of the national mind is the construction of a vernacular lite-

* "On the single occasion on which I had the happiness of seeing that holy and humble man, Dr. Carey, he expressed a decided opinion against the government taking any part in native education, and, as he was in a state of great bodily weakness (it was shortly before his death), the emphatic earnestness of his manner made a deep impression on me. He had, no doubt, deeply reflected upon the impossibility of the government giving Christian education, and upon the objections to its giving education without religion; and it must have occurred to him that even if the difficulty which attended the teaching of Christianity by the government had been got over, it would only have landed us in a state religion."

rature of which English will be the storehouse of knowledge, and the Christian religion the source of inspiration. The importance of the 'vulgar tongue' was seen in our own Reformation; and it is a happy circumstance that the Brahminical and Mohammedan priesthood,* in their desire to keep the people in a state of ignorance, have left this ground unoccupied for us. The time and talent of India have been wasted to a surprising extent in learning words as distinguished from ideas. When the laws have been made accessible to the people by an intelligible digest, Sanscrit, Arabic, and Persian, will cease to be studied, except for philological and antiquarian purposes, and the national mind will be set free for the cultivation of the spoken languages of the governors and governed, which will be united by the bond of a common printed and written character." As this is a question to be settled very much by authority, it will be desirable to confirm the views of Indophilus by the authority of others. A contributor to a popular periodical makes the following philosophical and practical remarks:—"One of the characteristics which mark Christianity as the only universal, and therefore the only true religion, is that its requirements are embodied in general principles which are capable of varied application according to the circumstances of different climates and nations in different ages of the history of the world. The present state of India illustrates this catholic wisdom, this liberty, wherewith Christ has made us free. In old Christian countries preaching to adults, in old heathen countries the education of the young, is the most direct and effectual mode of acting upon the population. It would be well if, instead of setting in motion against the popular religions of India the stupendous machine of government, with the certainty of a fearful recoil, our people, acting in the spirit of their Divine Master, would increase the lamentably inadequate means of instruction and persuasion furnished by the existing Bible, tract, and missionary societies, which are already possessed of a large amount of experience, and are capable of almost indefinite development. The following letter has reference to the devoted exertions of a departed friend of native improvement, whose zeal we should do well to imitate, while we profit by the additional light which has since been thrown upon the subject:—'The *Siddhantas*† are very useful in their way, but the real knowledge they could is not to be compared with that which is to be found in the commonest English school-books, and, such as it is, it is mixed up with the most egregrious errors. When the *Siddhantas* have once been used as an argument against the *Paranas*, they have done all the good which is to be expected from them, and to print them, circulate them, and encourage their study, in preference to more useful knowledge, would be decidedly mischievous. ——'s prevailing error is, that he gives an inordinate degree of attention to the instruction of the old, whose habits of mind he cannot effectually change, to the neglect of the young, whom we can mould in any way we please. He does not commence to instruct men till they have become confirmed in their prejudices, and then truly says that a vast amount of abstruse argument, drawn from the *Puranas*, *Siddhantas*, &c., is necessary to put down made them, and that they set their face against every innovation. This must be an endless task. Instead of letting the old system alone, and planting a new one, he only lops off a few of the upper branches of the old system, and so we might go on from generation to generation without making any sensible progress. He seems to overlook the great truth that the rising generation becomes the whole nation in the course of a few years, and that if we desire to make any effectual change in the character of the people, we must take them when they are young, and train them in the way they should go. All our pains and money would then be well bestowed. We should have no prejudices to contend with, we should have easily moulded minds to deal with; and we should raise up a class of intelligent youth, who, after a few years, would become the active propagators of our system. I cannot understand the policy of teaching a very inferior kind of learning when it is in our power to teach a very superior one. I cannot imagine what is to be obtained by expending our means on a far less advanced class of pupils when we have at our disposal another whose minds we can form from the very first to the entire exclusion of erroneous systems. The best use of communication with the old on literary and scientific subjects is to impress them with an opinion of the superiority of our learning, to overcome their prejudices against it, and to induce them to insist their children to be educated by us.' Some of the most cultivated minds in the service of the Indian government look at the matter in the same way, and feel that the customs and manners of native India can only be thus influenced.

* The word "priesthood" in connection with Mohammedanism must be here used as a synonyme for ministry, as properly the Mohammedans have no priesthood.

† The *Siddhantas* are the comparatively modern and enlightened Sanscrit treatises on natural science, while the *Puranas* contain the unmitigated absurdities of the old Hindoo system.

The course thus recommended is perfectly reconcilable with a determined resolution to ignore caste; that is to say, ignore it by not interfering with its practices among the natives in their relation to one another, and, at the same time, by never recognising its existence in connection with the government, but sternly to disown its justice, and morally to defy its power; but this must be accomplished with prudence and care. The following extract from the *Bombay Telegraph and Courier* is a specimen of the ultra and impracticable policy which some of the English in India recommend—a policy which, indeed, might be successful if England could preserve a quarter of a million of European soldiers in India, but not otherwise:—"There can hereafter be no communication betwixt light and darkness, and he who claims the privilege of being guided by 'native custom' must renounce the hope of European countenance or sympathy. The Bengal mutineers have done nothing more than indulge in the customs of their caste and country, and nothing beyond what was sanctioned by custom and by creed. With men who think such things permissible, did opportunity occur, we can have no intercommunion whatever. From the perfect facility with which infanticide, Suttee, slavery, and Thuggee, all great institutions of the country, have been put down, we have no doubt whatever that half the other privileges and usages we fear to meddle with would vanish were we only bold enough to face them. The use of greased cartridges, and the readiness with which all classes travel together by rail, add to our convictions on these subjects. A caste man and a native custom man, adverse as both must needs be to progress and to the advancement of the great human family, are the enemies of the commonwealth, and ought to be made to contribute many times more to its government than those who are its friends. Were the highly orthodox triple-taxed, struck from the list of justices and government-house visitors, and assured that public employment was not to be looked for by them, we should find caste vanish like smoke, the Brahmins most probably discovering, as in the case of Suttee, that the *Vedas* and *Shasters* were never in reality meant to have been interpreted as they have hitherto been."

The difficulties attending an impartial administration of the public funds for purposes of civilization and intellectual culture, so as not to excite the jealousy of the natives, and yet not to countenance their excessive distrust, or compromise our own dignity, many years ago excited the attention of men of the most eminent position in England, and especially those upon whom serious responsibility devolved in connection with this very question. It will be seen from the following extracts from the minutes of the general committee of public instruction at Calcutta, between March, 1835, and February, 1838, that the majority of the committee was then alive to the considerations which now justly occupy public attention in this country.

On the question whether chaplains should be admitted to be members of the local committees:—

Sir Benjamin Malkin.—Attaching the utmost importance to the real impartiality of our conduct, I believe that much more harm than good is done by excessive squeamishness, not even as to the appearance actually exhibited, but as to the notions that some singularly suspicious persons may by some remote possibility entertain of appearances which do not really exist.

Mr. Colvin.—I entirely agree with the president (Lord Macaulay) and Sir Benjamin Malkin. I can only repeat Mr. Macaulay's words—"I do not like general rules for excluding classes of people from our local committees." Restrictions of this nature generally arise from overstrained apprehensions, and their ordinary result is to excite and confirm the feelings of distrust and division, which, if not so recognised and sanctioned, would speedily be effaced by the influence of time and experience. We ought not to set the example of believing that the faith of a clergyman cannot be trusted.

On the question whether an infant school at Goruckpore should be assisted out of public funds:—

Sir Benjamin Malkin.—There remains ——'s "political jealousy" of anything like connection with systems or societies professedly religious. I have already stated how little this is applicable to the present case. But I must say one word with reference to his concluding observation, "that it is not enough to be neuter in this great point of religious education; we must also act so as to inspire the confident belief that we are what we profess to be. I certainly do not believe that any body of men ever yet got credit for neutrality by extending a discouragement to their own supposed opinions, which they did not apply to others—nor that they ever got credit for honesty by holding out that they were not fit to be trusted. Real neutrality must always before long be understood and confided in. But if the reputation of neutrality can only be secured by a decided bias one way, it becomes fit for consideration, on one hand, how far those who do not feel that bias are justified in assuming its appearance, and, on the other, how far the principle of caution is to be carried. There may be individuals among the native community who think that every manifestation of interest in Christianity disqualifies the party exhibiting it from impartiality in the conduct of education. Completely to satisfy this jealousy, our friend Mr. Trevelyan might be removed from the committee as being too frequently seen at church, and known to be an active member of some religious societies. This is not likely be done; but to do it, and to allow our Mohammedan and Hindoo members to frequent their mosques and perform their poojas without objection* would not,

* After Lord William Bentinck's resolution of the 7th of March, 1835, by which the promotion of European literature and science was declared to be the great object of the British government, had been passed, Hindoo and Mohammedan gentlemen were for the first time appointed to be members of the general committee of public instruction.

I think, be a bad illustration of some theories of ostensible neutrality.

Sir Charles Trevelyan.—From the course which the Gorucknore institutions have taken from their commencement, they would seem to have established (what I believe it would be very easy to establish everywhere) that most salutary understanding and belief, that it is perfectly easy for the same man to be sincerely attached to his religion, and anxious for its diffusion by the usual and regular channels of missionary exertion, and yet to be strictly honest and trustworthy in the conduct of an institution in which there is a complete exclusion of every tendency to proselytism.

With respect to the continually expressed apprehension of the effect likely to be produced in the minds of the natives, I have a strong suspicion that we make the difficulty for ourselves, and that a steady perseverance in real impartiality, without the squeamishness which exists about imagined jealousies, would leave us in full possession of the confidence we enjoy, and avoid some important evils which we incur. I do not believe that any set of men ever did good to themselves or others by continually proclaiming that they were not fit to be trusted, except, indeed, in cases where the proclamation was true.

The character of the higher classes of natives is generally in every sense bad. They are licentious, unjust, cruel, deceptive, superstitious, sharing all the vices of the mass of the people, without the industry and loyalty which many of the poorer natives (who are cultivators) would practise, were it not for the bad example set them by the Brahmins, rajahs, and talookdars. This class has been until of late years pampered by the British government, to the disadvantage of the community at large, and of the government itself. The celebrated despatch of Lord Ellenborough in condemnation of Lord Canning's policy in Oude in 1858 seems to have been dictated by the same policy which actuated, or appeared to actuate, Lord Cornwallis, when he made the Bengal settlement. Had Lord Canning, after the Indian mutiny, confiscated the whole property of the talookdars of Oude, he would have simply dispossessed robbers of their plunder, and have taken occasion to redress the wrongs and restore the rights of the unfortunate and oppressed cultivators. This policy might have been impracticable, because of our weakness, as was the opinion of Lieutenant-general Outram, but it was neither unjust nor impolitic in itself. The following criticism from a periodical of 1858 upon the conduct and arguments of Lord Ellenborough, and those who supported him in condemning the just policy of Lord Canning, is as correct as it is severe:—"Lord Ellenborough bids us be tender of Hindoo gentlemen. What is a Hindoo gentleman? Nana Sahib is a Hindoo gentleman. General Sleeman describes the Hindoo gentleman in the country. The author of the *Life and Court of an Eastern King* describes the Hindoo gentleman in town. The Hindoo gentleman is a picturesque, but not a very amiable or useful person. He has turbans and shawls, slippers and scimitars, elephants and horses, harems and divans. He has also the indolence of a glutted, or the fury of a famished wild beast. His relation to his less noble and interesting neighbours is that of a lion to the sheepfold or an eagle to the poultry-yard. He has no marketable value himself, and he destroys those who have. The title-deeds and personal appearance of the four-footed or feathered plunderers go for very little with the colonist. Why should greater consideration be extended to the featherless biped of prey by the victorious British government? We have in India an industrious, wealth-creating population, topped by a corrupt, idle, and disaffected aristocracy. We are asked to imitate the Spartan policy of ruling the multitude by supporting the oligarch and the tyrant. We are asked, at the end of a war which leaves us in the position of our own Henry VII., to rebuild the 1115 castles that defied the law under Henry III. Has history imputed 'confiscation' to the Hanseatic League for sweeping away the robber barons of the Rhine? or to France for abolishing the dey of Algiers? There are classes in the human as in the animal family which are too costly and too mischievous to keep for mere sentiment. There is always much to be said in favour of getting rid of them. They must take the consequences if they afford a good opportunity. Why John Bright, of all men in the world, should sympathize with them in their fall will probably exercise the acumen of future historians to discover, in like manner as the part played by Penn in the court of James II."

The conduct of Lord Canning very much resembled that of Sir Charles Napier upon the conquest of Scinde, who confiscated the property of the jaghires, which they held conditionally upon the will of the government, but which he restored when punishment answered its end, and the submission of the vanquished was ostensible and complete. The proprietary right in the soil of Scinde was, at the date of the conquest, and still is, held by cultivators, farmers, or by whatever other name they may please to call landholders. They held their land upon condition of paying to the government, as land-tax, rent, or revenue, one-third of the gross produce of their estates; that is to say, when the crop ripened, government agents were deputed to see it reaped, and the grain trodden out in the field; when trodden out, the entire heap was separated into three portions, whereof the landholder, cultivator, &c., retained two portions, while the government agent carried

off the remaining portion, a small and specified quantity being taken in the first instance from every portion to pay for the expenses of reaping. But as a correspondent of the *Times*, quite familiar with the subject, the other day remarked, the government had to maintain an army, and this army was entertained upon quasi-feudal principles, it being the leaders or officers who were paid not in money but in kind. For instance, a chief came to the government, and said, "I am prepared to enter your service, and to be always ready for action, with a hundred men: what pay will government give me?" Government said, "Your pay shall be so many bushels of grain. Take you, therefore, this title-deed, proceed into the district specified therein, and receive from the landholders (cultivators, proprietary-right, or usufruct holders, or what you will) whose tax to government amounts to a like number of bushels, that tax or rent in lieu of government." The jaghire man, then, was he who stood to the proprietary-right man in the position of government, and government had alienated to the jaghire man their tax claim over a specified area, in consideration of his military force being always ready when called upon. Sir Charles Napier, when he conquered the country, declared the rights of the old government to be transferred to the new government. One of these rights was of course the tax, for a longer or shorter period, alienated in favour of the jaghire men. Therefore these government liens upon the lands became liens of the English government. But in regard to the landholders, cultivators, proprietary-right men, or what not, Sir Charles Napier declared that private property should not be interfered with. Therefore there was no confiscation, unless through error, of any proprietary right. Subsequently Sir Charles Napier, deeming it expedient and just to confirm the jaghire men in the government taxes alienated to them by the old government, called a meeting of all the feudal chiefs at Hydrabad, and added that those who then attended, and publicly tendered allegiance by a certain date, should receive fresh title-deeds, confirming them in their old government alienations. They came accordingly, and were confirmed; so that, while in Scinde, no proprietary, or, as it is commonly termed there, zemindarry right, was ever interfered with, from the first, the jaghire, or government alienations, were first declared in a general way to have reverted to the state, on the introduction of a new government, and were then returned to their holders, in virtue of these holders ceasing to be hostile to the new government. It is impossible not to identify the two policies. The zemindarry class in Scinde was, as a whole, no better than that of Oude, but a bold policy, tempered with clemency, subdued in them the desire for insurrection, and caused them to feel that nothing but allegiance could secure their own interests. This is the true policy with the whole class. They are utterly unpatriotic and selfish. A correspondent of the *Times* from Western India describes correctly the people of India, and more especially the chiefs and great landholders, and also our past, and what must be our future, policy towards them, in the following paragraph:—"Of the hundred million whom we govern in India there certainly are not ten who could comprehend the possibility of a man concerning himself for the good of the country at large, or extending his regards beyond the circle of his kindred or friends. And yet, after all, the ingratitude and the cruelties which horrify humanity, and put the cannibal to shame, are plants of oriental growth, and which have always flourished in the East. The natives treat each other just as they have treated the English who have recently fallen into their hands. They have no idea of captivity, unless associated with torture or extermination. To burn or punch out the eyes, to burn the bowels out, are matters of everyday occurrence, from the earliest periods of their history down to the present time. The interposition of the British government is being perpetually called upon to shield the native subject from the inflictions of his sovereign or chief. We have had within the past five years before us memorials from Baroda, from Kattiwar, from Ajmeer, Kotah, and other places in Rajpootana, all to the same effect; and if monstrous tyranny fell short of bodily torture or capital infliction, it was to the British government that even this much of mercy was to be ascribed. The eyes of Europe have now for the first time been opened to the condition of India and the character of its people; and such things as those that until now have been of constant occurrence must never again be suffered to appear. A stern iron despotism, never stooping from its dignity, or flinching from its duty, must take the place of that good-natured and well-intentioned combination of compromises, coercions, checks, and temporisings hitherto looked upon as the masterpieces of an Eastern administration. Brooking no resistance on the part of those we rule, it will be the first duty of the rulers to provoke none; and exacting propriety in others, to show an example of unbending rectitude in ourselves. The time will come, but not now, when public employment and emoluments may be re-opened to the native; when it does arrive, the first test of his deserving the

countenance of the civilized is the renunciation of the badges of barbarism."

Hitherto the British government has shown great partiality to this class. In 1857 there were 3082 Europeans and Indo-Britons in the uncovenanted service of India, and there were nearly as many natives—2846 being the number, of whom 2560 were employed in the judicial and revenue service—a proportion which shows the disposition of the government to encourage the natives, and make them sharers in official advantages; yet some of the most furious rebels of 1857–8 were native magistrates and assistant judges, while in all the operations in Oude one of the chief difficulties of our commanders was the connivance of the native police of every rank with the mutineers and revolted chiefs.

An impression has prevailed in England that much Indian stock was in the hands of Indian chiefs and rich native merchants. On the 18th of May, 1858, a parliament paper was published, which throws some light upon the question as to the relative proportions in which the territorial debt of India is held by natives and Europeans. Up to the 30th of April the returns present the respective totals, but for the last years no such particulars have been received, and the only material for forming an opinion consists in the amount of the subscriptions of each class of persons to the various new loans opened. In 1847 the total government debt in India was £36,536,093, of which £23,446,877, or about sixty-four per cent., was held by Europeans, and only £13,089,216 by natives. These figures show the holdings on the part of the natives to be smaller than has generally been supposed. There is no reason, however, to believe that subsequently the proportion has been lessened. Of the sum of £9,600,280 subscribed to various loans up to May, 1857, the amount taken by Europeans has been £6,281,040, or about sixty-five per cent., against £3,319,240 by natives. As regards one other loan of £4,036,553 the respective figures are wanting.

The main features in the social life of the princes and talookdars are cruelty, tyranny, rapacity, and licentiousness. In 1858 the following was communicated to the *Poonah Observer*:—"It appears from the journal of a European traveller that a new and fearful mode of execution had been adopted by the King of Delhi. The instrument and process are thus described:—A box, each side of which is fifteen feet square, is constructed of timber, about eighteen inches thick, dovetailed together, and braced with iron rods. The outside of the bottom of the box is covered with a plate of beaten iron one inch in thickness. The interior is filled with perfect cubes of granite, weighing in the aggregate several thousand tons. A machine is erected after the manner of an ordinary pile-driver, but of course on an enormous scale, and of tremendous strength. The mass is raised by powerful machinery cast in Birmingham for the express purpose, though it is presumed that the machinist by whom the work was furnished had no idea of the horrid purpose for which it was intended. The human victim is placed upon a block of granite of a corresponding surface buried in the earth immediately beneath the enormous mass, and covered with a plate of iron. At a signal given by the vicramadack, the executioner touches a spring, the mass falls, and the victim, crushed at once, is suddenly annihilated, and spread out like a sheet of pasteboard! The huge weight being again raised, the flattened body is withdrawn, and dried in the sun. When completely prepared, it is hung over the wall of a public building, there to serve as a warning to the multitude."

The brutal tyranny and rapacity by which the chiefs, their soldiery, and the native "headmen" of the village communities, and many of the people, are characterised in their treatment of one another, is exemplified by a narrative of the state of the country on the banks of the Jumna during the revolt of 1857. The *Hurkaru*, a well known Indian journal, assured its readers of the authenticity of the account. The sufferers were Bengalee pilgrims, and one might suppose their religious character and objects would have ensured them protection from their brutal and dastardly plunderers:—"A few months ago, some time before the breaking out of the mutiny at Meerut and Delhi, a number of persons, chiefly Bengalee women, of respectable families in this town, started on a pilgrimage to the shrines of Muttra and Brindabun, in three boats. They arrived at Allahabad without meeting with any impediment or obstacle, some days before the 1st of Joistee last, on which date they left that place, and entered the Jumna. The mutiny of the third cavalry at Meerut, and of the regiments at Delhi, had then taken place, but they heard at Allahabad nothing of the affair, beyond that some disturbances had occurred at those places. Proceeding up the Jumna for several days, they arrived at Humeerpore, the head-quarters of the district, the authorities of which informed them of the dangers of the trip up the river; but, on their persisting to proceed, allowed them four guards to accompany them to the end of their jurisdiction, strictly enjoining them on no account to cross the river, but always to keep along the Humeerpore bank of it. They got up with safety as far as

Michreepore, where the guards left them, repeating to them the injunctions they had already received. From this latter place they proceeded up to a place called Simarah, a few miles above Calpee, without much serious opposition, as the country was then comparatively peaceable. This last mentioned village stands on the bank of the river, to which they had been prohibited to go; but the boatmen, fancying that the navigation along it was comparatively easier, imprudently crossed over, and moored the boats, the number of which had increased to eight since they left Allahabad, on an adjoining chur, for the purpose of cooking their food. They had not, however, been long there before they could see a party of four or five hundred ruffians, mostly villagers, armed with swords, latees, and muskets too, descending down to the shore with an intention which they had no difficulty to conjecture. Fortunately, however, as the alarm had been given in time, they hastily got upon the boats any how they could, before the rascals could arrive on the spot and seize the boats. The river at this place being very narrow, the shouting and yelling of these desperadoes, furious at losing their prey, brought out masses of villagers on the other bank, to which the boatmen and the trembling, weak, and helpless pilgrims, were invited to come over, with offers of assistance and protection. But no sooner had they gone there than they found that these men were not a whit better than the fellows on the other bank; for their head man told them in plain words that if they wished to be saved from being plundered and dishonoured, they must immediately pay down to him and his followers a handsome sum of money as the price of his protection. Under these difficult and dangerous circumstances they handed him six hundred rupees, upon which he agreed to follow them with his men along the shore down to Calpee, where they were assured they would find protection from the zemindar, who had declared himself the rajah of the district. They were told, besides, that the voyage further up was very dangerous, and that no less than twenty-nine boats, all filled with pilgrims like themselves, had been some days before plundered at Etawah. Accordingly the boats began to ply down, the head man and his men accompanying them along the bank, but what was their surprise when they saw fresh bodies of men appearing on both banks, shouting to them in the most abusive and threatening language to lagow the boats; the head man, however, be it said to his honour, still remained their friend, and but for him they had certainly been lost; for he told the boatmen to disregard their threats, and use their utmost exertions to carry down the boats till they reached Calpee, while he with his men employed some means to slacken the pursuit of those who were most furious for the prey. This, however, had the most fortunate effect of raising an altercation between the two parties, which enabled the fugitives to reach Calpee without further molestation. One fact ought to be stated here very distinctly, that among the ruffians who had pursued them, setting all law at defiance, there was perhaps not one mutinous soldier, but that they were all villagers and people living along the banks of the river. This proves very clearly, notwithstanding anything that may be stated to the contrary, that whole villages, at least in that part of the north-west, have turned rebellious, and done their best to disorganise the country. These men, it can scarcely be denied, have done their best to overturn the authority of government, and have in most cases cheerfully obeyed the authority of any rebel zemindar who had power or influence enough to proclaim himself rajah. Arriving at last at Calpee, vainly hoping to see the end of their troubles, the fugitives were immediately surrounded by bodies of bravoes, calling themselves the rajah's men, who came ostensibly with the purpose of protecting them, but really to see what they could get. Here they were detained for nearly two months, during which time, though they were not much molested, they had the mortification of being spectators of many an atrocious act, the principal of which was the cold-blooded assassination of an European gentleman and his lady. When the fugitives arrived at Calpee they were still living, but only a few days after their arrival, when it is said a body of mutinous soldiers arrived at the place, those two helpless persons were murdered under circumstances too revolting to allow for description being given. Suffice it to say that, under the heat of a burning sun, both the gentleman and his wife were made to run like horses up and down, till out of mere exhaustion they fell down half dead, when a number of the bloody miscreants hacked them to pieces with swords. The bodies were then thrown down the river like the carcass of an animal. It is unnecessary to state that while this is being written the writer is fervently praying to God that the government may soon be enabled to take the most terrible vengeance —a vengeance, the remembrance of which may last for centuries in the villages and hamlets of the north-west. At Calpee, too, the fugitives learnt with what feelings of hatred the people looked upon the English, and the desire prevalent among them of ex-

terminating the whites. One of them who had imprudently said that he could speak English was brought to a serious scrape, out of which he was extricated with no little difficulty. They had with them several English books, which the boys used to read, and English shoes for their use, all of which they threw down in the water. The self-styled Rajah of Calpee, they also learnt, had given orders in the bazaar to sell company's pice, which they call *lad-shahee*, at thirty-two *gundahs* for the rupee, that is to say at half their value, and the old copper coins of the place, which they call *balu-shahee*, at ten gundahs for the rupee, a rate which they never had. At Calpee the fugitives were joined by six of the twenty-nine plundered boats already spoken of, which had proceeded as far as Etawah. From the people in them they heard most horrid tales. All the fourteen boats were then allowed to leave on the 1st of August last, not before they had been searched, on the payment of a fine of twelve rupees for each of the first eight boats, and six rupees for each of the other six. As the river had then risen, they descended very swiftly down, without daring to stop anywhere; and, notwithstanding the danger of the navigation in the Jumna, the boats were rowed even during the nights. When they arrived at Humeerpore they saw the bungalows of the Europeans looted and burnt, and the place in a state of complete disorganization. Further down Humeerpore, at a place called Churka Murka, the villagers fired on them from both sides, and even pursued them to some distance on their heavy boats called *kachovah*. It was not, however, before they arrived at Allahabad that they considered themselves out of all danger. The party has recently returned to town, having paid nearly one thousand rupees to different persons, as the price of their protection, as already stated."

The oppressions practised by the talookdars and zemindars upon the ryots, is one of the most striking features of the cruel and grasping dispositions of the Hindoo gentry. Dr. Russell, the Oude correspondent of the *Times*, represents the zemindar system as having preserved Bengal to the dominion of England. Certainly it may have contributed to do so, because the plunder and oppression of the class must perish before the arm of the multitude, were it not that Great Britain upholds it. Feeble as the Bengalee character is, such rapacity and tyranny as the zemindars of Bengal perpetrate, would be resisted were it not for the power of England, which upholds the grievance. It would be impossible to give an adequate description of the hardships of the ryot class under the zemindars and middlemen, by whom they are rack rented. The law courts are constantly made, by these tyrants, the instruments of their cruelty. In a single district there were in one year thirty thousand prosecutions of ryots by zemindars. Indeed the "land cases" in the courts of Bengal are overwhelmingly numerous. Mr. Capper alleges that eighty per cent. of the produce is wrung from the wretched cultivators, and Mr. Colebrooke avers that a man who renders one half his produce in rent or tribute is worse off than a labourer in the same field, who receives only three pence per day. In other parts of India, wherever the zemindar system prevails, unless very powerful checks are placed upon it, similar evils exist, and the native character displays itself in its full proportions of cruelty and avarice. Whenever the law is administered by natives, or native police agents are employed in connection with magisterial functions, the case of the ryot is rendered still more miserable. In Madras torture is a common means of wringing the last mite from the unpitied sufferer. The company has, of course, discountenanced this practice, and European judges and magistrates, as has been shown on a former page, do all they can to extinguish the practice, but the native magistracy and police are easily made the instruments of the zemindary by bribes, and scenes truly "horrible and heart-rending," are of constant occurrence. It is unjust to attribute the fault to the European collectors, as has been done by certain agitators against the company at home. One who knew India well, and has become an authority on Indian history, and the social condition of that country, thus writing of the vast number of tenants under the jurisdiction of a single collector (possibly one hundred and fifty thousand!) observes:—"Not one of whom has a lease, but each pays according as he cultivates, and gets a crop, and with reference to his cattle, sheep, and children, and each of whom gets a reduction if he can make out a sufficiently good case. What a cry of agricultural distress and large families there would be in England or any other country under such a system! Would any farmer ever admit that his farm had yielded anything, that his cattle had produced, or that his wife had not produced? If the collector were one of the prophets, and remained in the same district to the age of Methuselah, he would not be fit for the duty; and as he is but an ordinary man and a foreigner, and continually changed, it would be strange if the native subordinates did not do as they liked, and having the power, did not abuse it. Accordingly, it is generally

agreed that the abuses of the whole system, and especially that of remission, is something frightful; and that the opportunities of extortion, peculation, chicanery, and intrigue of all kinds, are unbounded."*

A common source of oppression is the festival. There are many occasions of festivity which furnish an occasion for oppression on the part of the village headmen and officials. Birthdays, marriages, and various other events of a joyous nature, in the families of the zemindars, middlemen, headmen, chiefs, &c., are seasons of sorrow to the unfortunate cultivators, who must furnish *abwabs* for the great man's festal enjoyment. Every poor tenant furnishes some valuable present, in kind, according to his calling, or the particular description of produce which it falls to his hard lot to raise. Thus, the "oil-maker," provides oil for the chief man's lamps; the milkman brings his vessels of milk; the farmer, his compliment of rice or wheat; and every one who produces anything or possesses anything must bring his offering. All the subordinates of the magistrates and collectors, such as *naibs*, *gomastas*, and *paiks*, levy their own abwabs, and the miserable victims dare not even remonstrate, much less refuse. Every effort on the part of Europeans to protect the sufferers from these harpies have proved unavailing; "their tyrants are their countrymen," who follow with a ferocious pursuit all the poor people who have anything left which the zemindar or chief, or what else their oppressor may be called, has not taken away. In spite of the interference of the European officers, these imposts are exacted pitilessly. Means are always found to intimidate the poor man from complaining, and generally his own personal timidity and moral cowardice secure the impunity of the insolent official.

The higher classes of Hindoos, notwithstanding their rapacious despotism, are polite to the people. There are many forms of courtesy customary on the part of the rich to the poor, and the chief to his followers. There are also many ways in which what appears to be a respectful personal concern for them is exhibited; and often there is justice between one follower, or servant, and another when the great man has no interest of his own pending, or when neither party can secure by a bribe a judgment in his own behalf.

Many of the chiefs and the higher classes live in luxury and sensual indulgence, although their habits of food are nearly as simple as those of the poor, rice and other vegetables constituting their chief diet. The houses of the rich, except in a few great cities, are generally mean; but the rich merchants, particularly among the Parsees, in Calcutta, Bombay, Kurrachee, and some other places, live in fine edifices, furnished in the most costly manner, and with all the appendages of oriental splendour. The chiefs have their palaces, and maintain retainers of servants and guards in feudal state. The number of their retainers are sometimes scarcely credible: the deposed king of Delhi, while a pensioner of England, held a portion of the city called the palace, but which was a city in itself; his relatives depending upon his bounty were hundreds in number, and all these had servants, who, observing the rules of caste, required others to perform various menial offices for them. This is a specimen of the mode of life and lazy state of other princes similarly situated to the supreme power. The Nana Sahib, whose atrocities have made his name so ignoble through the whole world, had at Bithoor, Calpee, and other places in their neighbourhoods, tasteful residences, and maintained a style more in conformity with European tastes, while his notions of oriental grandeur were similar to those of other chiefs. There is always a great reluctance on the part of deposed chiefs to diminish the number of their retainers, and if their means are inadequate, their swarthy and turbaned followers are kept in a sort of dirty and ragged state, sometimes repulsive, and often ludicrous. Over these wretches the fallen chieftains tyrannise with all the unqualified despotism of the East, and yet they will espouse the cause of the meanest, or most reckless of the gang, whose pilfering fingers or too ready sword may have brought him to trouble, as a trespasser upon the domain of other chiefs, abject or regnant, or of the great chief "the company sahib." The number of these deposed chiefs, supreme in pride, ambitious of power, filled with the greed of territory and of jewels, with enormous harems to support, and lawless robber followers to protect and feed, had so increased of late years by our various annexations, that a powerful element of treason was created and fostered in the midst of Indian society. Like tigers imperfectly chained they at last broke loose, and rushed forth to their own destruction, but not until they had wet their fangs with the blood of the brave and good, and sent thousands and thousands to a dark and dreadful doom.

* Campbell's *Modern India*, chap. vii. p. 361.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

### THE SOCIAL CONDITION OF INDIA (*Continued*).

THE social conditions of the rich and poor, although widely separated in some respects, especially by the bonds and barriers of caste, as the foregoing pages show, have of course common characteristics from the influence of superstitions to which both are subject, the common effects of climate, the traditions of race alike affecting them, and that mysterious orientalism which all through Asia forms certain customs, and inspires a certain tone in connexion with all castes, classes, and races. The leading moral attributes of the masses are not better than those of the chiefs, notwithstanding that the opportunities of tyranny and licentiousness might be supposed to indurate the hearts and enervate the minds and bodies of the former, so as to stamp upon them, on the whole, a worse impress of character; but the lower orders are as ready to inflict upon others the very tyrannies of which they complain themselves, whenever fortune gives them the opportunity; and there is not a piece of plunder, which evoked their own protests and griefs, which they will not perpetrate upon men in like situations, if chance gives them the power. The peasant, who has been tortured by the revenue officers of Madras, if he himself gains the office of a policeman, or assistant in any form to a collector, will immediately inflict the very evils against which he has for years supplicated redress. The chiefs and high-caste oppressors are but conspicuous samples of those who groan beneath their sway. The great Duke of Wellington, one of the closest observers of human character, formed an opinion of the sepoys and people of India the most unfavourable. Writing to his brother (Lord Mornington), in 1797, he says—and the passage is curious and instructive at the present time—"The natives, as far as I have observed, are much misrepresented. They are the most mischievous, deceitful race of people I have seen or read of. I have not yet met with a Hindoo who had one good quality, even for the state of society in his own country, and the Mussulmans are worse than they are. Their meekness and mildness do not exist. It is true that the feats which have been performed by Europeans have made them objects of fear; but wherever the disproportion of numbers is greater than usual, they uniformly destroy them if they can, and in their dealings and conduct among themselves they are the most atrociously cruel people I ever heard of. There are two circumstances in this country which must occasion cruelty, and deceit, and falsehood wherever they exist. First, there is a contempt of death in the natives, high and low occasioned by some of the tenets of the religion of both sects, which makes that punishment a joke, and I may say an honour, instead of what it is in our country. All our punishments almost are the same, excepting imprisonment and whipping, which occasion loss of caste; and are, therefore, reckoned too severe for the common crimes for which we inflict them at home. The punishments of the Mussulman governments are precisely in the same state. The Hindoos don't care for them, excepting they occasion loss of caste; and the Mussulmans are now so nearly Hindoos that they have not a better effect upon them. Secondly, there is no punishment for perjury either in the Hindoo or Mussulman law. Their learned say that God punishes that crime, and therefore man ought not; and as oaths are notwithstanding administered and believed in evidence, no man is safe in his person or property, let the government be ever so good. The consequence of all is, that there is more perjury in the town of Calcutta alone than there is in all Europe taken together, and in every other great town it is the same." *

It was not likely that a people of such a character would either manfully resist oppression, or faithfully serve an enlightened government. The sepoy revolt proves nothing against this assertion, for the revolters had been taught and disciplined by Englishmen, and must have drawn something of military pride from their teachers. The writer of a recent popular pamphlet truly observes, "Although much has been said to the contrary, there is no good reason for believing that the people of India of the present day differ, in any material respect, from those who, eighteen hundred years ago, met Alexander the Great on the banks of the Hydaspes. They have for a long series of ages been subjected to dynasties, in the establishment of which they have had no manner of influence, but under which they have frequently suffered the extremes of cruelty and oppression. Those dynasties have been frequently overturned and new ones set up; not by any efforts on part of the people, but by the invasions of strangers, or by the treachery

* *Supplementary Despatches of the Duke of Wellington.* Edited by the present Duke.

of the relations or servants of the reigning king,—who, having inaugurated their success by indiscriminate massacres, tortures, and spoliation, proceeded to govern as their predecessors had governed, without much reference to sense, justice or humanity. Politically, they may also be divided into two great classes, those who live by work and those who do not. The latter, quite insignificant in point of numbers, had, until the establishment of the British power, always been the scourge and terror of the former. The quiet, hard-working tillers of the ground, the hewers of wood and the drawers of water, seem never to have offered any effectual resistance to the tyranny and cruelty of the idle, dissolute, rapacious, and merciless poltroons, whose abominable cruelties and abject cowardice have recently rendered the name of sepoy * for ever execrable."

The poor of the agricultural districts are generally regarded as more moral, social, and happy than those of the great cities. Certainly, they are exempt from the temptations which abound in the latter, and which the presence of European soldiers, sailors, and traders do not always decrease; but as in England we do not, on the whole, find the agricultural population more virtuous and honest, neither is it so in India, and the relations of the cultivators of the soil to those from whom they hold it, frequently, as has been already shown, create occasions of wrong-doing altogether peculiar to the country. Life in the "Mofussil," either for European or Indian, rich or poor, is very far from being an exemption from temptation.

It is undoubtedly a fact that wherever native Christians are numerous, the *morale* of the people is better than where the population is not Christian, but it is alleged that the *physique* of the Christian population is inferior, a statement of which no sufficient proof has been afforded; the Christian population, except in some districts of southern India, is too limited to warrant such an allegation. Although generally living in groups, their presence gives a moral tone to the neighbourhood, or at all events, they maintain a distinctive social character themselves. There are no returns by census absolutely to be relied on, but the impossibility of pronouncing an unfavourable judgment upon the physical qualities of the Christian natives as the result of a perfect induction, may be seen by giving the Christian census in one of the non-regulation provinces as a specimen. According to the last account taken, the Christian population of the Punjaub consisted of European males of fifteen years and upwards, 270; females, ditto, 262; male children under 15 years, 184; female, ditto, 193. Eurasian males of 15 years and upwards, 201; females, ditto, 205; male children under 15 years, 125; female, ditto, 174. Native males of 15 years and upwards, 88; females, ditto, 70; male children under 15 years, 53; female, ditto, 71. This is exclusive of military and covenanted officers, soldiers, and camp followers.

It may, however, be affirmed that, both morally and physically, the half-caste Portuguese are among the lowest specimens of humanity in India.

The huts of the cottiers are generally very wretched, and their temporal condition extremely squalid. The hut is generally situated in a small patch of garden, fenced with bamboo, or it may be a loose wall, not dissimilar to those which bound the cottier farms of the west of Ireland. It consists of two small rooms, a roof of jungle-sticks and leaves protects it from the sun and rains. It depends upon the terms of the holding as much as upon the disposition of the holder, how far any signs of taste prevail. In some places, particularly near Madras and in the Deccan, the abodes of the occupiers are prettily concealed by foliage, which extends its graceful shade, protecting from the torrid sun. When these cottages are placed near a cooling spring, and the wild flowers and flowering shrubs of the Deccan are encouraged, the cottage site is often sweetly retired and attractive.

Generally, the interior of the cot is as wretched as the exterior. The cottage itself is often built with mud, although sometimes bamboo or branches have a large share in the materials of the construction. The floors are mud, and rushes are generally scattered over it —a luxury which, although often within reach of the Irish peasant, he does not seem even to think of. The furniture of the Hindoo cottage home is as scanty as that of his Celtic brother in the far West. A few earthern vessels suffice to hold water or to aid in cooking, although sometimes vessels of brass and copper are in use. The only seat is a single bamboo stool, and mats made of rushes, which serve also for beds. The broad leaf of the palm and the banana serves very well instead of plates or dishes.

The dress of the people is very scanty. Children are seldom clad at all until they are nine years of age; and when it is remembered how early maturity takes place in that precocious climate, females often marrying at eleven, this arrangement does not speak well for the social taste of the natives, who, how-

* The sepoys are not always recruited from the non-working classes, but in the Bengal army they generally were.

ever poor, could obtain some slight covering for their children such as they procure for themselves. The men wear a single piece of cloth, made of calico and well bleached, round the loins. Sometimes the cloth is dyed, after the ancient manner of staining, but seldom of more than one colour, which is according to the taste of the wearer. Yellow or orange is a very favourite colour, and so is a bright vermillion. When a feast or a religious ceremony is attended additional apparel, consisting of a scarf, is worn. The women wear a long piece of very white cloth, wrapt in easy folds around them, so as to display any grace of figure the wearer may possess. There is, however, a *negligé* air about the matrons which *mesdemoiselles* do not affect. In some parts of the south the young females of the Brahmin caste, however poor, often wear their robes, of the purest white, most tastefully and modestly, yet disclosing figures of perfect symmetry and beauty. There are of course classes superior to the above scattered over the land: heads of villages, district functionaries, and dwellers in small towns, who pretend to somewhat of Hindoo gentility, whose wives and daughters dwell in distinct apartments, whose sleeping cotton mat is a little more showy, whose waist-cloth is whiter and more copious, whose earthen drinking vessels are transformed to utensils of brass, who dine off real plates of clay, and do not tremble at the names of "zemindar" and "burrah sahib."* Uncared for, low in the scale of humanity, removed from all softening or ennobling influences, the height of their enjoyment, all that they value, is a carouse at the festival of some repulsive deity, or their midday gossip and hookah with the heads of their village under the cool shade of a banyan-tree. Home duties and domestic happiness are words without meaning in their ears; their wives and daughters have no social status, no education; they are simply necessary pieces of human furniture for the physical uses of man, and whose sole destiny is to raise families, to boil rice, and finally to die. The mode of life of the Indian ryot is one of extreme simplicity, amounting but too often to misery, the result of an outward continual pressure kept on him by the zemindar and others of that class. The members of a family dwell with each other from grandfather to grandchild with patriarchal contentedness—one leafy roof, one bamboo wall, sheltering old and young, the toiler and the tarryer; happy if the simple meal of roots and grain comes at the appointed time,—happy now and then to snatch a mouthful of forbidden rice from the fields their hands cultivate for the tax-farmer,—happy if at harvest time *all* that crop be not wrung from them in rent and usury.*

The whole social life of India is influenced by caste. Apart from its direct religious and political distinctions and effects, it gives laws to the intercourse of the people in every grade and condition of life. Men may not touch one another, come near one another, pray even in one another's presence, under innumerable conditions prohibited by caste. It is of serious consequence to a man in some parts of Madras if he venture nearer to a Brahmin than the number of yards or feet prescribed to his caste. In diet, more than in any other case, caste creates social indignities, inconveniences, and difficulties. No man will recline upon the same mat at food with another of inferior caste. To eat from the same plate is an uttermost defilement; hence the Brahmins often gather fresh leaves for the purpose, to prevent the contamination of even a touch by the hand of an inferior. In journeying the members of the first three castes—Brahmin, military, and mercantile—are frequently obliged to cook their own food, from the fear of ceremonial defilement, by persons of an inferior caste having any participation in the cooking.

The bazaars constitute an imposing feature in the civic social life of India. Every tolerably large collection of houses has a bazaar connected with them. Sometimes a mere shop represents the marketplace of the village; perhaps it is represented by what the Americans would call "a store." In populous places there will be a street or range of sheds which bears the imposing designation of "bazaar." Rice, corn, ghee, honey, earthen and brazen vessels, calicoes, arms, sweetmeats, armlets and anklets of brass, turbans, tobacco, hemp for smoking, betel, cocoa-nut, and a few trinkets, furnish the magazine of commerce displayed in these places. In the large cities the bazaars are often splendid, comprehending streets and squares within their confines. In these are displayed fruits and confectionery, arrack, ghee, rice, turbans, shawls, muslins, bracelets, carved work in pith and ivory, polished brass and copper cooking utensils, Benares jewellery, gems and precious stones from the Indian diamond mines, and from Birmah, Siam, and Sumatra, silks, leather, lac, cochineal, nitre, tobacco, pearls from the Persian Gulf and Ceylon, the prized cocoa and betel-nuts, jewel-hilted swords, and firearms richly carved and inlaid. The luxuries of India proper, of the neighbouring peninsula and islands, and the useful wares of Europe, are artistically arranged, and their sale urged by every oriental device. In these bazaars may

* *Anglice*, great (or English) master.

* *Rise and Progress of the British Indian Possessions.*

be seen the fashion of the neighbourhood, the idle loungers and the business men, the city sharper and the gaping peasant, whose eyes are filled with wonder; the martial but brutal looking sepoy, insolently strutting about; the old Indian officers, quietly conversing, or bearing themselves as if they had chosen a motto from Horace—"*Nil admirari!*" the young cadet from Addiscombe and Chatham or the young civilian from Haileybury (now dissolved) gazing with eagerness upon all he sees, ready for a lark or a purchase, to play the gallant, be taken in by a Parsee, or prove his ignorance of the orient by some *mal à propos* adventure.

The bazaars must not be confounded with markets, of which many are held throughout the country at intervals. The bazaars are standing marts, open at all times for the sale of goods, or the gratuitous dispensation of gossip. At the markets more may be seen of the country people, who crowd in with their vendable produce. Bullock carts, laden with rice or grain, men and women bearing baskets of fruit or vegetables upon their heads, palanquin bearers seeking employment, or carrying a fare, as we in the West would say, crowd the narrow streets, and cause the city to resound with discordant noises. The cries of the carriage drivers, the shouts of the loaded water-carriers, the moaning heavy song of the palanquin bearers, the screaming of children, the lowing of cattle—these, with the dust, and heat, and glare of pent-up, badly-paved carriage ways, make up a scene anything but pleasing to a European traveller.

Fairs are distinct from markets. They occur less frequently, and not in great cities so often as in their neighbourhood, or in the vicinity of some famous ghaut, temple, or mosque. Markets are often held in the fairs, and there is always a bazaar established *pro tempore*, even when there is one in the neighbouring city; but the main objects of the assemblages are religion and pleasure. Generally a strange exhibition of humanity is presented by the blending of gain, fanaticism, sensual pleasure, and idle pastime. In one direction an eager bargain is driving by a trader whose lips are filled with the current phrases of religion; the priests and Brahmins are trading, within the most sacred precincts, in the bodies and souls of the people; fierce mendicants occupy prominent places, invoking and almost menacing aid, or exhibit their sores and decrepitude with all the silent histrionic effect of such actors; the thoroughfares are thronged with weary pilgrims; the swing plays, and numbers of miserable fanatics, with hooks thrust through their flesh, are whirled round; some pompous ceremonial proceeds, glittering with the glare of barbaric Eastern finery; the rude tom-tom beating, other instruments mingling in the repulsive din; and, above all, the shouts of idolatrous fanatics make the air ring with their impure joys: and, alas! amidst all this babel of sights and sounds, this wild variety of human sin and human folly, victims are immolating themselves by some ingenious torture, or beneath some ponderous idol greedy of human victims, or with a shout of frantic enthusiasm some aspirant for purification and eternal bliss leaps into the river sacred to his god, or some forlorn maiden sinks with a sigh beneath its devouring waters. Such are the actualities of a great Indian fair, blended with the festivities of some commemoration, and held in the precincts of a reputed holy place. The holier the reputation of the place in India, the more sordid the worldliness, obscene the impurities, and sanguinary the cruelties, connected with its resort.

The position of woman in India has engaged the attention of Christians and philanthropists much of late years; nor have the efforts of the missionaries, particularly in the non-regulation provinces, been in vain in their endeavours to obtain opportunities for the education of young females. Generally the women are horribly oppressed in every stage of life; often, however, the infant is condemned by her sex to be murdered by parental hands. The code of Menu particularizes with great nicety the relative position and duties of the woman, but it is not so precise as to the duty of man in reference to woman, although various regulations are laid down to guide him. These are generally based in a kindness mingled with contempt, bearing no resemblance to the beautiful theory of the New Testament, according to which the husband is to treat his wife as a vessel of fragile construction, delicate form, and honourable use, with tenderness and respect. The code of Menu enjoins that, while the husband maintains a strict authority, he is to leave the wife "at her own disposal in innocent and lawful recreations, and to keep her constantly supplied with food, ornaments, and apparel, at festivals and jubilees." The wife is commanded in the most unqualified language to be obedient to her husband, to give herself up to household duties, preparing daily food, and especially seeing to cleanliness in the utensils by which it is cooked. She is to be modest, chaste, and a keeper at home—very much like the obligations imposed upon her by the New Testament. The laws of Menu are particular in enjoining home duties and a love of home, the cultivation of the domestic virtues and family ties. On the whole the Hindoo

woman has much better performed her part than her husband, who exercises a lordly tyranny, and constrains an animal submission. The laws of Menu do not doom the woman to absolute seclusion; and in most of the countries contiguous to Hindostan, at no period, remote or recent, were women shut up entirely from general intercourse. Still, from remote antiquity the practice of the Indians, especially of the better classes, has been to contract the liberty of female society. During the sway of the Mohammedans it became customary altogether to confine the women, or only to allow them to appear abroad attended and veiled. The custom became much what it is in the Turkish empire among its Mohammedan subjects. It is a painful fact, that the woman is even more ready in some cases than her husband to devote her female infant offspring to death. If it be agreed by the parents to preserve the female child, and sickness should befall it, she will probably take it to the bank of some river, and leave it there to die, or to be washed away in the stream, or devoured by alligators; the tender ties of maternity are torn by the superstition of her cruel, idolatrous religion. To have more than one daughter growing up in the family, unless where very rich, is deemed injurious in various ways, the respectability of a family being made known by a daughter's dower. This reputation suffers if that be small, as it must be where the family means are moderate, and the daughters numerous; hence the destruction of many — pride, caste, and contempt for woman, all operating to consign the female infants to death. The mother of a family is even more remarkable for the contempt in which she holds her sex than the father is; and the pride she feels in an exaggerated dower for the daughter permitted to survive exceeds that which he feels. Sometimes, under the influence of these feelings, all the female children are destroyed except one; and if she is carried away by disease, the grief of the parents and brothers is most poignant, and they give it vent in all the intensest forms of oriental extravagance: their pride is wounded, their selfishness mourns. It must not, however, be supposed that daughters are brought up cruelly, because of the contumely heaped in so many ways upon the sex; on the contrary, those who are not made the victims of infanticide are reared tenderly and lovingly, except so far as custom and necessity may consign them to severe and early toil.

There is a very strong prejudice against the education of woman. This has existed in the native mind from a remote antiquity, and is no doubt one of the causes of the deterioration, religious, moral, and social, which came upon the primitive life of India. Both parents are opposed to placing the daughters on an equality of intelligence, or on an equality in any way, with the sons. When the more enlightened Hindoo families have been remonstrated with upon the subject by missionaries and other Europeans, they have expressed surprise, and asked with unaffected wonder what good could possibly come of a woman knowing anything but her duty to her husband. The mothers treat with playful derision the idea of their daughters becoming the subjects of school instruction; and the fathers point to the expense that would in such case be fruitlessly incurred. If the parents do give their consent, it is much in the same spirit that they would give their daughter a trinket, a toy, or some finery of apparel, not essential to her condition. Even the native press has treated with mockery the subject of female education, and has stirred up the prejudices of both heathen and Mohammedans, by representing the English zeal for instructing women as having its origin in a feeling less noble than a desire to elevate them or extend intelligence. In spite of all these obstacles, this most important instrumentality for the civilization of India is gaining ground. Parental love, the importance attached to female education by the ruling race, and a vague notion gradually gaining access to the mind of the people that some temporal advantage would ensue to their children, causes the matter to be more favourably thought of than heretofore. The native Christians in the Madras presidency are extremely solicitous to have their female children instructed; the half-caste Portuguese, who are to be found in all the presidencies, are ceasing to be indifferent to it; the wealthy Parsees in Bombay have frequently entered earnestly into conversation and consultation with Europeans in whom they confided as to the best mode of accomplishing such a work. The Parsees are very careful as to the seclusion of their females, but frankly confess that if India is to advance in civilization, woman must have greater freedom; that it is impossible for Europeans to multiply in India, and their women enjoy liberty, confidence, and respect, without the fact telling upon the relations of the sexes in the Indian population; that it is well to prepare in time for a change that will sooner or later assert itself; and that the education of the women in India, according to their rank in life, under European training and instruction, is the only way by which such a change can come to pass beneficially to the nation and to the women of India. Among the

Bengalees, especially in Lower Bengal, where the people are not martial, but of a peaceable disposition, and desirous of cultivating the arts of tranquil life, it has been popular for some years to teach the girls in a family to read; and of late years permission has been conceded for their instruction in writing. This was slowly given: a superstitious alarm that something very serious might come of it if woman were allowed this mysterious accomplishment seemed to pervade the minds of most classes. In Pegu, Tenesserim, and Martaban, where the Buddhist religion offers a less obstructive opposition to the instruction of woman, considerable progress is being made in overcoming prejudice and teaching the infant daughters of the people.

However disheartening the oriental prejudice against the education of the rising female generation, there is no reason for despairing of success if government and the voluntary efforts of Christians are persevering and enlightened. It must not be forgotten that even in Europe woman does not hold her true place, nor is she treated in England with justice and equality. No stranger visiting England could fail to observe that woman is allowed more liberty than equality. Sons are generally treated in English families with more consideration and respect; and among the lower classes even with more tenderness. English parents are almost invariably more proud of their sons, even where unmarked by any quality entitling them to the partiality with which they are regarded; and this may be seen, too, where the daughters of the house are cultivated, clever, prudent, and fair, every way superior to their brothers. The law of primogeniture fosters this partiality for the male members of the family, and leads to the inequitable distribution of property between sons and daughters, so characteristic of English family history. Not only among the landed aristocracy, but in London among the commercial, and in the north of England among the manufacturing classes, there is an ambition to place the sons in a superior pecuniary position, and this feeling is carried to an extent not only unjust but sometimes even cruel. If in Europe, except in certain sections of the Celtic and Scandinavian races, there yet remains so strong a disposition to place women in an unduly inferior place in the social scale, it is not matter of either surprise or despondency to those who wish to elevate the women of India, if they find that this old oriental prejudice there but slowly gives way. That it does give way, not only as regards education, but in other particulars, all who have studied Indian history and Indian manners must be aware. The social degradation of women in India is not so profound now as when the English set foot upon the soil of India. The Portuguese, although effecting no other good, set a better example in this particular than the Indians had previously seen. Even where the Portuguese established their settlements, the exclusion of women from social rights was not so inexorable as it had been ages before. If the people and government of England persevere in their efforts to ensure security for the life, education for the mind, and respect for the social status of woman, a powerful inroad will have been made upon the barbarous usuages of oriental social life.

One obstacle to female education in India, is early marriage. Frequently at ten years of age this ceremony takes place. The ancient ceremonials were much more solemn and rational than those now in use, which are simple and almost silly. When the proper moment arrives, after the adjustment of all preliminaries, the bride takes seven paces, in a peculiar form and with certain circumstances of attendant ceremonial; when the seventh pace is made the step is taken for life, the marriage is valid and indissoluble.

The extravagant outlay on marriage occasions has been noticed in chapters devoted to districts and cities, especially in those describing the country and people of Ceylon: in all parts of India inordinate expense attendant upon marriage prevails. The poor incur expenses far beyond their means, and the rich vie with one another in expenditure. As much as one hundred thousand rupees is sometimes lavished upon a marriage festival among the rich. There is a strange display of magnificence and profusion on such occasions. Grand oriental processions gratify the love of pomp innate with the people in those parades of wealth and decoration; elephants hold a prominent place, indeed the grandeur of the bridal party is in some sort estimated by the number of elephants. Dancing forms also a part of the pastime to which the people give themselves up. Nautch girls are hired for the occasion, almost the only one on which native ladies of rank will now give their presence, where the indelicate performances of those unchaste artistes are a part of the entertainment. Mr. Capper, however, intimates that they are commonly attendants upon the parties given by rich natives. In describing their receptions, he says:—"The upper classes of the natives of India are much given to entertainments of dancing and music, to which large numbers of their friends are invited. These take place upon any occasion which may offer a pretext for conviviality or sociability; they, indeed, answer

to the European evening parties. Natives of high birth and rank are proud to have their English acquaintances present on these occasions, and often make great preparations for their reception, especially if, as is sometimes the case, the European should be an official of note. It is at these parties that the 'Nautch Girls' display the gracefulness, and something more, of their figures, with a studied affectation of ease and grace, which, to a European, carries little beyond repulsion. In some parts of India, especially in the southern states of the peninsula, every temple has a troop of these 'dancing girls,' whose questionable earnings help out the sacred finances of the shrine. Some of them dress with great magnificence, hiring their jewelled robes for the occasion, and which are said occasionally to be worth, with their ornaments, as much as £20,000." Whether or no it be as common as this writer intimates for the "nautch girls" to dance at private parties where native ladies are present, they are generally appendages to bridal rejoicings.

Illuminations afford great delight to the people, whether heathen or Mohammedan, especially in the neighbourhood of large rivers, where the native pyrotechnic art is always displayed to most perfection. When aided by sylvan and water scenery the effect of these fire-works is often very fine, and to the natives enchanting, their wild delights finding expression in the utmost transports of excitement. On wedding occasions the names of the bride and bridegroom are by curious devices brought out by variegated lamps among the foliage or over the ripple of the waters; and various representations, in which the profane and sacred figure together in grotesque and unseemly association, are intended to decorate the scene. Fiery emblems gleam everywhere, and sudden transitions in those ornamental configurations astonish the people, throwing them into the wildest manifestations of boisterous joy.

The feasting is on a large scale, but the enjoyment appears more in the gorgeous *ensemble* of the feast than in the viands, which are chiefly light in character; delicious fruits, however, abounding, and the invariable rice, cooked and curried in much variety.

The funerals of natives are scenes of much solemnity. In this respect the Hindoos surpass the Chinese, and the people of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. The destruction of the body by fire, the most solemn and sanitary way for its removal, is chosen by the people of India. The body is washed with fragrant lotions, neatly dressed in perfumed apparel, and arrayed with flowers; it is then borne in procession to the funeral pyre. Sometimes this is performed in solemn silence; at others the keeners utter their plaintive lamentations after the manner of the Celtic tribes, especially as seen in Ireland. Frequently a band of music accompanies the procession, the monotonous beating of the tom-tom, failing to drown the cries of the lamenters, aids the unearthly wail which rises from them. These differences depend upon the race, as much as upon local custom. The scene at the pyre is affecting and solemn, and sometimes the lonely country will be lighted up in the still night as far as the eye can see, with the funeral fires.

When treating of the religions of India, notice was taken of the horrid rite of Suttee, which takes place in connexion with the funeral pyre of a husband. It is here proper to offer a further description, in the language of the author of *British Indian Possessions*. That author presents, in one respect, a view different from what we have met with elsewhere, for he represents the people as often solicitous to dissuade the widow from self-immolation,—almost all writers concurring in declaring the eagerness of the people to urge the woman to her dreadful fate. Elphinstone, however, gives an instance of the kind, and thinks the widow herself always more earnest than her friends for the sacrifice. "Of the first institution of Suttee nothing certain is known; though it is undoubtedly of high antiquity, by being alluded to by Diodorus Siculus, who wrote before the Christian era, and it appears to have been in practice for a long period previously. The belief that the widow is subject to any degradation should she survive her husband's death cannot be correct, seeing that it is by no means an uncommon occurrence for the relatives and friends of the family to endeavour, by all the means in their power, to dissuade the woman from the contemplated act: it is notorious that this is not only attempted, but often successfully; and amongst other expedients employed, is so to occupy the time and attention of the widow, that the body of her deceased husband may be removed and burned before she is aware of the fact. The ceremony of Suttee varies with the local customs of different parts of India, though not perhaps in any essential particulars. In Bengal the widow prepares for the act with many ceremonies, and invariably bathes before mounting the pyre, if possible in the sacred waters of the Ganges. Before firing the funeral altar, the dead and the living are bound together to the pile, so as to preclude the possibility of the latter affecting an escape. In the south of India the women would

appear to need no such precautions. A widow will there coolly set herself on the pyre, and placing the head of the departed husband in her lap, await with Roman firmness the moment when the flames of the burning mass shall envelop her in their embraces. In other parts of India the Suttee leaps into the burning mass from an eminence, or the funeral pyre may be below the surface of the ground. Sometimes the courage of the woman will fail her at the critical time, and she will make a desperate attempt to escape from the cruel death which awaits her; but in this case the attendants invariably thrust her back into the flames. An instance of this kind is on record wherein an English gentleman being present, succeeded in rescuing the widow from the flames, much against the wishes of those present. His conduct was, however, but ill-requited by the woman whose life he had thus saved; for on the following day he was not a little surprised at being upbraided by her for having thus shut her out from the companionship of her husband in Paradise. This practice is far more frequent within the limits of Hindostan proper than in any other part of India. Indeed, in the western districts it is but seldom that it occurs, whilst south of the Deccan it is almost unknown."

Among the many practices in the social life of the natives of India which are regarded by Europeans with horror and abhorrence, there are few more painful to contemplate than the custom of neglecting invalids when once supposed to be incurable. Such of the people who live within a distance which allows of their doing so, will carry their sick relations to the banks of the Ganges, and there leave them to perish, under the impression that dying there, or being carried away by the rising flood, will secure for them a greater degree of happiness in the invisible world.

It has been shown in several chapters of this work, when noticing the religious and moral character of the people and describing the inhabitants of various parts of the country, that there are classes which devote themselves to crime, professional murderers, and professional thieves. So also are there classes, or castes, who are as zealously devoted to useful and honourable pursuits. The Charans and Bhats set themselves apart for the protection of property, and also in dangerous vicinities sedulously devote themselves to the preservation of life. These men will jeopardise their lives in defence of a traveller, or bravely perish in defence of property which they may be hired to watch. There is plenty of employment for them in this respect, for the Hindoos are most accomplished thieves, especially those which give themselves wholly to the calling. The burglars are at once vigilant, persevering, daring, and expert. They will quietly cut their way through stone walls, or sap under them and emerge in the house; they are even represented as being able to disengage the bed clothes from the sleeper without awaking him. The accounts given by the early Greek writers represent the Indians as honest, faithful, and truthful. Arrian's and Strabo's descriptions of them would lead no reader to suppose that the customs we describe prevailed in their days. The Greeks only knew north-western India, but the present inhabitants of that part of the country do not merit the eulogies given by the Greeks to the races which then inhabited those regions. There was, however, at that early period more of the Arryan element in the blood of the inhabitants of Scinde and the Punjaub. Since then the Arab and Persian elements have been largely introduced.

The habits of the native lawyers, and civil officers of the uncovenanted service, have been indicated under the chapters on government. Sufficient attention has not been given to the prejudices by which those classes are actuated. It is extremely difficult to induce Mohammedans to submit to any law which is not derived from the Koran; neither are they willing to acquiesce in any administration of law which is not conducted by men of their own creed, whom they believe will be guided in the administration of justice by the precepts of the Koran. Among themselves, both Hindoos and Mohammedans are just in the administration of law everywhere, although in Turkey great corruption has crept into the system of dispensing "justice" from the tribunals. Before a Hindoo magistrate or judge, there would be no great share of impartiality for a Mohammedan suitor, and still less for a Hindoo where the judge was Mohammedan. Christians are not regarded as fit to give evidence before a Mohammedan judge, if against a true believer. In India, of course, such a doctrine cannot be openly avowed, but it is secretly believed, and would be invariably acted upon if it were possible, and is acted upon to an extent most injurious and dangerous to Europeans in India. A Jew or a Parsee would have a better chance of fair play from a Hindoo than from a Mussulman. The hatred borne also by the latter to the Persian schismatics interferes with the course of justice where a man of that country, and of the sect of Mohammedanism professed by the Persians, happens to be concerned. Some of the principles of both Hindoo and Moham-

medan law have acted favourably upon the customs of the people, and tend to regulate advantageously their social intercourse, but, as a whole, each system corrupts the judge and the people. The Hindoo and Mohammedan laws, and their effects upon the social condition of the people, were intelligently, although too favourably, noticed at the meeting of the judicial society in London, May 24, 1858, J. W. Wilcock, Esq., Q.C., in the chair. Mr. W. H. Bennet read a paper on the "Hindoo and Mohammedan Laws, as administered in India by English tribunals, and in connexion with English Law." The antiquity and fairness of the Hindoo and Mohammedan systems of jurisprudence were examined, and were illustrated by extracts from rare and valuable works. The subject, apparently abstruse and novel to an audience of English lawyers, was enlivened by curious details connected with legal administration. It was stated that the French government had introduced into Algeria many portions of the Mohammedan law, which tended very much to conciliate the Arabs. By one of the Mohammedan laws it is provided that it is not proper a true believer should either "wish" or ask for the office of *kazi* or judge; by another, that "a kazi ought not to decide a cause when he is hungry, or thirsty, or angry, nor after a full meal, for these circumstances disturb the judgment and impede reflection;" and "that in court the kazi must conduct himself with impartiality; that he must not speak to one of the parties, nor make signs, nor even smile or laugh at one of them, for it would discourage the other." It appears that there are not less than seven hundred and eighty courts in India, of which eighty-five are presided over by English judges. Of these courts five hundred and sixty have cognizance of matters of the value of £30 and upwards; fifty-nine have jurisdiction to the amount of £500; and eighty-four to an unlimited amount, subject to appeal. The efforts of Warren Hastings, the Marquis Cornwallis, and Lord Macaulay, to purify the practice and administration of law in India, were pointed out as deserving the study and imitation of jurists and legislators, especially at the present period. In the course of the conversation that followed the reading of the paper, attention was called to the intense animosity of the Turks to the Jews, and especially to the Persians. "An old Turk being asked what would become of the Jews and the Persians in the day of judgment, answered that the Persians would be turned into jackasses to carry the Jews down to hell."

Sir Thomas Munro, Warren Hastings, and many of the early English officials in India, represent the people as nationally obedient to authority, and as having respect for law. This may be the case when the law harmonizes with their prejudices and superstitions, but otherwise they do not appear to respect abstract justice or to cherish loyalty any longer than they fear the power, or, at all events, respect the force and the resources of the authority to which their allegiance may have been habitually, and in the most abject manner rendered. This was the view taken of them by the great Duke of Wellington, by Mill and Thornton, the historians, and by almost all eminent missionaries; although the amiable Bishop Heber did much to bring into fashion the notion, now dissipated, of their eminent fidelity, gentleness, obedience, and love of social order. The native laws of India, Hindoo and Mohammedan, has had, on the whole, a most pernicious effect upon those by whom those laws were administered, and upon the people at large. While, no doubt, originally the Hindoo statutes arose out of the beliefs and ancient customs of the people, they partly owed their origin to the skill of priests and rulers, who were interested in oppressing the people, and which have acted upon the natives ever since injuriously to their habits of thought, their moral character, and their social usages.

When the English reader is made familiar with the glowing panegyrics upon the laws, love of justice in the people, equity of native magistrates, and respect for authority, springing from loyal and social considerations, which prevail among the Hindoo and Mohammedan populations, he must receive such statements, no matter from what quarter they come, with some suspicion of the motives of those who utter them, and without any faith in their accuracy. The prevalence of torture in Madras, noticed for other purposes in previous pages, will exemplify this. The practice, as previously shown, was in spite of the authority of the government, and was carried on exclusively by their native functionaries. Yet when independent persons exposed and denounced the wickedness, and called upon the company and the imperial government to put a stop to it, every effort was made to conceal from the public the real state of the case, and men holding the highest places in connexion both with the imperial government at home and with the company, boldly denied the existence of the crime, resisted inquiry, and condemned as disturbers, agitators, &c., those by whom investigation was demanded.

In July, 1854, the subject was brought, for the first time, under the notice of the House

of Commons in a formal manner, by a motion regarding the tenure of land in Madras. On that occasion Mr. Digby Seymour, who had visited India, observed that the evidence collected by himself in India was incontrovertible. Mr. Bright quoted the evidence of Mr. Fisher, a merchant of Salem, in the following terms:—"Every species of severity is tried to enforce payment (of revenue), the thumb-screw, bending the head to the feet, and tying the sufferer in that position, making him stand in the sun sometimes with a large stone on his back; all which failing, his property is sequestered and sold, he is ruined, and let loose on society to live by begging, borrowing, or stealing. Thousands are destroyed in this way." Lord Harris, the governor of Madras, and Sir Laurence Peel, Chief-Justice of Calcutta, soon after confirmed these allegations, but not until the *Calcutta Morning Chronicle*, the *Calcutta Englishman*, the *Madras Athenæum*, and the *Madras United Service Gazette*, had raised an outcry on the subject, and furnished the people of England with evidence that could not be gainsayed. Mr. President Hallis, of the Indian government, wrote:—"Practices, properly designated as torture, do exist; the evil is of a most serious nature, pervading the whole of the native population, and helping most influentially to perpetuate the moral and social degradation in which the inhabitants of the country are sunk." The inhabitants of the district of Guntoor presented a petition to the government, showing forth the cruelties to which they were subjected by the native revenue-officers, in the following terms:—"The families of the ryots were prevented from taking water from their tanks and wells; that they were made to stand in the sun; were tied round the waist and dragged; had their hands and feet placed in the stocks; their bodies bent down, and large stones placed on their backs, and peons mounted on them while so situated; that stones tied in cloths were hung about their necks; that their hands were pressed in an instrument of torture called a *chirtaloo*; that their hair was tied to ropes, fastened to the boughs of trees, and moved violently backwards and forwards." Mr. Otway, on the 7th of August, 1854, declared in the house that "the practice of torture within the territories of Madras was universal, systematic, and habitual." Notwithstanding that the evidence was most abundant, and easily accessible to the court of directors and the Board of Control, and although both these sources of authority desired in every way to discountenance such atrocities, yet both by the board and by the chief men among the directors, publicly and officially in the House of Commons, the existence of such practices was denied. Sir Charles Wood, President of the Board of Control, declared that he did not believe the representations made. When the subject was brought under notice in the commons, in July 1854, Mr. R. D. Mangles, formerly secretary to the government of India, said that "he could *solemnly declare* that he had never, during the many years he was in India, heard of a single case of torture having been resorted to in Madras for the purpose of collecting the revenue." Mr. Elliot, formerly postmaster-general for India, "had never heard of such a thing" as torture in that country "until it was mentioned in that night's debate." And Sir James Weir Hogg capped the climax of denial by pouring unmeasured ridicule upon all that Mr. Seymour had said, charging him with having "fallen into the hands of interested and designing persons," and declaring "that no commission of inquiry was wanted; the governor-general was the queen's commissioner, and was all that was required." The bold asseverations of the friends of the East-India Company had their due weight in the House of Commons, and the motion of inquiry was defeated by the narrow majority of five.

In this case the conduct of Europeans was not in question, neither was it alleged that the government had any complicity with the transactions which, although exaggerated by the witnesses and their advocates, were still horrible; but in defence of the native judges, revenue officers, and police, by whom the execrable work was carried on, men of the most eminent stations were ready to hazard the strongest statements, and to display the utmost confidence in the native *employés*. This, doubtless, arose from the desire cherished so much by the Anglo-Indians to present the natives in a favourable light, and this wish partly arose from the false impression made by the adulation and hypocrisy of the natives, the traditional character of them handed down by the older officers of the company, and by the jealousy of Independent Europeans which prompted the partiality shown to the natives by the civil servants, from the time the company's first factories were founded. The whole affair places in a forcible light the necessity of English citizens weighing well the praise bestowed by Anglo-Indians upon the natives, and the assurances they make of their entire ignorance of the various barbarous, hideous, immoral, filthy, and cruel customs by which the social life of India is accursed. The native laws, and the customs arising out of these laws or sanctioned by them, have a large share

in perpetuating the social miseries of the people.

The habits and character of the native merchants and traders were described so extensively under the head of commerce, as not to require further notice in connection with the subject of social condition.

The peculiarities in the social life of the outlying provinces, such as the Straits' settlements and Ceylon, and in the non-regulation provinces of Scinde, the Punjaub, and the eastern coasts of the Bay of Bengal, have been noticed, *en passant*, when descriptions of those territories were given in previous chapters, so as not to extend too much the portion of the work reserved, as in these chapters, for notice of the social life of India proper.

There can be no doubt that the social feeling of the natives of India is very much influenced by the native press, which is conducted in a spirit malignantly hostile to the British government. It is generally urged by Europeans that such restrictions should be laid upon it as would prevent the injurious influence which it is the means of distributing. The government, however, is more indulgent of the native than of the European press in India, for while the former has been permitted to circulate treason, and direct incentives to revolt all over India, the latter has been watched with unsleeping jealousy, its strictures upon the government policy resented, and rigorous restrictions put upon the liberty of publication. The policy of permitting a native political press in India is fairly open to discussion. The main argument in its behalf is that it is better to know what the people have to say, to allow a public vent for their dissatisfaction, and for the expression of their desires. This is a specious and plausible argument, but it may be urged in reply that so far from the native press being a medium by which the public opinion of the natives is published, it is a medium by which a small party of educated infidels desire to gratify their own ambition by promoting revolution. For this end they excite the prejudices and fanaticism of the natives who can read, and wealthy natives who are disaffected, or who consider themselves aggrieved, circulate these seditious journals. Were they entirely disallowed, there can be no doubt the peace of India would be much promoted. If, however, this is not desirable, and if it be deemed just that a native press be permitted, it should, in the present state of feeling among the educated Hindoos and Mussulmen of certain ranks, exist only under a vigilant but mild censorship, such as would render the publication of treason impossible, while it afforded full freedom for the discussion of government measures, and concerning the conduct of government officers. In proportion as intelligence spreads in India, a fair, full, and free discussion must be allowed, within the bounds of loyalty. "At the present day, all people and governments must submit to discussion, examination, and responsibility. Let us firmly and faithfully adhere to the principles of our civilization,—justice, legality, publicity, and liberty; and let us never forget, that if we most reasonably ask that all things should be laid open to us, we are ourselves under the eye of the world, and will, in our turn, be examined and judged."* While, however, every encouragement should be given to the free development of a modern native social literature, and the free utterance of the native mind on all points connected with the social, economic, and political condition of India within the limits named, it cannot be overlooked that there will be the utmost difficulty in confining the discussions of the native journals within these limits; and one of the first results of a native free press wielded with tolerable ability, must be the admission of educated natives more generally into high public offices. The way in which the native press has already agitated for such a result, proves the tendency, and foreshadows the inevitable consequence. The *Calcutta Review*, looking forward to such a state of things observes:—"There will, of course, be dangers and trials in the interval. No policy can exempt us from them. We cannot look around us, even now, without observing that every educated man chafes under the sense of social disabilities, and cherishes and spreads around him disaffection. As such men increase and multiply, as they gain from progress of civilization and European habits more manliness and courage, they will exercise a wider influence; and as popular education spreads, there will be also among the mass of the people a more distinct perception of their position; they will be more open to the influence of a seditious native press; and the sense of their power when united may lead to lawless combinations, especially if a few men of strong will, and decisive character, arise to lead the way." The same journal illustrates also the social effect produced by the presence of Christianity, and its greater earnestness in individuals. The native press already has pointed to this as an intolerable grievance not to be borne by the people, and this style of language has been used by men, some of whom are avowed deists, and perhaps as great a proportion of them avowed atheists. "There is," says the review, "another element of our

* Guizot's *Civilization in Europe*.

social state which is constantly working with increasing power. There must be felt, more and more, the disruption produced by the spread of general Christian truth, and by the necessary effects of actual earnest Christianity in individuals; and then, assuredly, the ancient superstitions, and the old vile priesthood, which is the woe of India, will not die without a struggle. We shall hear of fears from Hindooism and Mohammedanism from those who call themselves Christians, if we hear none from the people themselves; the alarm will spread, and all the usual arts will be employed to entrap the government into insane attempts to check the work of Christian mission, and to discourage the progress of Christianity."

The policy of Lord Ellenborough, which is, according to the above quoted authority, against all education, enlightenment, and freedom of the press in India, is wrong in itself, and if it were right, is now too late; but the problem must be solved, and soon solved,—how is the native press to be prevented from creating an anti-British political and social revolution in India?

The social condition of the natives of India would be imperfectly presented to the reader unless the habits and character of the armed hosts employed by the British government are noticed.

The general constitution of the company's army has been noticed in the chapter treating of the military department of the government; in this place the army will be noticed only as regards its relation to the general social condition of the country. The *Times*, referring to the general progress of the mutiny, and the war in Oude in 1858, observed:—"It is now acknowledged on all hands that we are fighting not only the sepoys, but the class from whom the sepoys are drawn. The cultivators and artizans are with us, but the armed classes, the feudal retainers, bad characters, technically called *budmashes*, the durwars, clubmen, and police are against us to a man. They are three million strong, and supply all deficiencies in the insurgent ranks. They have nothing to lose, are fighters from boyhood, and detest the English, who prohibit plunder."

The classes from which the Bengal army had been recruited was thus stated by the *Daily News* at that period:—"In 1853 the Bengal native army numbered in all 83,946 men. Of these, 70,079 were infantry. Of the composition of the cavalry, the returns are silent; but the infantry were thus classified: Brahmins, 26,893; Rajpoots, 27,335; Hindoos of inferior castes, 15,761; Mohammedans, 12,699; Christians, 1,118; Sikhs, 50. The far greater number of recruits for this army were obtained, not from the company's territories, but from the territories of a foreign prince—from Oude. They were either men in whose families the profession of soldier was hereditary, or young, daring idlers, who preferred the trade of arms to regular industry. They have been, and are precisely the same materials as those of which the armies of the East have been composed from time immemorial. Their object in enlisting was to obtain a position which would enable them to gratify their irregular appetites—to lord it over the industrial classes."

The general character of the sepoys is bad, and however much they were praised and trusted by the company's civil and military officers previous to the mutiny of 1858, it might be said of the Brahminical and heathen portion of them generally, in the language of the Earl of Shaftesbury:—"They deify every passion, every propensity, every sin, and every physical abomination." The *Times* also well described the influence under which their character is formed, in the remarkable words, "The heathen religion is neither a law nor a judge; the Hindoo who commits all these atrocities, does not even regard them as a wrong, and is visited by no remorse for them." The Mohammedan portion of the army is practically no better. Troops that have never mutinied, and have had no cause of complaint, have by their plunder, and shameful abuse of women, deserved the heaviest punishments of the most stern discipline. An instance which occurred at Bangalore, in 1858, while the Bengal revolt was at its height, shows the spirit of these men. The outrage was perpetrated by sepoys of the Madras army, which had remained the most faithful. A Madras paper thus described it:—"A murder case, which for atrocity and cruelty vies with the outrages recently perpetrated in the north-west—excepting that in the present instance the murderers are Mussulman sepoys, and the victim a young woman of their own creed—has just been disposed of by the judicial commissioner in Mysore. We have the greatest disinclination to place the horrible in actual life before our readers, yet, as many of the advocates of the traditional policy in England and elsewhere speak of clemency and tolerance towards the harmless and docile people of Hindostan, we look upon it as a matter of duty to place before the public such of the occurrences in every-day life that pass under our review, as tend to develop the awful depravity and present tendencies of the many-coloured tribes we are surrounded with. Some time last year, in the month of February, a sepoy of the 35th regiment native infantry,

at Hurryhur, was offended about some trivial matter with a young woman of loose character, named Jamahlee, who resided in the same cantonment, and resolved on revenging himself. He found no difficulty in getting six of his comrades, and a bheesty of his corps, to join him in the perpetration of the contemplated outrage. Measures having been preconcerted, the above-named sepoy and one of his comrades dogged the footsteps of Jamahlee one evening, when, seeing their intended victim seated in a bazaar, they went up to her, and after greeting her courteously asked her in a casual way to come and partake of a glass of arrack with them. She, unsuspectingly, consented to their proposal, and accompanied them. They wended their way, talking quite cheerfully, out of the bazaar lines, to the ball-firing plain, in doing which they happened to meet, as if accidentally, the remaining five sepoys and the bheesty. When they had got here a bottle of arrack was brought, and while all seemed to partake of the intoxicating stuff, care was taken to make Jamahlee drunk. No sooner was this result produced than every one of these monsters ravished their poor victim, after which they carried her to a ruined temple on the banks of the Toombudra river close by, stripped her of all her clothes and jewels, lit a fire and roasted her alive, stomach downwards, pointed a bamboo stick and pierced her ear and other parts of her body with it, beat her with a rattan, and tortured her to death. Not satisfied with all this they brought the corpse back, and threw it on the ball-firing plain in the cantonment, in order, it appears, that 'all who passed by might spit upon it.' Two of those eight wretches have been sentenced to death, and the remaining six to transportation for life."

The spirit of sanguinary and capricious cruelty which characterises the Hindoos nationally, seems more especially to pervade those who follow the profession of arms, and wherever the native soldiery are unrestrained by a vigilant discipline, they revel with oriental delight in acts of strange barbarity and vindictiveness. In reference to the act just recorded—and many occur in India like it—the language of the editor of the *Times* is appropriate:—"No English soldiers could possibly have done such an act as this. Passionate, licentious, furious, and brutal they have been upon occasions, and the frenzy of a successful capture, when a city which has long resisted is at last carried by storm, has before now excited them to violent excesses and reckless acts; but they could not be guilty of such cold-blooded atrocities as these; they could not pursue cruelty to such fastidious, hellish refinements. Such acts are not in their nature; they do not belong to the moral atmosphere in which they have been born and bred; they *could* not do them. Christianity may not in its higher and stricter phase penetrate the mass and mould nations and races, but it does act as a safeguard to them against these extremities of vice. It produces a certain moral atmosphere, out of which even the careless and lax cannot remove themselves, but which they carry about with them; it sets up a standard which becomes, in a degree, part of our nature. In heathen religion there is nothing really controlling—morally controlling; it may assume the most imperious and dictatorial tone in externals, and impose an endless code of ceremonials and forms upon its disciples, but its moral standard comes from a human source, from the minds of its own disciples themselves, and therefore, morally, a heathen religion does not control those minds, but those minds control it; it cannot be a law to that nature of which it is simply the offspring and the reflection. But Christianity is a revelation from above, and therefore it is a law. It compels a certain deference to it, and even when it is not obeyed, it can punish by the stings of bitter recollection and remorse. Such demonstrations may well make us pause in our career of Indian government—pause to reflect how far we may trust such specimens of moral character, place them in responsible and powerful positions, and put arms into their hands."

The whole *morale* of the sepoy troops is bad, they are linked with the civilians, whose devoteeism unfits them for allegiance to a Christian power. The Brahmins of the Bengal army were the intimate and constant confederates of men of their own caste, who, as a rule, were capable of perpetrating any outrage to promote the power of their idolatry, and the ascendancy of their order. The Mohammedans, more than even their co-religionists elsewhere, are in the Madras and Bombay armies as they were in the Bengal, ready to immerse their hands in blood, either to promote a personal ambition, avenge a private quarrel, or accomplish a sectarian purpose. The Mohammedan soldiers are more generally rash and instantaneously revengeful; the heathen sepoys are utterly debased, a profound sensuality and a quiet, deeply nurtured, remorseless and bloody vindictiveness seem to reign over their whole nature: eloquently and truly has it been remarked,—"Military life has the reputation of great laxity, but it is quite clear that the moral temper of an English army is as different as light is from darkness from that of a

Hindoo army. The truth is, your heathen is not only vicious, but plunges deep into the very depths of vice. Vice is not an indulgence simply, it is also a horrible mystery; heathen, and especially oriental nature, is not content with the indulgence, but dives into the mystery. It goes behind the veil, it penetrates into the sanctuary, it searches the inner depths and recesses, it makes discoveries in the horrible interior, it follows up the subject, and goes into abominable subtleties and refinements of vice from which Christian nature even in its worst examples shrinks back. There is something insatiable about heathen vice, and especially oriental vice; it palls unless it is in progress, is always penetrating further, and going beyond its present self. And this is true, especially of those two great departments of vice—lust and cruelty. Who can sound the depths of oriental licence in these two fields? What a horrible shape does vengeance assume in the oriental mind; what epicurean refinements of pain; what exquisite tortures; what subtle agonies has it suggested; what an intricate and acute development it has given to the subject; what a luxury of cruelty has it dived into, brooding pleasurably over its victim, watching the process of suffering, and fostering with tender care the precious seed of hatred, as if it were loth to bring it too soon to maturity, even by the death of the object! This is the mystery of cruelty. We forbear to enter into another mystery, connected with the other department of vice just mentioned. The mystery of oriental lust need but be alluded to to raise horror and awe, as at the idea of something indescribable and inexplicable—we cannot say *super*-natural. Contrast with this tone of heathen vice, of oriental vice, the tone of Christian vice, and there will appear a marked difference. Christian vice is bad enough, but it is not insatiable, it is not infinite, it does not go into the horrible subtleties and refinements of the other. In a word, Christian vice is an indulgence, a gross, a coarse, a sensual indulgence, but it is not a mystery. Even an immoral Christian stays comparatively on the threshhold, and does not search the dark interior of vice, and ransack every corner of it."

Except as their interests were served, the native soldiery have been always disloyal and insubordinate, and this mainly arose from their religious associations. They were ever ready to be led away by some Brahmin priest, or mad fakeer. The late Major Edward Willoughby, quartermaster-general of the Bombay army, describes the sepoys of that army in terms which confirm these statements. The major affirms that the natives were more easily governed than British soldiers, which is true so far as petty vices are concerned, where the superior energy, and customary freedom of the British soldier exposes him to peculiar temptations, but the English soldier is essentially loyal, and where a principle is concerned, he is a model of subordination. He is unruly where the native is pliant, he is obedient, subordinate, and loyal, with a high sense of soldierly honour where the native is ready to follow the beck of every adventurer and conspirator. Major Willoughby's remarks were made in reference to Lord William Bentinck's order against flogging in the native army, and his words are, with this understanding of the particular expression pointed out, forcibly correct:—"The men composing the native army are, generally speaking, easily governed, more so than our own countrymen. Amongst Europeans, individual acts of misconduct, and even insubordination, are not uncommon, but they are easily dealt with, and there is no fear of its extending beyond the ranks of its own company or regiment; but the native army is composed of such different material that much is at all times to be feared on this score. A few designing men may get into the ranks of a regiment, perhaps for the purpose of causing some disaffection (I have known it to be the case for the purpose of plunder), and so far succeed in exciting men's minds against their officers and government, on some imaginary grievance, regarding their caste and popular prejudices, of which they will allow these rascals to be the judges (for no bodies of men ever take the trouble to think for themselves), that if it is not checked with a firm hand at the outset, may end even in the downfall of our authority in India. All the serious affairs that have taken place amongst the native troops, have commenced something in this way; but a firm and judicious commanding officer can, generally speaking, check a thing of this kind, if he is armed with the requisite power. He orders a drum-head court martial, by the sentence of which the ringleaders are made an instant example of, the discontent kept down, and the whole affair settled without calling in further assistance, before it assumes a serious aspect, or becomes generally known. And who will tell me that this is not a merciful act, both to the sufferer, as well as to the body of misguided men, who would in all probability, if trifled with under such circumstances, be led on to any degree of crime, without knowing what they were doing? But now, in such a case, with Lord William Bentinck's order in the mouth of every drummer boy, what is a commanding officer to do if it is reported to him that his

regiment is guilty of some act of insubordination? He repairs to the parade, stands in front of a thousand men bearing arms; the instigators are pointed out to him, and what is he to do to enforce his own or the orders of government? Surely he cannot make such a burlesque of it as to order them to be put on *congée* for a month, nor by directing their discharge, for it is well known to every officer who has served with a native regiment that the first thing a man asks for, when excited by any annoyance, is his discharge; in short, I have heard a whole regiment call out on parade, 'Give us our discharge,' 'We want our discharge.' But we have assumed that these men have enlisted for a particular purpose, and having been detected in their villany, the greatest favour you can bestow upon them is to give them their liberty again. To comply, therefore, with the wishes of men under such circumstances, without first disgracing them by flogging, is clearly no punishment or example to others; and commanding officers now will have no power left in their hands by which they can strike awe into the ranks of a body of men, perhaps bordering on mutiny. What, therefore, is to become of a regiment in such a situation? They see their commanding officer's hands tied, are encouraged by it, and so the thing goes on, until it assumes such an alarming feature, that higher authority is called in, capital punishment is resorted to, and ten or a dozen men lose their lives; lucky indeed if it stops here: and this is what Lord William Bentinck boasts of at Glasgow, as being his great philanthropic act, in giving up the government of India. This subject, depend upon it, ought not to be lightly thought of by the authorities in this country if they value the safety of our Eastern dominions, and it is one of serious concern to officers now rising to the command of regiments. Some expedient ought therefore to be hit upon, and that soon, to annul this fearful order. At present the army is composed of veteran troops, and they are fortunately in that state of discipline that things may go on quietly enough for a time, but when we begin to recruit again, and our ranks are filled with men who have never been taught to fear the rod, we shall then find to our cost that they will be like loose horses, not quite so easily managed, even in the common duties required of them, as they were with the curbs. This, I fear, will be particularly felt in the field, in preventing plunder and other crimes, of which soldiers are too often guilty in marching through a country, and which requires a strong arm of the law to check, even amongst the best disciplined troops."

The discipline of the native army undoubtedly requires some peculiar mode of punishment if flogging and placing in irons, which they alone appear to dread, are to be given up. The Duke of Wellington pointed out long ago the uselessness of capital punishments for either sepoys or people as a punishment for rebellious conduct to which religion or caste stimulated. The victim would glory in his death as martyrdom, and all his friends and the people revere his memory as a witness for his religion or caste. Whereas, loading them with chains, or inflicting stripes, degrades them in their own esteem, and that of their fellow revolters, whether civil or military, and is consequently an effectual and deterring punishment. Major E. Willoughby, already quoted, bore testimony to the effect of flogging in the following language:—"The great argument against this mode of punishment is, that it deters the higher class of natives from joining the ranks. The respectable natives inclined to enlist well understand that the lash is not intended for them while they behave themselves properly; but admitting that our ranks are filled with the very description of men we appear so anxious to obtain, then, perhaps, I must differ with most people in saying, that the argument that would apply to the European character on this head would not hold good with the natives of India, for I am satisfied the more intelligent and respectable your men are, as to family connexions, the greater the danger of disaffection, and consequently the greater the cause for keeping the means best adapted to check it. I think I am borne out in this assertion from the experience the Golundanze battalion has afforded us. These men are all of high caste and character, and are paid better than the rest of the foot-soldiers. They are a fine body of men, and do credit to the officers of artillery, but I believe I am not far wrong in saying that they have given more trouble, and a greater number of courts-martial have taken place in that corps, since it has been raised, than in any six regiments of the line during the same period. Before I conclude I must avow my great abhorrence to corporeal punishment, when it can possibly be avoided; and, in my opinion, it is seldom, if ever, requisite in a well-regulated native regiment, if the commanding officer has the power to exercise it when it does become necessary; but take that power from him, and you will find the hitherto quietly-disposed native soldier, particularly your high caste men, much more prone to mischief than they were under the old system."

The opinion of Sir Charles Napier was in accordance with that of Major Edward Willoughby. The words of the conqueror of

Scinde were:—"I have long considered the *flogging system* as regards native troops, and my opinion is fixed. I entirely concur in the governor-general's [Lord Hardinge's] remarks upon the orders of Lord Combermere, General Barnes, and Lord William Bentinck. *The abolishing flogging was a great mistake, and injurious to the Indian army.* Discharge from the service is not the greatest punishment to a bad sepoy, though it is to a good one. And it is severe to give that highest punishment—made more terrible and disgraceful by hard labour in irons along with felons—to a well-drilled sepoy of previous good character, a man attached to our service, who has, perhaps, only in a single instance broken the rules of discipline; a man who, born under the fiery sun of India, is by nature subject to flashes of passion that cannot be passed over, but do not debase him as a man. It is unjust, and therefore injurious, and even disgraceful, to the military code, which thus says: 'I punish you in the highest degree, and stamp you with infamy for having a weakness, more or less common to all men.' Their own expression admirably depicts this injustice: '*If we deserve punishment, flog our backs; but do not flog our bellies.*' Lord William Bentinck was a man I loved personally, as my old and respected friend and commander; but he did not see the severity, I will almost say cruelty, to the sepoy of a measure which he deemed to be the reverse. Taking the sepoy's own prayer as the basis of our system, I would reward him and flog him, according to his deserts—his good conduct should benefit his belly, his bad conduct be laid on his back. An Indian army is always in the field, and you have no other punishment but shooting. In the campaign against the Ameers I availed myself of provost-marshals to flog. Some of the newspapers called upon the sepoys to mutiny. I stood the risk. Had I not done so, and showed the Scindians they were protected on the spot, instead of feeling safe, and being safe, they would have been plundered, and would have assassinated every man who passed our sentries, and, instead of bringing supplies, would have cut off our food: *thus, to save the backs of a few marauders, hundreds of good soldiers would have been murdered.* . . . . All this was avoided by having once ordered every pillager to be flogged; and plenty there were—I dare say not less than sixty were flogged the first two days. Some religious people said 'it was unholy;' some attorneys' clerks in red coats said 'it was illegal:' but I flogged on, and in less than a week the poor ryots, instead of flying or coming into camp to entreat protection (which I could only give by the lash), they met us at the entrances of the villages, and furnished us with provisions. Without the use of the lash plunder would have raged—officers would have made personal efforts to stop atrocities—and what the great Duke calls 'the knocking-down system' would have prevailed, and shooting and hanging alone could have saved the army."

The importance of military discipline, and the manners, customs, and character of the native troops, is too important to the question of the whole social condition of India to be overlooked.

In 1844 new articles of war for the Indian army were published, in which were sections re-introducing the penalty of flogging; but so little discretion was left to the commanding officers of regiments, and so guarded was the language employed in authorising it at all, that the sections referring to it were a dead letter. The result of the centralization of all authority at head-quarters was well expressed by Sir Charles Napier when he said, "The power of punishing ceases when it ought to be most vigorous, and order becomes almost a matter of personal civility from the sepoy to his commander. Really one is astonished how the army preserves any discipline." The Bengal army did not long preserve any discipline. The rage for treating the sepoy as if he were not only as good as an Englishman, but superior morally, and deserving more consideration from government, did much to destroy that discipline, and to shake also the consistency of the armies of Madras and Bombay. When the Brahmins and high caste Mohammedans saw that within the lines of the same cantonments English soldiers were severely flogged and degraded for crimes for which sepoys escaped with their discharge, some temporary confinement, or rebuke, they began to think that the British government did homage to caste, or feared the native soldiers too much to dare to treat them, as they showed by the punishment inflicted on English soldiers, they believed their crimes deserved. The result was contempt for the British private soldiers for submitting to the indignity, and for the British government, as deficient in power, authority, or "respect for *their own* caste" and nation.

The question of rewards and punishments in the native army is important, as bearing upon its social relations as well as discipline. It affects the recruiting of the service and the feeling which the mass of the people cherish towards it. For the native troops of India there are two military rewards—the Order of British India, and the Order of Merit. The first is bestowed upon native officers; the second, upon soldiers of all ranks, who have distin-

guished themselves by personal valour. In the one there are two classes of a hundred men each; in the other, three classes. Those who are in the first rank of the order of British India have two rupees a day in addition to the regimental pay; those in the second class, one rupee extra. Those belonging to the Order of Merit have a pecuniary recompense of double, one-half, or one-third of their regimental pay, as they belong to the first, second, or third class. The governor-general confers these orders. Since 1837 the pay and allowances of the native troops in the three presidencies have been equalized. In addition to these honorary marks of distinction and pecuniary rewards, pensions for wounds received in action have been increased, as well as those given to the children of soldiers killed in battle. The troops have priority of hearing in the judicial courts, and when food exceeds a certain sum they receive a compensation. If a native soldier crosses the frontier, and dies in an Indian hospital, he is considered to have died in a foreign country, which entitles his heirs to receive a pension. Lastly, the letters of the Bengal sepoys to and from their friends pass free of postage.

The social peculiarities of the European soldiers in India constitute an important feature of the social condition of the country. As the habits and character of the native soldiery have been last noticed, it will preserve connection between the two great departments of military social life, native and British, so far as our narrative is concerned, to state their relative prospects of promotion.

The native Indian army was first formed into regiments in 1796, till which date seniority prevailed. In the time of Clive and Lawrence, in our struggles against the French, natives held the rank of officers; and in those campaigns our sepoys were exclusively commanded by Mohammed Issoof, equally meritorious and honoured as a soldier and a statesman. Since that period the army has been entirely officered by the British, though the natives have held, and still hold, the rank of non-commissioned officers. Under the present system the officers rise from the junior ensign to the rank of major regimentally. They afterwards rise in line, in their own arm of the service, to the rank of colonel. Formerly the company's officers were not treated by the home government with that liberality which their eminent services entitled them to receive, but in later times honours and distinctions have been conferred upon them for gallantry in action. According to Mr. Melvill's authority, in the last fifteen years prior to 1852, when he gave his evidence, 350 have received special brevets, and 213 honours of the Bath. Those special brevets have been given by the crown; and it should be added that within the periods named thirteen distinguished officers have been honoured by the appointment of aides-de-camp to her majesty, which gives them at once the rank of colonel. Since 1834 special pensions and allowances have been granted to the widows and children of officers killed in action; and since that date officers have been privileged to make remittances to their families through the company's treasury, whereas formerly they had to pay a commercial agency for the transmission, now saved, while greater regularity is secured.

The customs of the European officers have become of late years a subject of much comment in the Indian press. General Jacob draws the following comparison between the English and Indian habits of officers:—"From the moment a young officer sets foot in the Bengal Presidency, he is perpetually reminded that every English idea and habit is the sure mark of a griffin (that is, of a fool). He must not go out in the sunshine—he must travel in a palkee instead of on horseback—he must be punkaed, and tattied, and God knows what else—he must have a *khansaman*, a *kibruntgar*, a *sridar-bearer* and bearers, and a host of other servants; one for his pipe, another for his umbrella, another for his bottle, another for his chair, &c.—all to do the work of one man; and which work would be done by one man in the case of the Bombay griffin. By all these people the youth is called *ghureeb purwar*, *hoodawund*, &c. This state of affairs bewilders the new comer, till, resigning himself to his fate, he becomes accustomed to it, and gradually loses part of the manliness of the Anglo-Saxon character. With the external luxurious and lazy habits of Hindostan, he imperceptibly adopts somewhat of oriental morality. . . . . The remedy is evident. Let it be the fashion to be English. It is a fallacy to suppose that the climate compels to be otherwise. There are faults enough, I suppose, in the European society of the western presidency; but assuredly it is ten times more English than that of Bengal, yet the climate is no better than that of the latter. Let the griffin have no more than two body servants at most; let him have no one in his service who will not do such work as his master bids him do. If the Hindoos object to such service, there are plenty of Mussulmen ready, willing, and able to take their places, and with no more prejudice than a Christian. Let the young man never enter a palkee, but go about on the back of his pony; let him not fear the sun—

it may tan his cheeks, but it will not hurt him. It is your effeminate gentlefolk, who live in dark houses artificially cooled, with a dozen Hindoos at work, with fans and flappers to beat the flies off them, who suffer by exposure, not the hardy young Englishmen, who, if not intemperate, soon becomes acclimated; and the more readily so the less he regards the sunshine, which is healthy enough in moderation."

It cannot be matter of surprise if these strictures of General Jacob evoked very severe replies, and among the most efficient of the general's repellants has been Lieut.-colonel Hunter. He accuses the general, or colonel as he calls him (he is now general), of prejudices in favour of the Bombay army, to which he himself belongs, and of exaggeration in the pictures he draws of what was blameworthy on the part of the officers of the Bengal army. No man can read General Jacob's writings without perceiving his prejudices, his perverse judgment, and eccentric reasonings, however they may admire his energy, activity, and various soldierly qualities, such as have won for him no inconsiderable renown. The reply of the lieutenant-colonel sets before us the social life of the officers of the Bengal army in quite another form, and deserves to be incorporated in these pages, on the venerable principle, *Audi alteram partem*. Colonel Hunter says,* "I have remarked that Colonel Jacob's tracts are full of delusions, and caricature, in regard to the habits of the officers of the Bengal army. Far from fearing the sun, as they are represented, in page 28 of the *Tracts*, to do, I have known men, who, out tiger-shooting, have been exposed to the sun during the entire month of May, from sunrise to sunset; and have returned to their cantonments with their faces necks, and hands, almost blacker than their native attendants. I have also known men, who, as a mere pastime, have been in the habit of riding their one hundred and forty miles between breakfast and dinner; enough, I should suppose, to satisfy the most fastidious Bombay officer in these matters. As to the Bengal griffin, with his host of useless servants and his otherwise effeminate habits, the picture is very amusing, and no doubt intended to be very edifying; but, unfortunately, at least, as far as my experience goes, the picture is mere fiction and caricature; yet taking it *quantum valeat*, to what, after all, do these fantastic notions amount? admitting that, here and there, there are a few Bengal griffins to be found riding in palkees, and surrounded by a retinue of khansamans, khidmutgars, hooqquburdars, bottle-holders, &c. &c., do not the most manly characters—soldiers and civilians,—to be found in England, do exactly the same thing; have they not their butlers, footmen, pages, grooms, coachmen, &c. &c., and do they not sometimes condescend to ride in a carriage, and—*proh pudor*—sometimes even to use an umbrella; and does Colonel Jacob really imagine that these men are less English at heart, and less manly in their habits, than the youth, who, through necessity, is satisfied to put up with the services of a maid-of-all-work, the prototype, I suppose, of the 'man-of-all-work' attached to the Bombay griffin. Then, as to the palkee,—is there really anything so very shocking in the fact that—*more majorum*—we Bengalees sometimes indulge in such an equipage, to avoid being half broiled, and drenched in perspiration, when about to pay a few visits to the fair sex, or buttoned up to the throat in full uniform, when about to visit some distant part of a cantonment on duty; if the Bombay griffin, on such occasions, prefers a tattoo or poney, all I can say is, there is no accounting for taste in these matters—*De gustibus non disputandum*. 'That clever general Sir Charles Napier,' says Colonel Jacob, 'went half mad at the first sight of the camels that accompanied his little force in Scinde.' The gallant colonel appears to have been affected much in the same way at the first sight of the Bengal palkees, hooqquburdars, bottle-holders, &c. 'Cleverness,' again remarks Colonel Jacob, 'is full of prejudices; genius is independent of local circumstances;' under this view of the case, to which category the gallant colonel belongs can be no very difficult matter to determine. If Colonel Jacob is in the habit of indulging in classical or historical reminiscences, the contemplation of the luxurious habits of such first-rate soldiers as Alexander, Cæsar, Pompey, Wallenstein, &c., must have caused him many a bitter pang—

> "Omnibus in terris quæ sunt a Gadibus usque
> Aurorem et Gangem, pauci dignoscere possunt
> Vera bona, atque illis multum diversa, remotâ
> Erroris nebulâ."

There is less excuse for the aspersion which has been cast upon the Bengalees by Colonel Jacob, inasmuch as Bombay, to which presidency he belongs, has been blessed with two splendid specimens of the Bengalee, in the persons of the Hon. Mount Stuart Elphinstone and Sir G. Clerk, both as remarkable for manliness of character, manly habits, and ability to rough it, as they were for their

* *Suggestions relative to the Re-organization, Discipline, and future Management of the Bengal Army*, pp. 10, 11. By Lieutenant-colonel William Hunter, Bengal army retired list.

liberality of disposition, and princely hospitality. Sir G. Clerk for horsemanship, pluck, and stamina, had scarcely perhaps his match in India, and the Hon. Mount Stuart Elphinstone was, I am told, equally conspicuous for the same qualities. These distinguished men were both probably sybarites, as far as a show of khansamans, khidmutgars, and bottle-holders could make them so, but notwithstanding these vanities, which in Colonel Jacob's eyes, so militate with the true dignity of manhood, I believe I am correct in saying that they are the two most popular governors Bombay has seen during the present century."

Whatever the partialities of officers may lead them to pronounce in respect to the habits of their confreres of their own presidency, there can be no doubt from the testimony of Sir Charles Napier, General Jacob, and many impartial and disinterested civilians, that the social life of the younger officers of the native army has been for a long time tainted with gambling and dissipation to a degree requiring the interposition of their superiors. *Gaudet equis et canibus*, seems so universally true of the English officer in the royal army, that it is absolutely absurd to make it an accusation against the officers of the company, as has lately been done by gentlemen connected with the English press in India, and by merchants, civilians, and travellers. That our young officers very often live extravagantly, and sometimes recklessly, that the term "fast," will too generally apply to their habits, cannot be denied by their staunchest advocates; but that they are worse than other young men of their rank and country, in other professions, or in the sister service at home or abroad, may be with safety denied.

The general impression is that the climate is deadly to Europeans. Statistical information confirms General Jacob's view as to its healthfulness, at all events, for the ordinary duties of officers, but the returns of casualties in war have always shown a high rate. This was more especially the case in the revolt of 1857. The mortality amongst the officers in the Indian army, since the rebellion broke out, has been about septupled. The *Friend of India* has published a list of four hundred and fifteen East India Company's officers on the Bengal establishment who died from 10th May, the day on which the rebellion broke out, to the end of 1857; and the list seems to be as full and correct as any that has appeared. The *Quarterly Army List*, published by Lepage and Co., may, we presume, be relied upon as correct; and according to that, there were, on the 10th of April, just prior to the mutiny, 3578 officers in the company's service, serving on the Bengal establishment; and the mortality amongst them, in the seven months and twenty-two days, commencing on the 10th May, and ending 31st of December, was at the rate of upwards of eleven and a half per cent., or about eighteen per cent. per annum. The average age of officers of the Bengal army, excluding second lieutenants, cornets, and ensigns, was, in 1847, according to the best authorities, forty-one years; and there is no reason, as far as we are aware, for believing that that is not the average age now. Cadets are, one with another, seventeen and a half years old on entering the service, and from the gradation list, it is concluded, that the mean age of second lieutenants, cornets, and ensigns is about twenty-three years. Also, that the average age of all the officers of the Bengal army is, as near as may be, forty years. The mortality at age forty, during the present century, has been rather more than two and a half per cent. per annum. It follows that the casualties, which we have a right to assume are directly consequent on the insurrection, and in excess of what would have occurred under ordinary circumstances, amount to less than fifteen and a half per cent. of the whole strength of the force; that is to say, during the past year the deaths, as we have said, have been septupled; one hundred and seventy-four out of every thousand officers died, the experience of nearly a century having led us to conclude that only twenty-six out of every thousand would die.

The mortality of British soldiers both in peace and war arises from long marches in the heavy clothing with which, under so hot a climate, they are encumbered. Under the burning sun, or the still more dangerous dews of the periods generally chosen for marching, many incur death, or disease by which they are permanently invalided. The extension of railways was shown in another chapter as important for strategy and for carrying stores, it will also spare the health of our troops. The improvement of river navigation will tend, perhaps, in an equal degree, to preserve the health and promote the social comfort of the European officers and soldiers on Indian service. Preparations of an important kind are being made to cover the great rivers of India with efficient steamers of huge magnitude, by which a large number of troops, and a vast quantity of stores can be borne at one time. The *Liverpool Albion* of June, 1858, had the following paragraph:—"While public attention has been attracted so strongly by the unusual dimensions of the Leviathan that the name of that vessel is in everybody's

mouth, it happens singularly enough that two vessels of greater length, and of a more remarkable character, have been advancing to completion in Liverpool without the general public being even cognizant of their existence. These vessels are each seven hundred feet long. They have been constructed by Messrs. Vernon and Son, for the Oriental Inland Steam Company, and are intended for the navigation of the Indian rivers. The purpose of their peculiar features of construction is to enable a large cargo to be carried at a good rate of speed upon a light draught of water. The great rivers of India, though penetrating far into the interior, and though containing large volumes of water, are, nevertheless, shallow during the dry season. The vessels navigating must, therefore, float very light, and yet they must have displacement enough to carry a good cargo. They must have strength enough not to suffer injury if they should get aground, and they must present such little resistance to the water as to be able to achieve a satisfactory rate of progress against the stream. All these indications are admirably fulfilled in these vessels."

The grand difficulty in the native army is the social relations of the British and native officers. The former look down upon the latter, who feel the contempt with which they are treated.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

### THE SOCIAL CONDITION OF INDIA (*Continued*).

THE difficulty of attaching new provinces to the British government has been greatly increased by the jealousy shown by Europeans to having natives retained in the employments, civil or military, which they held. The Duke of Wellington called the attention of the government to this fact in his day, his words were, "whenever any portion of the country is brought under British dominion, we throw out of employment all who have hitherto managed the revenues or commanded armies." Sir Thomas Munro said:—"There is no example of any conquest, in which the natives have been so completely excluded from all share of the government of their country, as of British India." The same high authority remarks, "Our system is much more efficacious in depressing, than all our laws and school-books can be in elevating the character of the natives; we are working against our own designs, and we can expect to make no progress while we work with a feeble instrument to improve, and a powerful one to deteriorate; there can be no hope of any great zeal for improvement, when the highest acquirements lead to nothing beyond some inferior appointment, and can confer neither wealth or honour." Lord William Bentinck remarks, "That under the Mohammedans the sympathies of the conquerors and conquered became identified; they intermarried with the natives, and admitted them to all privileges; our policy, on the contrary, has been the reverse of this—cold, selfish, and unfeeling; the iron hand of power on one side, monopoly and exclusion on the other. India, in order to become an attached dependency of Great Britain, must be governed for her own sake, and not for the sake of the individuals who are sent from England to make their fortunes. Our government to be secure must be made popular; the government must remain arbitrary, but it may also be, and should be, paternal."

However deserving of respect the opinions of Sir Thomas Munro and Sir William Bentinck, they must be received with care. Several of the predictions of the former, and the legislative measures of the latter, have shown that these men, however justly regarded as *beaux esprits*, did not penetrate the character of the Hindoos. Lord William Bentinck was wrong in saying that under the Mohammedans the sympathies of the conquerors and the conquered became identified. The Mohammedans made conversion to their religion, real or feigned, a test of office, and the conquerors settled down within the country, making it their own, as the Normans did in England,—two conditions which so entirely separate the case of the Mohammedan and the British conquerors, that it would be surprising to find such a man as Lord William Bentinck adopt those views, were it not that some of his legislative acts prove how much he was governed by theories in his own mind, and how strong his tendency to assimilate facts to those theories where, in truth, there was no affinity. The government of Lord William Bentinck, if reviewed *ab ovo usque ad mala*, will confirm this opinion in any impartial judgment. Still, the opinion of those eminent persons on this matter must not be permitted to pass unheeded; and no correct

view can be taken of the social condition of India which does not comprehend the position of British officials to the educated natives, both military and civil.

The imperfect administration of justice by British officials, from want of legal knowledge, has become one of the most marked evils of Indian social life. A gentleman well acquainted with the state of the law both in India and in England thus treated the subject in the leading diurnal journal of London:—"One of the most legitimate grievances of the Anglo-Indian public is the defective legal knowledge of the civilians who officiate in India as the company's judges. A hostile pamphleteer has made a collection of sudder decisions, which read like so many legal paradoxes; and, in fact, it is admitted that the sudder judges have no qualification for their duties, except such as they acquire empirically when adjudicating as collectors on questions of boundary, and for the rest they trust to their unassisted common sense. There are some persons, I know, in whose eyes this will be no heavy charge. With us in England law is so inextricably associated with the debased feudalism of our real property system, the scholastic pedantry of our common law pleading, and the intricate and costly procedure of our equity courts, that we are apt to regard rough common sense as a better guide to the reason than the rules, entangled with technicality, by which the trained lawyer directs himself. Yet the great principles of jurisprudence are, in truth, only the accumulated common sense of many centuries, many races, many men; and judicial functionaries are no more at liberty to discard them than is the geometrician or the algebraist to neglect the results stored up by previous labourers in his field of science. The special knowledge of the jurist is nowhere of greater value than in a country where the legal system which has to be administered, is as strangely heterogeneous as it is in India. The more confused the body of rules to be interpreted, the firmer ought to be the grasp of the judge and of the practitioner on the great leading canons which control and simplify every form of law. From a criminal law which embodies the perverse learning of the Mohammedan doctors, from a civil law which still reflects the primitive barbarism of the aboriginal Hindoo races, the fully equipped intellect of the trained jurist can alone be relied upon to extract conclusions which recommend themselves to the reason, and which harmonize with each other. The experiment of confiding to amateur judges the administration of such a system as that which the Hindoo lives under has produced results which disgust the layman quite as much as the professional lawyer. The Anglo-Indians seem to be unanimous in their contempt of the sudder courts. To remedy what they consider a palpable evil, they are clamorous for barristers to come out and practise before all the company's tribunals, with an understanding that the bench is hereafter to be recruited from these practitioners, either wholly or in part. It is a much debated question among Anglo-Indians whether English barristers ought not to have a readier access given them to the company's tribunals, by making English the judicial and forensic language of all India. . . . . Nothing, sir, can be worse than the existing prospect of supplying India with judges and practitioners capable of unravelling Hindoo law with the refined appliances of the jurist. Haileybury College is extinct; and though in the recent scheme of education drawn out for the young Indian civilians some provision was made for furnishing them out with at least the elements of law, that part of the new arrangements has (a correspondent of yours remarks this) been quietly dropped. Civil servants of the Indian government will, therefore, in future, have no legal knowledge at all. The barristers with whom it is proposed to supply their place in all judicial offices are not necessarily superior to the civilians in special, and would probably be found inferior to them in general qualifications."

The same writer, with great discrimination and truth, observes:—"Let us not disguise from ourselves that in filling England with sham lawyers or amateur lawyers we throw away one principle means of civilizing the Hindoo. The missionary teacher of religion has a world of difficulties to contend with; the missionary teacher of justice has none whatever. The native has the most profound respect for our equity, for our conscientious adherence to the letter, for the strong sense (whenever he finds it) which gives meaning and consistency to his own chaotic law. The education of the Hindoo mind through the administration of justice might be carried to almost any length; but we appear determined to stop where we are, if, indeed, by bringing English technical crochetiness to bear on Hindoo perversity, we do not positively undo all that we have done. The great boon to India of a civil law, harmonized by wise judicial exposition, the still greater boon of a general code, will only be conferred by lawyers whose studies were properly directed, and whose acquirements were thoroughly sifted at the outset of their career. It is quite immaterial by what conventional designation these lawyers are known. They may be either barristers-at-law, trained especially for

Indian practice, or civilians who have received a thoroughly legal education, adequately trained in the principles of jurisprudence." At present there is little prospect of the ideas of this enlightened writer being carried out, but it is possible that in the general sifting to which all Indian affairs are being subjected by the awakened energy of parliament and the British public, that this also may be made the subject of investigation and reform.

The general tone of the members of the civil service in all departments enters largely into the social character of India. Formerly there was great neglect of religious observances by these classes. Travellers at the beginning of this century, and during the first twenty or thirty years of it, give relations on this head painful to Christians and Englishmen to peruse. One writer represents the celebration of religious worship according to the service of the Church of England as only occurring occasionally when a clergyman visited the garrison. Other writers represent divine service as being held monthly only, or even less frequently, in other garrisons and populous places, where there was *comparatively* a numerous English population. This is not now the case. A very great revival of interest in religious things has taken place; and in all cantonments and cities where Europeans congregate there are either regular chaplains paid by the government, and sometimes several chaplains of different sects, or the missionaries of voluntary religious societies, and of the Established Church, minister statedly among Europeans, as well as among the natives, to whom they are more especially commissioned from England; indeed, the benefit conferred by the English missionary societies to the social condition of Europeans in India has been unspeakable. If the missionary societies had effected no other good than the improvement which they have produced in European society, all the sums expended would have been well laid out; for while whole villages have been drawn to listen to the tidings of the gospel, and even in the vicinity of the idol temples the salvation of Christ has been proclaimed, large numbers of sceptical or indifferent Europeans have been converted to God. The licentious have been rebuked, and awed into decorum; and many in England have reason to rejoice that the wild youth who had left home, addicted to dissipation, beyond the advice of parents and the remonstrances of friends, had by the genial persuasion and holy example of some good missionary been brought to know himself and his God, and in a right frame of mind to regard the duties, ties, and responsibilities of life. The well authenticated instances of this kind are so numerous, that any person who will choose to examine the matter for his own satisfaction, will be utterly astonished to find how such cases will multiply before his inquiries. A work recording such cases might be written, which would furnish to the public not only a large amount of information affecting the particular inquiry, but throwing much light upon the wonderful providence and goodness of God in individual history, and bringing out many traits of social life in India with which neither the church nor the world in England is familiar. The missionary societies have also rendered the government good service in a way which does not appear to be appreciated. But for them the government would have felt itself obliged to provide at the public expense a far larger staff of clergymen of the Established Church. This would have provoked bitter controversy at home, as the Presbyterians and Roman Catholics would have also demanded an extension of the support afforded to them, while the voluntary churches would have raised an agitation against the extension of the principle of religious establishments to India, and very large classes of persons, careless of any religious system, would have pointed out the injustice to the natives of India of supporting English sects out of revenues contributed by natives. In India the bitter prejudice already excited among the Hindoos and Mohammedans by endowing Christian sects out of the public revenue would have been increased, and have furnished still wider scope for the ingenious critiques of the native newspapers, and the appeals to native prejudice and bigotry in which that portion of the press of India indulges. The voluntary labours of the missionaries have thus rendered indirectly immense service to the government and the peace of India. Bearing upon this subject, and adding to the information given in the chapter devoted to the religions of India, the most recent returns of the number of clergymen paid by government in each presidency, and of each persuasion, may be here appropriately given. From the latest returns there appear to have been employed in Bengal one bishop, with a salary of £4508, and £725 for visitation allowances; 1120 cathedral establishments; sixty-eight chaplains (Church of England), with salaries of £51,031, and allowances of £1510 (in all); two Scottish Kirk chaplains, with salaries of £2310; and two "uncovenanted" ministers, with salaries of £540 (together); £2725 was the sum allowed to Romanist priests, but of these the number is not specified in the return before us. In

the Madras presidency (1855–6) there was a bishop, with £2560 salary; 1010 cathedral establishments; thirty-five (church) chaplains, with salaries of £15,056; and two "kirk" or Presbyterian ministers, with salaries of £18,936. The allowances to Romanist priests were £2580. In the Bombay presidency there was one prelate, with £2560 salary; 1335 cathedral establishments; twenty-six Church of England chaplains, with salaries of £18,936; and two "kirk" chaplains, with stipends of £2016 (together). The allowances to Romanist priests amounted to the sum of £3147.

The life of a civilian in India is neither favourable to the development of social virtues, nor conducive to social happiness. In an article on the Indian civil service in *Blackwood*, April, 1856, there is a most minute and graphic account of the progress of a civil officer in the Madras presidency, and the writer affirms that there is no essential difference in the sister presidencies. When appointed as an assistant to a collector and a magistrate in the provinces, the duties allotted to him are inferior and monotonous, neither calculated to improve the intellect nor the heart. He learns the external forms of magisterial business, and is recommended to become well acquainted with the various tribes and sects in the districts, so far as may concern the business which a collector has with them. These engagements are pursued in a mere routine, and admit of no variety, engrossing the time and the attention of the aspirant to civil honours, so as to leave him no leisure for study. He is, however, expected to study two native languages, and for this purpose he possesses good opportunities, being brought into constant contact with the natives. He cannot very well neglect this duty, as his promotion depends in no small measure upon its accomplishment, as a very strict examination is necessary before his advancement in the service another step can take place. After a year spent in such a manner, the assistant is initiated into the duties of fiscal administration. A *talook*, or small division of the district, under a *tahsildar*, or native collector, is assigned to him, in which, aided by a native *juwabnevees*, or secretary, and under the immediate supervision of the collector, he transacts the general matter of course duties of collector. He is employed in measuring salt, superintending the *tappal runners*, or mail carriers, checking the issue of postage or other stamps, and such like duties as, though requiring no mental exercise, need only integrity and honesty. After six or seven years the civilian thus disciplined is nominated head assistant. He is then sent to reside at some distance from head-quarters, in charge of a talook, or it may be of several talooks—"the business of which, if he do it thoroughly, occupies him from morning till night, allowing but very short intervals for meals and exercise, or for a hasty glance at the *Home News*, the *Illustrated News*, or *Punch*, and perhaps occasionally a 'review.' In this position, unless he be married, he rarely sees a white face, or hears the sound of his native language; and he hails with delight the advent of the subaltern and his small detachment marching to the periodical relief of some lonely outpost. The scraggy sheep is slaughtered; the tough fowl curried; the loaf of bread, *received by post*, is displayed as a treat; the beer, brandy, and cigars, represent the fabled luxuries of the East; a half-holiday is taken in celebration of the event; and the hour of parting brings with it somewhat of that melancholy feeling which is experienced by voyagers who, meeting for a moment on the wide ocean, exchange their friendly greetings, pass on, and are again alone in the world. Our civilian, however, has little time for sentimental reflections; while on what may be appropriately termed the 'Cutcherry tread-mill, some half dozen questions constantly recurring, under slight modifications, occupy his attention—we can scarcely say his mind—*e. g.* Is Ramasamy entitled to any, and what, remission on account of a deficient supply of water for his rice-field? May the inhabitants of one village draw water from a particular source? or have those of another a prescriptive right to erect a dam, which will wholly or partially preclude their so doing? Is the extent of land in Mootoo's *puttah*, or lease, rightly stated? or, as insisted by his enemy Ramun, has he and the 'Kurnum' colluded to defraud the government by understating it? &c." The picture given in this sketch affords little hope of the civilian acquiring refinement of taste, or that strength of mind which the action of educated intellects on one another is calculated to promote. After six or seven years thus spent he becomes subordinate collector, or subordinate judge. As he advances to the office of collector or judge his position is in every way improved, and his opportunities of European society greatly advanced. If he be made a member of council, secretary of government, or accountant-general, not only are his emoluments increased, and his status elevated, but his social opportunities of refinement and comfort are much extended. He is sure to reside where intercourse with Europeans of a superior order may be constantly enjoyed. Sometimes, but not often, the civil servant is appointed to a diplomatic post at a native court

Generally the members of the civil service are unwilling to give up their prospects of slow but certain promotion, for the uncertain tenure of a political position. Military men are therefore generally selected whose seniority promotion in their profession still goes on, while their new duties are agreeable, and afford sources of influence, honour, and reward. Reviewing the whole life of civil servants, the writer in *Blackwood* feelingly notices:—"The mortifications they will have to undergo in discovering that no boundless field exists, as in Europe, for the exercise of their talents, and that the majority are placed in situations in which nothing more than ordinary sense is required, or can be used, and *from* which no effort on their part can remove or exalt them; where not only will their accomplishments be useless, but their time so fully occupied by the dry details of daily business, as not even to allow their practice as recreations, and in which the greater portion of their lives must be spent at a distance from all capable of feeling or appreciating the higher pleasures of intellect, or the refinements of a cultivated taste. And in order to dispel any illusions under which many may be labouring as to the pecuniary advantages of the Indian civil service, we shall now state precisely the reward held out to its members for the duties they have to perform, and for the sacrifices they are required to make. Oh! we have often thought, as we have marked the youth, eager to depart for that East, so beautiful in poetry, so miserable in reality. Oh! if some disciple of Cornelius Agrippa could but display to him in his magic mirror the coming scenes of his future life, he would pause ere he grasped the glittering bait, and hesitate to purchase what is termed a provision for life, at the price, or at least at the risk, of all that renders life chiefly desirable—health of body—energy of mind—social ties! Too often are all these entirely sacrificed; in all cases partially so. And for what? Money!—a supposed greater amount of money than could be earned elsewhere. The selected will do well to consider the real value of their expectation in this particular, lest in this also they be disappointed."

In the administration of their duties the magistrates, political agents, collectors, and their assistants, have often been accused of violence, intimidation, and injustice. That men have belonged to this class harsh in their manners and severe in their official duties is unhappily true, but not in larger proportions than would be found among the stipendiary magistrates or officials in any European country, while on the other hand many most noble instances of generosity, self-negation, and love of justice, have been found amongst the Indian collectors, and probably as large a proportion of them have been as upright as any functionaries of any country. The names of Sir Henry and Sir John Lawrence have been immortalised in the provinces, regulation and non-regulation, of the north-west. Mr. Montgomery, by his prudence and justice in the Punjaub, and afterwards in Oude, healed wounds that had festered under other hands. Colonel Edwardes and General Jacob, on the Punjaub and Scinde frontiers, discharged political duties of the most onerous nature, with kindness as well as firmness. Mr. Thomason and many others have left in the spheres of their duties memories the most fragrant. To give one instance out of a large number who have held no higher office than that of collector: Mr. Cleveland, of Baghalpore, in the earlier operations of the East India Company, honoured his office and those he served by a long course of wise, gentle, and clement administration, and the respect paid by the company to his memory, proved that three quarters of a century ago they valued servants who thus administered their affairs. The following inscription was placed on his monument at Baghulpore:—"To the memory of Augustus Cleveland, Esq., late collector of the districts of Baghulpore and Rajmahal; who, without bloodshed, or the terror of authority, employing only the means of conciliation, confidence, and benevolence, attempted and accomplished the entire subjection of the lawless and savage inhabitants of the jungleterry of Rajmahal, who had long infested the neighbouring lands by their predatory incursions; inspired them with a taste for the arts of civilized life, and attached them to the British government by a conquest over their minds, the most permanent as the most rational dominion. The governor-general and council of Bengal, in honour of his character, and for an example to others, have ordered this monument to be erected. He departed this life on the 13th of January, 1784, aged 29."

The *Aborigines' Friend*, an English publication, in which the administration of our colonial empire has never found much favour, comments upon this epitaph in the following terms:—"If any additional proof of the excellency of Mr. Cleveland's character, and of the value of his labours, were wanting, it is to be found in the fact that the aumlah and zemindars of the jungleterry of Rajmahal also erected a monument to his memory, to which even now they pay an annual visit of reverence and affection. Would that our Indian rulers would imitate the example of a Cleveland, and abandon a system of coercion and

violence, which, while it may terrify the natives into submission to us, cannot but prevent their advancement in peace, prosperity, and happiness!"

It is generally admitted that the impolitic contempt for the natives so commonly shown by the military and by independent settlers, is not usually displayed by the company's civil officers, who lean rather to the weakness of extolling everything Indian, and despising European settlers not in the company's service. Dr. Russell, in his letters, June, 1858, directed to the *Times* newspaper, complains bitterly of the scorn for the natives held by the officers of the royal forces in occupation of Rohilcund, but in no case does he complain of the conduct of the company's civil officers in this particular. It is alleged by persons conversant with Indian affairs that the bearing of English ladies shows more of the pride of race than that of their husbands and brothers, and that contempt for natives of their own sex, even of superior rank, is manifested in forms improper, imprudent, unmerited by its victims, and calculated to create deep resentments in the minds of such native ladies. It is alleged that English ladies in India are most unpopular from this cause among the poor, and especially among the poor of their own sex. During the great revolt the hostility displayed to our countrywomen is thus accounted for, and where they have been spared, it is alleged, that in most cases the mercy resulted from gratitude to their husbands or fathers, who, as military or civil officers, had gained a reputation for humanity, bravery, or justice. The correspondent of the *New York Herald* represents the pride of the whole civil service, and of their families, as utterly unendurable to strangers who visit India, and as a source of the prejudice against the East India Company, which in England, on the continent of Europe, and in the United States, had so widely extended. On board a passenger ship from Madras to Aden, the *Herald* correspondent met with a very large party of European residents of India. The social relations to one another of the various coteries and classes into which Indo-European society is divided, he thus represents:—

"Hospitality and good-nature die for want of nourishment, and sociality is stifled by affectation. The hereditary castes that are so religiously observed by the Hindoo natives are not more marked than the pointed exclusiveness of our Calcutta passengers—each looks upon the other with feelings far from friendly. Education or refinement seems to have little to do with the barriers of society; money, salary, pay, is what is most thought of. 'How long as he been out, and what does he receive per month? is he a collector or a sudder judge? does he belong to the civil or the military service? and has he influence at court?' are among the queries when the newcomer makes his appearance.

"All classes are represented on board our ship—from a collector to the consort of a member of the council; from a lieutenant in the Indian army to a commander-in-chief. Some are going home on sick-leave; others on a three years' vacation; while one or two have been a quarter of a century in the service, and retire with a life-pension of five thousand dollars, half of which they have paid by instalments, from year to year, to make up the fund. There are others who have been out as long, but are not as fortunate; their names do not head the list, and they must wait for their time to come. Some of our passengers are gentlemen; others, snobs; many of them invite our acquaintance; others are fearful that their dignity will be ruffled by being courteous to those whose pay is less. The member of council who gets forty thousand dollars per annum is not in the same set as the commissioner who receives but eighteen thousand dollars; and the Bengal civilian considers his position a peg or two higher than his of Madras; while the Calcutta potentate speaks patronizingly of his counterpart in the Mofussil. All the divisions of Indian society stand boldly out on shipboard; and intrepid is the man who can remove the chill that freezes the little courtesies of life. Restraint hangs over the breakfast-table, and formality barricades the jovial laugh and the pleasant conversation at dinner. Gossip, intrigue, and ill-natured remarks, follow you from the cabin to the deck. If you wish to be alone, you are eccentric; if you sing too loud, or converse above a whisper, you are considered a fit candidate for a lunatic asylum; a hearty laugh is unpardonable; and as for a dance or a charade, it would be out of the question. All the company's servants believe in the infallibility of the company; an excuse is found for everything the honourable company may do. American slavery is horrible, but the Indian ryot system is a blessing to the native. Annexation in America is robbery; in India, friendship and protection. The court of directors do what they please; the governor-general proclaims it, and the servants, far and wide, say 'Amen.'"

There are both exaggeration and ignorance displayed in these severe animadversions; and probably the correspondent did not easily fall in with the manner of highly educated English gentlemen, such as undoubtedly many of the officers, civil and military, were who hap-

pened to be his fellow passengers. Certainly Indian and American annexations have no parallel: the latter are the result of filibustering; the former grow out of wars, in which the natives have generally been the aggressors, or had adopted a policy so dangerous to the British possessions as to leave the English no other course. The ryotwar was evidently a matter of which the American correspondent had no knowledge, and of which he was unfit to offer any opinion. As a shrewd and clever business man, and man of the world, his views of the social habits of the civil servants of the company are worthy of attention, and especially as those habits present themselves to an American traveller. The social life of the English in India has its good points, but it is for the study of those which are not to be admired that we must repair to the letters of the American correspondent. It is well, however, to present such views to the reader, that English social life in India may be seen in every aspect which it presents to friends or foes, foreigners or Englishmen.

The commercial character of the trading community, native and foreign, has, under the head of commerce, been described, and, in some respects, their social character was of necessity included in that description. The common impression in England is, that the Calcutta merchants, having lived in princely splendour, have surrounded themselves with all the creations of taste, and made Calcutta the city of palaces, which in some respects it deserves to be called, however exaggerated its claims. That her merchant princes have not improved Calcutta, so far as architectural beauty or symmetry of streets is concerned, in the proportion in which they have increased its commerce and population, the writer last quoted takes some pains to prove. The same writer gives the following description of commercial life in Calcutta:—

"Notwithstanding the troops of native shopkeepers and tradesmen always hovering about you, there are plenty of Europeans ready to take your money. English tailors, English barbers, English hatters, and English jewellers, English hotel-keepers, and English druggists, all exercise their ingenuity in properly representing their respective callings. The exchange mart, as they term it, contains a little of everything—a perfect *salmagundi*. You can purchase anything you please—an India rubber coat or a penny whistle, a lady's workbox or a gentleman's dressing-case—and the prices are moderate. I bought several beautiful silver ornaments made by the artizans of Cuttack—bracelets, bouquet-holders, breast-pins, and sundry nick-nacks, many of which were of exquisite workmanship. Just at the present time the exchange is being cleared preparatory to the opium sale, which comes off the 11th of every month, a sight I am sorry I shall not witness, for it is one of the noted exhibitions of Calcutta. The opium from Benares and Patna is sold here at public auction by the honourable company, through a salaried auctioneer, twelve times during the year, to the highest bidder. Catalogues are early circulated, and the purchasers from the country are early in town. As a chest of Patna passes like a bank-note, no sampling or examination takes place. Looking from an elevation in the room, you see a most extraordinary spectacle: all nations—all European races are represented. In the Stock Exchange and the Bourse you may see the latter, but at the opium sales-room only can you see the grand mixture of races.

"Gambling is a natural vice among the Indians, and they enjoy beyond anything else the peculiar excitement of the opium mart; and it is the motley appearance of the bidders, combined with the confusion of tongues, and the strong odours that arise from the perspiring crowd, that marks the place. Jews and Gentiles are wild in their manner; and Greeks, Armenians, Persians, mingled in with native Indians of many dialects; and Englishmen, and all the representatives of the continent of Europe, of Asia, and of Africa, are wrought up to the greatest possible excitement by the sharp bidding and the quick auctioneer, who seems to be ubiquitous. The hells of London and of Paris are not thronged with more reckless men, for the amounts are heavy, and one bid will make or lose a fortune. Much of the gambling takes place in the bazaar before the sale.

"The river is covered with merchandize, which the primitive teams of the land, unchanged for centuries, bring down from the interior, while the finest ships in the world open their hatches to receive the produce of a land that is capable of producing as much of its renowned staples as the rest of the world is capable of consuming. And yet, with all this wonderful commerce, who grows rich in the Indian trade? How many merchants annually retire with lacs of rupees? As many as make their fortunes in the respective gold-fields of the great Anglo-Saxon empires, after they have passed through a panic, no more; for competition crowds the new-comer, and every ten years the old merchants tremble under an established custom, if not a natural law."

This writer, in common with all strangers who visit Calcutta, was struck with the increasing importance of the Hindoo, Parsee, and Greek merchants. Of late several Greeks of Constantinople, and others who had "houses"

in Western Europe, have settled in Calcutta, and they import not only the habits of business by which their race is characterized, but also its good and evil social peculiarities. The natives, however expert in the tricks of commerce, and however gifted in the foresight which is essential where trade assumes the risks of the gambling table, and the cunning and unprincipled have the best chances of success, are rivalled by the Greeks. The habits of the native merchants of Bombay were noticed when the capital of that presidency was described. The life of the native merchants of Calcutta has been thus described by a traveller who was not unfriendly to them:—"The native merchants are men of intellect, well up in all the moves on the mercantile chess-board. You are surprised to find them so familiar with commerce and commercial usages. Naturally sharp and quick to learn, by being brought, after graduating in the English school, in contact with business men from every coast, they become familiar with all the tricks of trade. If they wish to purchase, they appear before you as sellers; if they have indigo to dispose of, they will inquire for seeds; and if freight is to be engaged, they will offer you a ship. Intuitively they understand all the clap-trap of the Stock Exchange; with astonishing cleverness they put the market up and down with as much ease as the most experienced bulls and bears of the West; and before or after the arrival of a mail you meet them where you least expect it—always a little in advance. No Europeans were equal to cope with them in managing prices, in regulating prices, or in dodging round sharp corners, till the Greeks dropped down among them; but since so many of them have appeared in Calcutta, the natives have had to keep their eyes wide open."

The social habits of every native class has been described in previous pages, except those of the merchants of the Indian metropolis: and as this is a class which has grown up under British and foreign influence, a notice of its habits of domesticity and intercourse in private society was reserved until the social habits and character of the Indo-European commercial class should come under review. It has not been easy to obtain much knowledge of the mode in which the banyans and native merchants of Calcutta spend their time, when away from general observation. The following account by a gentleman who enjoyed the hospitality of some of them is therefore the more interesting:—

"I visited the residence of the Dutt family, where all the opulence and luxuries that wealth commands are scattered about the rooms. Paintings and engravings, mosaic from Rome and porcelain from Sèvres, English and French furniture, and everything Indian and European that they can get hold of, is purchased to adorn their residences. The large rooms of valuable merchandize resembled more an ill-assorted pawnbroker's shop in London than anything else I could think of. I found the Baboo almost naked, in his bedroom, on the floor, a punkah over him, and in his hand an English history of the Russian war. The room was beautifully furnished, but the pictures that adorned the walls showed the licentious taste of the Bengalee. He was most familiar with the geography, the commerce, the politics of other nations; wanted to know the effect of the late wonderful production of gold, and how it would operate on the silver coinage; asked if the losses still continued as heavy in the Australian trade as at first, and if our cotton crop in the States would exceed three millions of bales, and if in case of peace clipper-ships would depreciate. His religion, he said, would not allow him to go abroad, but nothing would be more pleasant to him than to visit Mount Vernon. Ashootas Day had a beautiful place, and before his death gave a most expensive nautch, combining the immoralities of the European with the luxuriant and voluptuous habits of the natives. He denied himself nothing that money would give him. The careless way of speaking of him, 'that he had been burnt up' makes one still more repugnant to their idol worship. I was also entertained by Baboo Rajendur Mullick, whose princely estates and great wealth are noticeable above many others'. Dutt's place is far less expensive, for Baboo Mullick lives the gentleman, and devotes his time to ornamenting his house, by purchasing everything that comes from other parts. The more costly the article, the better is he pleased. Animals and birds filled the garden, and his aviary contained the feathered tribes of every land, from the ostrich to the emu—the mandarin duck of China to the bird of paradise. The late Earl of Derby contributed something to the collection. I saw several goats from Cashmere, the kind from whose wool the celebrated shawls are made. The goats thrive poorly out of the mountains, and there were only five left out of some two hundred that the Baboo owned. The Baboo is most gentlemanly in his manners, and well informed in ancient and modern history, speaking English with remarkable fluency. He had several lacs invested in the company's paper. A few weeks since he gave a most magnificent nautch. The large area in the centre was covered, and lights and lanterns shone over the expensive fountain and the orna-

mented stage. These nautches are peculiar to India, and when given by a king, a prince, or a millionaire, distinguished foreigners are often invited. I had the chance of being present at one on a small scale, got up for the amusement of a young Bostonian from Canton and myself, by some of our American friends. The music at times is harsh, and then dies off with soothing harmony. The musicians were all seated, and the guests, native and foreign, were provided with lounges, sofa-chairs, &c. The entertainment was given at a native's house, a few miles out of town, and the dancing-girls were engaged a day or two before. Gesticulation, action, and the elastic movements of the body, are the peculiar features of the dance: they commence with a slow, graceful motion, scarcely moving their feet, but working their hands and arms; then becoming more animated, with a livelier chant, their whole form keeps time to the tune, till they appear much excited; their movements at first chaste, become voluptuous; and the music inspirits to still more powerful excitement, till the dance is terminated with louder strains and more lascivious motions. Other dancers then take their place, but the dance is unchanged. Two of the girls only appeared at the same time. All of them were covered with jewels. I counted as many as fifteen gold and silver bracelets on one arm, not to mention necklaces and chains: they had bells on their ankles, and rings on their fingers, jewellery in their ears and noses, which gave them a most original appearance, and showed how fond these natives are of ornament. All they can make, all they can get and save over and above their maintenance, goes for ornaments; and many of those who seem the poorest have valuable jewellery on their persons. Coolies, even, who can save a few rupees invest in buying jewelled ornaments for their children; and hence robbery and murders occur where the inducement is so conspicuously advertised."

The amusements of Calcutta are for Europeans scant and poor; he says—"beyond their own residences, and off the esplanade, foreigners have little to amuse themselves with, for theatricals and concerts, lectures and exhibitions, do not thrive on Indian soil. Kate Hayes, however, for a while dispersed the general apathy; but a few nights of the Italian music at the prices were amply sufficient. There are many amateur singers in the city, and their occasional re-unions are said to be attractive. A star actor or prima-donna need never expect to realize a rapid fortune by visiting Calcutta; for the population is not equal to a small town in a Western State. Seven thousand, they tell me, is about the mark."

According to the testimony of most English writers and travellers there is much social intercourse in all the great cities of India among the British. The civilians and military in the company's service prefer each associating with one another, to the company of independent settlers. But the officers of the royal army and clergymen are much in request by the company's servants. Formerly the missionaries were very unfashionable, but of late years they have become much more influential, and they are invited to the best circles. The members of the Indo-European press form an important element of the community, and these are far more feared than loved by the company's servants; but the power of the pen has become too formidable for those who wield it to be overlooked; and besides, many in the profession of literature have realized in India considerable property, and have therefore formed a status independent of that acquired by their literary reputation and power. In Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, more especially, this class has become important and respected.

Social life among the English planters and settlers in the interior is sometimes dreary enough, especially as they are generally located in flat and well irrigated parts of the country, far apart from other Europeans. Where their pursuits have enabled them to fix upon a diversified part of the country, their life is less monotonous, as they can hunt the wild boar, or it may be the tiger, and either sport is sufficiently perilous to be exciting. The chief planters and independent settlers are indigo planters, as cotton and rice are generally cultivated by the ryots or zemindars. The habits and situation of the planters have been noticed under the head of commerce. A popular London periodical * presents a very just picture of the life of an indigo planter in the following terms:—"An European indigo planter in the interior of India leads an isolated life, which, however, is not without its enjoyments. His business, though it has its anxieties, is not irksome. He is generally a farmer and a sportsman, and master and owner of a fine mansion, with plenty of elephants. Arabian horses, cows, sheep, goats, and dogs, and perhaps a few tame leopards and tigers. His elephants, besides being useful in enabling him to ride over his plantations, will carry him better than any other animal, when out in the jungles tiger hunting. The planter often lives twenty or forty miles from any other European; but this does not prevent him from constantly making and receiving visits. Moreover, his time is well taken up with

* Dickens's *Household Words*.

paying his people, superintending his vats, and settling disputes among the neighbouring farmers. In his own districts the planter is perfectly independent, being looked up to with awe and respect by all around him. In their hour of trouble the poor, miserable, hard-worked, and ill-fed ryots or labourers always fly to the British planter for protection against the oppressions of their own masters and countrymen."

These solitudes of Indo-English life are not relieved by the intercourse of intelligent natives. The impossibility of communicating freely in any language prevents intercourse in such neighbourhoods as afford any respectable native gentry: but generally the planter is settled where there are none such; he is surrounded by jealous zemindars, or his neighbourhood is peopled by ryots, to whom these zemindars may find a fit parallel only in the Legree of Mrs. Stowe's affecting tale of American oppression of the negro. If the planter be a single man, which is not unfrequently the case, he often lives like an outcast, far away from home and friends, and from the amenities and enjoyments of civilised life.

In the great cities there is often a constant meeting of natives of wealth and dignity in public assemblies, and on public promenades. This does not, however, occur in many places; but it is to be seen in the presidential capitals, especially in the great and gay metropolis; also in Kurrachee, Poonah, Serampore, and a few other places. In all the capitals of the three presidencies there is a mingling of Europeans and natives in the public drives and great thoroughfares of pleasure. It is least so in Madras, although in that populous presidential metropolis there is a considerable European and a large native population of positive and relative respectability. The throngs assembling on the public carriage way and esplanade at Bombay were described at considerable length in the notice given of that city in the geographical portion of the work. There European, Jew, Arab, Parsee, Hindoo, Mohammedan, Jain, Jat, Persian, and Cingalese crowd together the grand evening promenade, and form a scene at once attractive to the ethnologist and the politician. Yet it is observable how much the natives retire among themselves, Jew with Jews, Parsee with Parsees, Mussulman with Mussulmen, and the English are left, by the voluntary action and taste of the natives, as well as from their own exclusiveness, to pursue the path of pleasure alone. At Calcutta this is not so much the case. Probably the native merchants there are not so rich as some, especially the hard bargaining Parsees of Bombay; but there are many wealthy natives having a purpose in living near to the centre of imperial government. Great zemindars and talookdars, deposed and pensioned rajahs and native princes, and many who still hold the reigns of government within some province of the great peninsula, visit the capital where the majesty of England is represented by the presence of a viceroy, where it is expected that European agents can be found, who for rupees—the ever potential instrument of policy in the opinion of the native—will assist in the intrigues which Calcutta is believed not only to tolerate, but for which it is supposed to afford a most ample scope. Thence, if necessary, correspondence can be maintained with England, where lawyers and members of parliament are known to reside whose poverty exposes them to the temptation of corruption.

After the annexation of Oude there was a large influx of complaining talookdars and zemindars to Calcutta, and the reception they met with from the government, and the European population generally, exasperated them. The object of these men was to secure their interests in the land of the annexed province, and it was not merely their disappointment in this object, but the contempt with which they were treated, which roused their resentment. This will easily be conceived when it is remembered that these men were the Oude aristocracy, and when the tenure by which their landed interests and influence were held is understood. The details given under the head of land revenue will partly explain this to our readers, but in order to present the force of the double exasperation which moved these talookdars and zemindars of Oude to retire from their contact with their British masters at Calcutta, it is necessary to observe here that in Oude the state has the right of a very large portion of the gross produce or rents of the soil, but not a right in the soil. This has been held for unknown ages by the zemindars, who, with a few partial exceptions, have survived the oppressions of former governments—whether Hindoo or Mohammedan—and whose hereditary tenures could not now be confiscated, without producing results far more serious than those unacquainted with the native feeling may imagine. The talookdars, again, or feudal lords, are sometimes zemindars, or owners of a portion of their talooks—but more generally only lords superior of a number of villages, through whom the village zemindars pay their rent to the government. Lord Canning's proclamation extends to the rights of both classes: and, if sanctioned by parliament, would for ever prevent the allegiance of the mass of the people in Oude; for, in

Hindoo villages, almost every cultivator is a joint sharer in the land (a zemindar), being a descendant from a common ancestor. Supposing, even, the government in India really possessed the right of destroying the hereditary landed tenures of a large province, it would be, politically speaking, a great mistake to attempt to exercise it, as it could never be enforced, unless you could put to death every zemindar in Oude, *i. e.*, almost every man in arms in that province, and a vast number more not in arms, but who would, no doubt, instantly join their brethren if they found their hereditary rights seized. England, in fact, could not send out troops enough to carry out such an order. Little did the British think, who met the gay cavaliers of Oude on the esplanade of Calcutta, after the petitions of these men were spurned and themselves contemned, that the treatment under which their vengeance was formed and fostered would so soon try the energy of our empire, and consign so many of our fairest and bravest to bloody graves.

The extreme contempt for the natives which characterizes the English in India, which is perhaps nowhere cherished more than in Calcutta, not only at government-house, but among the independent settlers, and which makes itself so felt of an evening on the esplanade, has not only incited Indian chiefs to rebellion, but has sustained the English in their most daring efforts to quell revolt and carry their conquests all over the peninsula. Alluding to this result of the feeling, and to its probable and possible consequences as indicated by the revolt of 1857–8, the *Friend of India* has the following remarks, written after the fall of Lucknow:—"We are beginning to learn the strength of our foe. We hear now no more stories of want of gunpowder and ammunition, of muskets either turned into fusees or bartered for a little food, of rebels dying by hundreds, and disunion breaking out in their camp. We no longer expect impossibilities, to conquer a host with some ten men, or to defend a town with a garrison weakly provisioned and hampered with women and children. Yet the old proud contempt for all races but our own still continues; at one time a source of weakness, at another of the most heroic action. At first it left Delhi without troops, and the capital unguarded, the king of Oude or his ministers to plot sedition, and native regiments to burn down bungalows. When the rebellion had broken out it caused General Havelock, with a force scarcely three thousand strong, to advance gallantly into Lucknow and save the garrison, and Colonel Powell with five hundred men to drive five thousand rebels from an intrenched position; it enabled General Neill to save Benares, and contributed not a little to the series of victories won by General Havelock. If knowledge be power, ignorance sometimes is not less so, and the man who knows not when it is impossible for him to gain a victory seldom sustains a defeat. This contempt for our foe has had as great an influence upon individuals as upon masses. What else enabled Lieutenant Willoughby and his gallant companions to make a stand at Delhi; what enabled Lieutenant Osborne to maintain his post at Rewah, and Lieutenant Hungerford at Mhow; what else encouraged Sir John Lawrence in the Punjaub to denude the province of European troops and send them to Delhi? The emotion is now, however, passing away; it has served its purpose, and the man who thought it before cowardly to shrink from a dishonourable foe now takes the precautions which can alone secure a thorough vengeance. The commander-in-chief, therefore, rightly delayed his advance on Lucknow until his success was certain."

On the esplanade at Calcutta the English, and superior classes of natives, meet every evening, but while they pass and repass one another, the native merchants, it may be with more costly equipages, and the native chiefs on finer horses, more richly caparisoned, and themselves gorgeously apparelled, this display of native wealth and jewelled grandeur seldom tempts the English from their cold and haughty reserve, and the smallest conceivable intercourse takes place between the two races. Mr. Train, who wrote from an American point of view, and for American readers, like Bayard Taylor, and other Americans who travelled in India, thus describes the esplanade, and the gay concourse which occupies it:—"The esplanade, thus far, more than all else in the Bengal capital, has left the most lasting impression on my mind when the sun shuts off his burning brightness, when the Indian day has departed, and the Indian evening is born. About the hour of five o'clock the stranger is introduced to a scene of gaiety and gladness, a picture of oriental and Anglo-Saxon life that it would be difficult to cross from off the memory's tablet. I am no enthusiast, nor can I paint; my youth has been buried among the dry leaves of commerce—the cobweb realities of the counting-house—the invoice, the ledger, and the ship—and now, on the restless drifting of never-ceasing change, I am purchasing dearly enough, by absence from my family, my first draught of oriental custom and Indian habits. The evening drive, however, as delightful as it is strange, would make me forget my commission account, were not the familiar names

of clipper-ships always before me as they range along the anchorage. All there is of European and Western life in Calcutta is reflected every evening on the course, and as I lie off so lazily in my barouche I can but contemplate the scene so singularly beautiful. Isaac Marvel should have driven on the course after he had been brooding over his sea-coal fire. There is the holy river coursing far up above the city—far away beyond the suburbs; past the hunting-fields of the fierce Mahrattas, winding its many coils through the palace-gardens on its sacred banks; past the umbrageous banyan, the palm, the sycamore, and cocoa-trees; past heathen temples, rusting under the corroding influence of climate and of time; and, as it loses itself in the distance far beyond Barrackpore, your imagination traces it beyond your visual reach, wending its tortuous way through the vast possessions of the honourable company, and the paddy-fields, that give so many millions nourishment; past the wheat, and the corn, and the indigo plantations; near where the poppy blossoms bloom under government, to raise a few more lacs to pay the army; past the zemindars, whose tyrant power grinds the life from the poor ryot; past the Saracenic ruins of Hindoo temples, interesting, because so grey with age; by the sepoy camp, where English officers are the lords of native regiments; until we finally lose it among the valleys that base the mountain ranges of the towering Himalayas. Lost as you may be in reverie, your fancy is arrested by the soul-stirring music of the regimental bands, in the garden inclosure, where nurses and children most do congregate, and where, in the little arbour, you may find an American apple or an American ice. The thrill of martial airs ringing through the trees, and the voluptuous breeze of the Indian evening fanning off the burthensome cares of day, would put you asleep in your easy-moving carriage were your senses not kept always active by the passing and repassing of 'fair women and brave men.' All that is attractive in Calcutta may be seen at the daily reunion of the drive. The scene is most unlike anything I ever witnessed. The Praya Grande of Macao faces the water, and so does the grassplot at Singapore, the Bund at Shanghai, the Botanical Gardens at Sydney, the governor's road to his new residence on the banks of the Derwent, in Tasmania, but not as the esplanade looks upon the Hoogly, for here you combine so many attractions. Some seventy American banners have been streaming during the day from the beautiful clippers of my own fair land; and the flags of England, and of France, and Continental States, have been furled for the night, again to open their gaudy colours in the morning. The ships of all nations are crowding one another in long rows, three and four abreast, for miles along the pleasure ground, some deeply laden, and waiting impatiently to commence their voyage, and be towed to sea; others have just arrived, and in ballast trim."

Mr. Train, having visited Fort William, and given some inaccurate descriptions of it in a military sense, affords a glimpse, which is faithful and well described, of the people who frequent the esplanade, in the singular throng of their varied nationalities:—"On returning through one of the military roads, I found the esplanade crowded with elegant equipages; and evening after evening I was borne along the drive, watching the interesting spectacle—now walking in long rows, and now hurrying on in delightful confusion, carriage behind carriage, their occupants dressed as for a ball. You saw all that was gay in the capital; and many are the romantic stories of love and of gossip which are told you if your companion be a lady, and of thrilling and hairbreadth escapes if of the other sex. Where a community have held an evening levee at the same hour, and at the same place, day after day, Sundays not excepted, for generations, in an Indian country, there must be many incidents on record of the romance and misery of Indian life. Some of the equipages would not fail to be noticed in Hyde Park; and many of the Arab horses on the green would attract attention in Rotten Row.* The distinguished potentates of the company spare no expense in endeavouring to eclipse their neighbours; and salaries, surprising to the officials of other lands, are squandered as quickly as they are received. The governor-general's carriage is lost sight of the moment some of the native princes make their appearance, and the commander-in-chief of the army, the members of the council, who receive forty thousand dollars per annum, and other high-salaried officers of the civil service, are not able to cope with the luxuriant extravagance of baboos, who count their wealth by lacs of pounds. Count d'Orsay, as he is dubbed, because he was horsewhipped for twice throwing a bouquet into a lady's carriage, seems to be the native Beau Brummel of the course in everything but wealth, for his estates are princely. There must be white blood in his veins, for his complexion is fair, and his features are noticeable for their regularity. The

* Mr. Train seems to be under the impression that the fashionables of London ride their best horses in Rotten Row. This is an error; the average value of a horse there during the gayest time of the London season has been computed at £60.

baboo mullicks are also out in their splendid teams; and I notice another native 'b'hoy in a New York buggy; and there is Ghoolam Mohammed, on a beautiful Arab, prancing; and near by is the belle of Calcutta, the beautiful Miss ——; but the Indian climate has driven the roses from her cheek, and the lilies that have displaced them tell of ill-health, and a longing for her English home. Hindoos of high rank, dressed in their attractive garb of many colours, and Mussulmen, whose fanaticism has often made them brave in war; rajahs with a princely pension, and princes whose wealth cannot be counted; military leaders who have won position and honour by bravery, and those who have never seen action, although grey in the service: these, and more, are passing, and merchants are here, and tradesmen. A little way on you see a row of buggies, the turn-out of the American captain, who, when riding with his own team, looks as proud as the best of them. I enjoyed the course; it was so cheerful to meet again with those whom we had met, to gaze again upon the shipping, to note again the massive strength of Fort William, to feel the refreshing coolness of the sea air as it came up the river with the tide, to fall, perhaps, into a dose as the distant music trembles on the air, and, awaking, to notice some barouche with livery more gay than the rest, or some lady, who knows she is the object of attraction. The Calcuttaites have become so habituated to the evening drive, that they would as soon forego their meals or their ablutions as omit the daily reunion, which combines the pleasure of society with the luxury of recreation."

The unwillingness of the British to associate with the natives cannot arise from inferiority of manner. A distinguished modern writer says "the lowest of the people, if fate raises him to be an emperor, makes himself quite at home in his new situation, and shows a manner and conduct unknown to Europeans similarly situated." This queerly and awkwardly written sentence is evidently intended to convey the idea of a superior capacity on the part of the natives for positions of honour and dignity. It is to be doubted whether any such superiority exists. Mr. Campbell's praise of the Indians is in this respect as exaggerated as in many others. Europeans have frequently risen from low stations to positions of great eminence and dignity, and maintained their places with an eminence of mind and glory of circumstance of which we have not similar examples in Hindoo history; but it is certain that the natives, take them class for class, can conduct themselves, as to the courtesies and amenities of life, as well as the citizens of the more polished European states. There is, however, a constant tendency to deterioration in Hindoos of exalted station observable by Europeans, and which tempts the British to respect more a native who has raised himself by his parts than those who can boast a princely lineage; indeed, Mr. Campbell ends the passage just quoted by adding, "but his son is altogether degenerate!" *

The indisposition of the English at Calcutta to mingle in native society can hardly be wondered at when the contempt which the peculiar meanness and weakness of the Bengalee character is calculated to inspire is taken into consideration. Moreover, the horrid degradations of the Hindoo religion, and its influence upon the whole native character, is nowhere more thoroughly exhibited than in Bengal. The higher classes are not exempt from the common subjection to the debasing power of Hindoo idolatry. It is difficult for a European to associate with a man who he knows has murdered his female offspring, or the woman who has exposed her child to be swept away by the Ganges; with persons who have left their sick parents to be devoured, while yet living, by the tiger or the alligator; who have countenanced and mingled in the filthy obscenities of Indian temples; or who have, under the ostensible show of a costly tribute to their dead kindred or servants, allowed the heartless and horrid neglect of the funeral pyre. These things are all practised in the very neighbourhood of Calcutta; and even the stranger, who pays a short visit, cannot fail to witness them if he have any curiosity. The author of *Young America Abroad* shows how a foreigner indirectly justifies the British residents of that city in not desiring any intimate intercourse with the natives, of whatever rank or class. In the immediate vicinity of the Indian metropolis he visited temples and funeral pyres, and thus gives account of both:—"The same day I went through several heathen temples, seeing all that I was permitted to see, and that was enough to disgust one with their unseemly worship. It was some religious festival, and a large concourse blocked the avenues; but we were permitted to push our way along. About fifty kids were lying with their heads off, all sizes and all colours, a bell ringing from the temple at the dropping of every head. One man, more religious than those about him, brought in a young buffalo, and great was the rejoicing; the bell rang several times, and the singing, shouting, and gesticulations, created the greatest confusion. Some of the priests were desirous that I should

* Campbell's *Modern India*, p. 64.

offer up a goat, but I declined joining in the ceremony, for the whole performance was most revolting. It was, however, not half so disgusting, nor was it so strangely peculiar, as the ceremony which I saw going on in several of the smaller temples. Once seen, it will not easily be forgotten. Veiled females were continually pouring in and out. The temple has within a Hindoo god that represents the creative power of man, and the ceremony of the Linquam is supposed to be the cure of barrenness and sterility. There are several days of the year that Hindoo wives who have never been so fortunate as to bring any addition to the household resort to this temple. There are different idols in different parts of India, but I believe none are so effectual as the Brahmins themselves. I also rode down to the burning ghaut, and witnessed, till it almost made me sick with nausea, the disgusting sight of burning their dead. The smoke was rising from the dying embers of several bodies, and in three instances the funeral pyre was just lighted. After having been brought to the banks of the river, where they are left to die, if their friends have the means of purchasing the wood, and paying for the ceremony, they are at once placed upon the pyre, and covered up with the burning timber, till their bodies have been entirely consumed. The picture was painful, nauseating, most unpleasant to the senses; and you only care to see it once, and then a few moments will satisfy you. You cannot but feel stupified at the sight. Some poor skull, not wholly destroyed, you may be treading on; and pieces of bones, where the relatives were too poor to pay for more fuel, you see buried in the ashes. A most foul stench fills the air. At all hours of the day corpses are brought down, and the unseemly levity of the naked wretches who stir up the fuel, and more especially when they show you the body by running a pole into its side, would hasten your departure, did you not arrest your steps to gaze upon the hungry flock of ravens, and crows, and carrion kites, who approach the corpses before the fire has ceased to burn, within a close proximity, to seize upon the least atom saved from the flame. Hundreds of them were within a few feet, intently peering into the ashes, while the more dignified adjutants were perched upon the house-tops and on the walls, waiting for their share of the entertainment. No one molests them; for the birds are sacred, and eat up the filth about the city. When too poor to buy the privilege of burning their relatives, they let the tide wash them off the beach—some of them, perhaps, before the life has left the body—and they are floated off to sea. I have often heard the captains of ships tell of the bodies fouling the anchors, and of the sickening stench that arose in cleaning them when some half a dozen had lodged there; and whenever I drank the water of the Hoogly, or partook curry or fish at breakfast, I could not but be reminded of the human shrimp-traps and fish-bait of which I had so many times heard. I have seen little, but all I wish to see, of Indian worship. Next month, April, some of those days, when the torture is the worship, I will give the stranger the opportunity of witnessing that which I do not care to behold, for already I have seen enough to disgust me with the common people—their habits, their customs, their dress, their treachery, their duplicity, and their religion. One able-bodied Chinaman, in appearance at any rate, is worth half a dozen natives of Bengal, for, as a race, the former are far more sightly than the latter."

The uniform disposition of the British in every part of India to neglect native society has been much animadverted upon. It has been said that the manners of the people are very different in different provinces: the effeminate Bengalee bears no resemblance to the manly Rajpoot; the swarthy Madrassee is not like the Scinde descendants of the Arabs; the people of the coasts on the Bay of Bengal are very dissimilar to the tall and well-made Oudeans; the abject Cingalese offer no points of comparison with the manly Sikh and Affghan: yet the English associate with none. It is not understood by those who thus call our Indo-Britons to account for their distant bearing that, however dissimilar in race and creed, there is an extraordinary social identity among all the races of India, and class with class, a singular sameness of moral type in all parts of the peninsula. Although there are many classes, almost all the classes are found more or less everywhere; and hence the same general features of society exist alike in every part of India, even when there is a considerable difference in personal appearance and language. In effect it has become one country; and though many different races have entered it, and have been by peculiar institutions kept in many respects separate, each has in its own sphere pervaded the country. All have become united in one common civilization—the same system of Hindoo polity has been overlaid by the same system of Mohammedan government—inhabitants of one part of the country have served, travelled, and done business in all other parts indiscriminately; and so altogether, while the different degrees in which different elements have been mixed,

produce exterior differences, the essential characteristics of all are the same.*

It has been said in reply to language of this kind, that, in the region of politics at all events, the English, and the native party attached to them, might move together; that wherever the Englishman goes he is a politician, and wherever he rules he is essentially so; that the natives are also keen politicians, and therefore those of the British party would necessarily be brought into a juxtaposition with the English, affording the latter opportunity for cultivating native society among the men under the most favourable auspices. It is not known to those who thus reason that the masses of the people have no politics, although sometimes they appear to act from political motives, when they are only moved by their interest in their land as cultivators, or their interest in their religion as fanatics. The chiefs and their ministers in the independent provinces, or the deposed rajahs who hope to be restored to their dominions, are of course politicians so far as their regal interests are concerned, but the masses have no nationhood, no political theories or principles, and no aims, such as we call political. Socially they are one people in spite of every diversity of class, creed, colour, and custom existing among them; politically there is no cohesion—they are as the sand scattered before the storm.

The people of India have no political feeling in common; no two tribes, classes, or castes of Hindoos pull together in politics. This, which, in the first instance, is no doubt in a great degree the consequence of political slavery, is now still more the cause of it. Natives of different classes associate much together, have their alliances and enmities in common; but employ one of them in the service of government, and he has no particle of political sympathy beyond his own subdivision of a class, if even so much. Political nationality there is none. Even in matters of public concern between the people and the government, there is little public spirit. They have so long lived under an alien and despotic government, that they feel little bound to assist it; so that if, in the pursuit of criminals and such matters, a native is immediately touched himself, he is active enough—but so long as this is not the case, he moves not in the matter, and renders little assistance.† Under such circumstances the English in India and the natives must continue politically and socially separate, however related by mutual interests.

* Campbell's *Modern India and its Government*, pp. 36, 37.

† Ibid. pp. 62, 63.

There is, however, one part of India which seems to be an exception to the want of nationality, and that sense of political importance which a strong nationality creates—Oude. The people of Oude, believing themselves descended from the ancient Israelites, and inhabiting the very centre and seat of that ancient empire, are passionately attached to their country. Notwithstanding all the robbery and violence of the late king, the people preferred the independence of their country, remaining exposed to the most crushing oppression and devastating plunder, to the government of England under the auspices of peace, security, and an equitable taxation. Bishop Heber relates how a British officer, riding at the head of a party through Oude, conversed with those near him as to the frightful state of anarchy around them: he asked them if they would not like to be placed under British government? Whereupon the jemindar in command of the escort, joining his hands, remarked with great fervency, "Miserable as we are, of all miseries keep us from that!"—"Why so?" said the officer; "are not our people far better governed?"—"Yes," was the answer, "but the name of Oude and the honour of our country would be at an end." The jemindar was a Mohammedan, and the bishop adds, "Perhaps a Hindoo ryot would have given a different reply." * Events have since proved the reverend traveller to have been wrong, for the Hindoo ryot joined the Mohammedan talookdar and zemindar in a sanguinary struggle for independence. With this exception of Oude, no national feeling would rouse the Indians to arms. Even when the Sikhs made so grand a struggle, it was more for the ascendancy of the Khalsa faith than for the glory of the Punjaub.

Having shown the absence of all social or political sympathy between the two races, British and native, and the unlikelihood of their coming into closer communion unless great changes be wrought in the principles and tastes of both, it will not surprise the reader to learn that the disdain which marks the general bearing of Europeans to the natives, pervades even the high places of government. Distinguished princes attend the assemblies and levees at government-house, but they are made to feel, and sometimes with keen humiliation, that they are subjugated and tributary.

A glimpse of Calcutta society in its highest phases will interest the reader. This shall be given in the words of a foreigner, who, invited to an entertainment at government-house on the arrival of Lord and Lady Can-

* Heber's *Journey*, vol. ii. p. 90.

ning, with more frankness than good taste, has related his observations:—"The several entrances through the gateways to the palace had a most imposing appearance, both sides of the well-made road being lined with lamps of cocoa-nut oil, blazing from every post in the grounds, a sight as novel to me as the Chinese lanterns which so tastefully illuminate the gardens of the Shanghai merchants when they wish to exhibit more than usual magnificence. At the main doorway there were some two hundred servants squatting in rows in the large entrance hall, dressed in more than all the colours of the dolphin and rainbow—whether private servants, or those belonging to the house I did not learn, but could not but notice their peculiar sitting posture, like so many pelicans on a beach. Walking through the lower hall, passing at every turn the sepoy guard, we were shown up a long staircase, and ushered into the reception room. I passed through the outer hall to see the dancers, whose numbers fairly crowded one of the largest halls I ever witnessed. Before joining in the dance I wished to have the 'lions' of the evening pointed out, and I was particularly fortunate in having for a companion the accomplished Miss ——, whose name I find against No. 11 for a polka. Lord Canning, in a stiff black state dress, stood at the head of the room, in front of the chair of state—a native officer standing on either side—with what I supposed was the mace of office. The new governor seemed fairly lost amid the blaze of chandeliers, whose dazzling brightness reflected from the prismatic glass made my eyes ache so much that I lost half the enjoyment of the evening. Lady Susan Ramsay, the daughter of Lord Dalhousie, was on the right, leading off, with all the gaiety of youth, the first quadrille—her partner some gallant officer of the Indian army, who wore upon his breast the medals of many battles. The daughter of the commander-in-chief was in the same set, and received particular attention from the elegant aide-de-camp by her side. Lady Canning did not dance while I was present, but reclining upon the regal chair, received court from her honoured lord and the several distinguished civilians and military officers present. The formality of her reception was freezing. Her dress was of white tulle over a white satin skirt, looped up with red roses, with a head-dress of red velvet and pearls—not, in my opinion, elegant; but the blaze of diamonds compensated for what was wanting in taste. She still possesses the marks of early beauty, but time and the dissipations of her exalted position in London have diminished her attractions. I found more amusement in promenading through the wide passage ways, and in noticing the cliqueish movements of the guests, than in dancing. In the outer room, Lord Dalhousie was receiving his friends, but seldom rose from the couch without showing that too much exertion gave him pain, for physically, his constitution is shattered by hereditary and other insinuating diseases; but his mind strengthens with the weakness of the body. Administrative ability and decision of character are stamped upon his countenance, and judging from his features he must be capable of bearing great mental labour. Poor man, what is all his greatness, with incurable ill-health always staring him in the face! Notwithstanding the exertion of the punkahs, the rooms were oppressively warm, and the dancers found more colour in their usually pale cheeks than they had noticed for many a day; but as a general rule their complexion was not improved by the addition. The music of the well-organized bands at the extreme end of the dancing-saloon was most exhilirating, and served to give the only animation the formality of the ball allowed. Later I saw a significant movement of the great leaders towards the stairs, all pairing off with punctilious ceremony, and following on I found myself in the supper-room, a room even larger than the saloon, the tables arranged after the shape of three-fourths of a square, with a long one in the entrance aisle adjoining, and seats and plates for at least fifteen hundred guests; and yet there were many who remained without a place, myself among the rest, for I was too busy noticing the movements of those around me. Everything that money can purchase in the East helped to ornament the banquet and administer to the palate; at other times the most conspicuous dish of an Indian table is curry, in as many forms as there are castes in Bengal, but that dish is never seen upon the supper-table. The banquet-hall was too large to be adorned, and the guests too numerous to enjoy themselves, and the supper passed off with only the motions of the eaters and the rattling of the plates and knives. As silently as they entered they left the table, and again the dancers were on the floor; but I was not among them, for I found peculiar interest in watching the motions of the state prisoners, and distinguished natives, who, dressed in the picturesque costume of their country, had been invited to partake in the festivities of those who had brought them to their present humiliating position. Kings, princes, and rajahs, or their descendants, were there bowing and cringing under the iron rule of military power. There was the grandson of the great warrior chief who so long kept the English at bay in the almost impe-

netrable fastnesses that nature had made for him, and also in that stronghold of which European architects must have drawn the plan —Seringapatam—Tippoo Sultan, the son of the great Hyder Ali, Ghoolam Mohammed, and his son, Feroze Shah, were the descendants of those great men who, three generations ago, were the terror of the Deccan; and had his great ancestor lived to hold his power, Ghoolam would have been the most powerful and the wealthiest of all the Indian princes. These two have just returned from England, where they were courted and *fêted* by crowned heads and noble peers, the most distinguished lions of the day—but at government-house they pass unnoticed, and are taught to remember that they are dependant upon an English pension. There, too, were the brave Sikhs of the mountain passes; those bold chieftains who fought like tigers in their dens, Shere Singh and Chuttur Singh, who held their country during that memorable campaign of 1848–9, and, overpowered by the superior force brought against them, after going through the celebrated battles of Chillianwallah and Gujerat, were finally brought to bay at Rawul Pindee, where, after the most obstinate war, they surrendered their sabres to Sir Walter Gilbert, the able general, who was made a G.C.B. and a baronet for his bravery and judgment on that occasion. It was pitiful to see brave warriors so painfully humiliated, for they moved about the room in their stockinged feet like so many automatons, shrinking and cringing before their conquerors, evincing the greatest pleasure in receiving the least attention from the civilians in the room. Their appearance without shoes is by order of the governor-general, to remind them of their disgrace, and to enforce proper respect for those that hold the sway; this, I am told, is the custom of the land. This last tax upon their pride might at least have been passed over, for why strike them while they are down? These princes, it will be remembered, were the chieftains of the Punjaub, and their surrender was the signal of annexing that great kingdom to the British empire. The ameers of Scinde, I believe, were also among the dark faces—warriors, as brave as they have been unfortunate, the captives, or rather the victims, of Sir Charles Napier, who, following the model of the great Roman general, and Perry on the lakes, and of Bosquet at the Malakoff, marked his despatch by its brevity. The pun was too good to be lost, and the simple Latin word 'peccavi,' went forward to the governor-general—*I have sinned.* No more were shown me, but I believe there were several other distinguished chieftains, who are now but pensioners. There were also specimens of native scholars, men of great abilities as lawyers and advocates, present; men whose intellect would cope in argument with Western minds, and whose high position in the company's courts stamps them with the unmistakable mark of genius. I suppose that Hur-Chunder Ghose, the native judge of the small-cause court, may be considered one of the most accomplished men of the time. His manners bespeak the gentleman, and he seems as familiar with the world's history as those who make it their especial study; and the native counsel to the government, Rama Purshad Roy, is another ornament of the Bengal bar, and possesses the confidence of all who are brought in contact with him. Native bankers, too, and native merchants, were noticeable among the oriental costumes; there was Pursunnee Roomar Tajore, assistant clerk of the legislative council, cousin of the famous Dwarkanauth (who made such a *furore* when he arrived in London, petted even by peeresses, and especially noticed by the queen, who presented him with her miniature; and yet this man, I am told, was a greater scamp in his way than Tippoo Sahib, for while he was giving one lac of rupees to some charitable institution, he was grinding two lacs out of his half-starved ryots); and there, also, was Rum-Gopal Ghose, a merchant of kingly wealth, but not loaded down with jewels like some of the rest. Many of these princes and natives, not of royal family, were walking jewellers' shops. Pearls, emeralds, and diamonds, and precious stones of priceless value, flashed in the light of the candelabras, and were reflected back from the mirrors; and silks and satins, too expensive to be purchased, marked some of the more princely of the native guests. Some of the state prisoners were seen to walk directly before Lord Dalhousie, perhaps to show his countryman present that their rank was higher than his, or that they were as bold as he was proud, hesitating, at first, as if making up their minds, and then advancing. The ball is not a fancy ball, and yet it would almost seem so to a stranger, for the dresses of the native dignitaries at once attract the observer; and these, together with the gay uniforms of the Indian officers, sprinkled about the room, in marked contrast to the plain black dress of the well-paid civilian, gave a picturesque appearance to the entertainment; with the heads of the army and navy, intermingled with a regiment of deposed princes, and ladies dressed in the present many-coloured fashions, there was a tableau not often seen in the west. About one the guests began to leave and passing

through the reception-room, gave a parting shake of the hand, or, where not so well acquainted, a farewell bow to the distinguished man who for eight years past has so ably ruled, say his friends, the destinies of British India. I need not say that I was disappointed with the government-house. Without, the green uncovered lawn is peculiarly English, and I'll admit I liked the emerald look; but not a tree gives shade to the grounds, for trees breed mosquitoes and barricade the air, said my informant; but really I cannot endorse the excuse, for what is more beautiful than the umbrageous coolness of their shadow? There is one break to the monotonous and bare appearance of the grounds, and that is the miniature garden plot, where flowers and shrubbery grow in tropical beauty. The four huge brick-and-mortar ends of the house, topped off with the iron dome in the centre, present no attractive style of architecture, and there is nothing more commanding within. You will notice nothing more marked, while promenading from room to room, than the luxurious wealth of space, and the parsimonious poverty of furniture.

"Lord Canning has launched his bark on the wave of Indian public opinion; but he has done it clumsily enough, for I saw him land with flags streaming over and about him, and the cannon roaring from the fort; the state carriage waiting for him, and the noble-looking horsemen of the native cavalry showing their pride in being the body-guard of the governor-general; yet, as he slowly moved along the sepoy lines, which were ranged along either side of the roadway, from the Chandpaul Ghaut to government-house, where the great dignitaries of the land were waiting to give him welcome, he gazed vacantly upon the novel sight! and even when passing European officers who saluted him, and fair ladies who waved their handkerchiefs, there was no recognition from his lordship, while Lady Canning acknowledged, and most gracefully, too, the courtesy. How odd that he should be so very austere! When he arrived at government-house his manners were formal, even to his acquaintance, Lord Dalhousie. Public opinion is dead in India, else most certainly there would be more animation and less coldness in a state reception. How different all this looks from the Anglo-Saxon customs! A few months, and if he shares the fate of those who have gone before him, Lord Canning will be the best-abused man in India, for the young Bengalees are radicals."

The above picture was not drawn by a man of courtly habits or accustomed to society in the grades of life where he found himself, but it presents to us the social life of the high places of the Indian metropolis, from a point of view important to regard it.

The withdrawal from India of the great annexer and able administrator affords another glimpse of high life in India:—"Lord Dalhousie's departure was early announced, and arrangements during the past few days have been consummated to usher him out with the same pomp and circumstance with which Lord Canning was ushered in. As early as four o'clock the regiments began to gather, and by half-past four the companies had lined the road from the palace to the steamer. And here, again, I had the opportunity of admiring the drill and tactics of the sepoy troops. Many of them are noble-looking fellows, and some of the native officers compare favourably in form and movement with the white man. The household troops, or body-guard, are all picked men, and you would not wish to see a finer body of cavalry. At five o'clock the guns from the fort began to roar, and we at once knew that his lordship had started from government-house. An hour later the governor was in his yacht, the regiments were marching to their barracks; the friends of the governor, under Prinsep's monumental tablet, had given the last wave of the handkerchief and resumed their carriages and their gossip; the pleasure-seekers were again upon the course, to comment upon the occurrences of his departure; the coolies began to disperse; the cannon were hushed, the bells ceased to vibrate, and Lord Dalhousie was on his way to England, to be censured and be praised, while Lord Canning was left to govern India."

The foregoing descriptions of Anglo-Indian life are interesting as coming from the pen of a foreigner, and as revealing the present state of English feeling towards the natives from the most recent observations. They confirm the remarks of Bayard Taylor, the celebrated American traveller and *litterateur*:—"There is one feature of English society in India, which I cannot notice without feeling disgusted and indignant. I allude to the contemptuous manner in which the natives, even those of the best and most intelligent classes, are almost invariably spoken of and treated. Social equality, except in some rare instances, is utterly out of the question. The tone adopted towards the lower classes is one of lordly arrogance; towards the rich and enlightened, one of condescension and patronage. I have heard the term niggers applied to the whole race by those high in office; with the lower orders of the English it is the designation in general

use; and this, too, towards those of our own Caucasian blood, where there is no instinct of race to excuse their unjust prejudice."

It is mournfully true that the conduct here described too much resembles the conduct of Englishmen where conquest has carried their arms, or colonization induced them to settle. The whole career of the English in Ireland from the days of Henry II. to the present time has more or less exemplified this. The spirit of the English towards various aboriginal tribes in our colonial dependencies still further illustrates it; the proclamation of Independence by the states of the American Union would never have resulted from questions of taxation or law, but for the uniform contempt with which we treated our own people in the American provinces. It is in vain, however, for writers like Bayard Taylor to accuse Englishmen as especially guilty in this respect; they are, in fact, less to be censured, however blameworthy, than many other nations. Americans, Dutch, Portuguese, Spaniards have all violated the laws of Christian duty and Christian charity to a greater extent in the same way. Undoubtedly a new feeling was gradually infusing itself into Indo-English life, when the mutiny so violently disturbed everything; and should the effect of that terrible earthquake subside, and India assume her wonted repose, such as under English governance it had attained, the sweet breath of Christian charity will make itself felt in the great cities of India—

> "And over hills, with peaky top engrailed,
> And many a tract of palm and rice."

Whatever be the physical advantages of India, if Christianity be allowed to fulfil her own mission, her moral advantages will be greater; while she enjoys

> "A summer fanned with spice,"

she will also exult in the atmosphere of justice and love, and all that is true and good and benign in Christian England will waft its influence to those shores. They who despair of such results, not only judge Christianity wrongly, but are inattentive to the slow progress of civilization in every form in Asiatic countries. No description of secular improvement develops itself so fast in any part of Asia, as to entitle those who despair of Christian efforts in India to justify their despondency by the tardy progress which religious influence makes. What department of civilization has succeeded more rapidly than the extension of religious truth, even although none has obstacles in human nature, and in Indian social life, so numerous and inveterate to contend with? The government has not succeeded in inducing a right appreciation of order or of equal laws; nor has it, with infinitely more appliances, and a longer time for experience than modern Christianity has possessed, secured its objects anywhere in India. Are the cultivators prosperous and contented, the sepoys dutiful and true, the police efficient and faithful? Immense sums have been expended on secular education: where are the results? We know there are results, and they are in many respects beneficial; in others they are, at all events for the present, dubious; but do not the best friends of secular education in India lament the disproportion between the money, time, and talent, employed on the one hand, and the good fruits on the other? Have English settlers, such as sugar and indigo-planters, reported that the zemindars and ryots have co-operated with them, and acknowledged the benefit derived by the introduction of capital, and the demand for labour created in their neighbourhoods? Have all the commissions, agencies, bounties, persuasions, and efforts of whatever kind, succeeded in inducing the cotton cultivators to pick and to pack it clean, and to send it to the merchant in a marketable form? Do the merchants of Calcutta and Bombay proclaim to the world that English precept and example have infused commercial integrity among the banyans and native traders? If, in every other direction, improvement proceeds at the slowest pace, what grounds have men who have themselves effected little, perhaps nothing, for detracting from the efforts of the Christian church to improve the people of India, or of doubting its ultimate triumph? while after repeated failures or little success they still cherish the expectation of seeing India commercially, agriculturally, legally, educationally, and politically, much improved. Writing of the Christian church—not of a sect or a denomination—it may be truly alleged that there ought to be no doubt, and there can be no doubt on the part of a candid examiner of the evidence, that the success of Christian missions, Christian schools, and various other missionary instrumentalities, has far exceeded that obtained by any other description of effort for the welfare of India. There is still, however, much to be done by all good men for India, and it is well worth doing; for as the *Calcutta Review* has justly recorded, "the more thoroughly this country is examined and compared with other lands, peopled by orientals, the more clearly will it be seen what a splendid heritage has been bestowed by its conquest on the English crown; and what a glorious work has to be performed in cle-

vating it to its proper place among the nations. Not only has it excellences peculiar to itself, but in all that it shares in common with other Eastern lands, few can surpass the position which it occupies. In its manufactures, the features of its landscapes, the structure of its cities, and in its monuments of ancient grandeur, it falls not a whit behind other portions of the Eastern world. Its boundless plains, laden with crops of rice, wheat, mustard, &c., are far more extensive, and not less fertile, than those of Roumelia and Egypt. The icy capes and mountains of Siberia cannot be compared with the higher ranges of the Himalayas, whose proud peaks, covered with eternal snow, rear their heads in silent grandeur to the heavens. The widespread valleys of Cashmere and the Dhoon, are not less lovely than that of Samarcand, or even than the far-famed vale of Tempe itself. Benares, Delhi, or Lucknow will well compare with Cairo or Constantinople. The strange arches of Orissa, and the towers of the temples at Puri and Konarak, find no parallel but in the cyclopean wall of the Peloponnesus, and in the treasury of Mycenæ. The Alhambra is proud among palaces, but Bayard Taylor declares it to be far surpassed by the palaces of Akbar and Shah Jehan. The tombs of the Mamelukes are numbered among the celebrities of Cairo, but they are more than equalled by those of kings, priests, and nobles, scattered widely round the cities of Agra and Delhi. The Church of St. Sophia, and the Mosque of Solyman, are the pride of Constantinople; but among all Mohammedan buildings, whether mosques or mausolea, nothing can come up to the exquisite beauty and wondrous grandeur of the Taj Mehal. These things appear plain to travellers, who, from personal experience, are able to compare the scenery and the monuments of one land with those of another." These words are true, and justify a deep interest in India, not only on the part of those commercially or politically concerned, but of those who, as men of benevolence or Christianity, desire to influence her social condition beneficially, and to throw the light of civilization, knowledge, and charity, into the dark places of her error, cruelty, and degradation.

The social peculiarities of India have attracted the attention of statesmen and *litterateurs* in England, and our tales and novels begin to afford a place to Indian officials and heroes, as well as our graver works a place for the serious discussion of her concerns. The social life of India, ancient and modern, now interests the English people, and not only the inhabitants of these islands, but of Europe and of the United States. All thoughtful men must at last arrive at the conclusion that so long as the religions of India prevail, it will be impossible to modify the moral and social condition of the people.

It is a grave fault with independent settlers in India that they seldom appreciate the country. This is often the case even with the civil servants of the company, although thoroughly imbued with the Philo-Indian spirit, noticed elsewhere in these pages. Nowhere else in the world do educated men work so hard. Wearied out with heat and labour, they have little disposition for exploring the country, and enjoying its noble scenery. To make a fortune, and return home, is the grand object with all. Very numerous is the proportion of those who have resided in the capitals of the presidencies who never travelled a day's journey into the interior. It is no uncommon thing to meet in this country "old Indians," as Europeans who have returned home after a long residence there are generally termed, who are more ignorant of the peculiarities of Indian scenery, the physical features of the country, and the social life of the people, than persons of their class and station in England who have never visited that country. When the reader reflects upon the glorious scenery, and the attractive objects of nature and art which India possesses, this will seem extraordinary, notwithstanding the incessant toil to which Europeans in India are exposed. The *Calcutta Review* accounts for it in these terms:—"Unhappily, we have very few, if any books, that can be regarded as complete guides. Heber's travels, one of the best in former times, is now much out of date. The routes he describes are unfrequented, and his modes of travelling have become obsolete. A work, therefore, which describes in a lively and readable way objects most worthy of observation cannot be without interest." It is upon the principle expressed in this passage that the author of this History has presented so much in detail the country and its people in the descriptions given in these pages.

The events of the great mutiny of 1857-8 have opened up a new social question connected with India—the treatment of her criminals. The Duke of Wellington, when the Hon. Arthur Wellesley and serving in India, complained that capital punishment was too frequently resorted to by the British, and too much relied upon as a means of checking vice among the Hindoos. Other great officers and civilians have also recommended incarceration, chains, the lash, infliction of the loss of caste in various forms, and transportation, as substitutes for capital punishment, far more effectual in deterring

from crime. These views appear to have been justified by events; for while the natives act with the uttermost contempt of death, they dread bonds and banishments. When the celebrated Moolraj offered to surrender Mooltan, he stipulated for his life, which was accorded; but when he learned that his sentence was transportation to another part of India, he passionately lamented his fate, and begged them in preference to deprive him of life. More than one of the rebel chiefs, who headed the revolt and insurrection of 1857, committed suicide under sentence of transportation. From the numerous instances in which the natives prefer death to being banished from their country, it is plain that the existence of penal settlements beyond the seas, to which the guilty will be expatriated, is an appeal to the apprehensions of the people well calculated to deter from guilt. The government has recently come to the determination of fixing upon the Andaman Islands as a place for Indian convicts, who will, in the result of the revolt, be very numerous. As those islands did not fall within the scope of our geographical descriptions, and they have since assumed political importance, some description of them is desirable. They are situated in the Bay of Bengal, near the sailing track from the Straits of Malacca to Calcutta, between 92° and 93° east longitude, and 11° and 12° north latitude. The Nicobars lie between them and Sumatra. They lie parallel with the Archipelago of Mergui; the nearest land on the continent is Cape Negrais, in Pegu, near the mouths of the Irriwaddy. Our knowledge of the Andamans is so slight that probably, after an investigation by scientific men, much valuable information may be procured, and their resources more thoroughly developed. The neighbouring islands, the Nicobars, have received more attention; M. Haensel, who resided there for many years as a Moravian missionary, communicated much information to the Danish government, which is to be found in their archives. In 1848, the Danish government came to the determination to abandon all claim to sovereignty over the Nicobars; and on the final removal of Danish authority the chiefs of the island of Lar Nicobar hoisted the British flag, and expressed their desire to acknowledge the supremacy of the British government. It seems desirable, considering the lawless and desperate character of the classes we are now deporting to the Andamans, that no time should be lost in taking them under our protection, as their vicinity might lead to constant attempts on the part of the convicts to escape; and from various accounts the character of the native islanders in the Nicobars presents a most favourable contrast to that of the wild and savage tribe which is found in a very limited proportion in the Andaman group. The Nicobars, particularly the Lar Nicobar, abound also in pine apples, plantains, and most other tropical fruit, including a species of bread-fruit tree, termed by Mr. Fontana, the *mellori*, and of which he has given a full account in a memoir, published in the third volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, p. 161. The coffee-tree, we are also informed in the same paper, in two years yields fruit; and wild cinnamon and sassafras are found, as well as yams, the latter for three or four months of the year only. Cocoa-nuts are to be had in abundance. Fontana observes of the Nicobars:—"Almost the whole of these islands are uncultivated, though there are a number of large valleys that might be rendered very fruitful with a little trouble, the soil being naturally fertile." An exact plan of these islands may be seen in the *Neptun Oriental*. In *Pinkerton's Voyages*, vol. viii. p. 430, there is a brief notice of the Andaman Islands, from Hamilton's account of the East Indies. This quaint old writer has the following very curious account, which, if any reliance can be placed upon it, may be productive of important material advantages:—"I saw one of the natives of those islands at Atcheen, in anno 1694, who was then about forty years of age. Taken prisoner when a boy of ten or twelve years of age in the wars in which he had accompanied his father, they saved his life, and made him a slave. Some years after, his master dying gave him his freedom, and he having a great desire to see his native country, the southernmost island of which is the Chitty (Andaman is distant about a hundred leagues from Atcheen), ventured to sea, being fair weather and the sea smooth. Arriving among his relations he was made welcome, as they expected he had been long dead. When he had stayed a month or two, he took leave to be gone again, which they permitted on condition that he would return. He brought along with him four or five hundred weight of quicksilver, and he said that some of the Andaman Islands abound in that commodity. He had made several trips thither before I saw him, and always brought some quicksilver with him. When I saw him he was in company with a seid, whom I carried a passenger to Surat, and from him I had this account of his adventures." There is not any mention of quicksilver in the valuable reports made to the Bengal government by Captain Blair, the first superintendent of the Andamans, or by Colonel Kyd, who succeeded him in that post; but it seems a point

well worth ascertaining, and which will, no doubt, receive attention from the head of the Board of Control. Should Captain Hamilton's account prove correct, and mines can be worked by the convict mutineers, we may turn our re-occupation of these islands to a better use than resulted from our former temporary residence in them. In the *London Encyclopædia*, vol. xiv. p. 296, under the head "Mercury," Professor Jameson describes—"Species: 1 native mercury, 1 fluid mercury. It occurs principally in rocks of the coal formation, associated with cinnabar, corneous mercury, &c. Small veins of it are rarely met with in primitive rocks, accompanied with native silver," &c.

The importance of making the Nicobars also penal settlements will probably appear, for the number of convicts will be great. If the revolt spring from facts or principles, which must continue to operate even when the flames of insurrection are extinguished in blood, then there can be little hope for long to come of the prosperity of our Indian dominions, or the happiness of the races by whom they are peopled. The remembrance of sanguinary defeat, the presence of overbearing power, may repress action; but the desire to avenge defeat, and snap the colossal chain, will sustain vague expectations and animate popular vigilance for a surprise more complete and terrible. Under the Agra government, where the people are bold and profess soldierly qualities, the cultivators of the land are more loyal than in the lower provinces under the Bengal government, where the people are unsoldierly and unfitted to maintain an active and vigorous resistance. The insurrection was thus more or less intense in different sections of the people, and was local both as to the army and the inhabitants, both classes of insurgents being natives of the same regions. But should a more general military revolt arise, or a more extensive popular insurrection, it will be necessary to have penal settlements co-extensive with the whole group of islands, if the convicts are to be engaged in any productive labour. It is well to be prepared for such an emergency. It will soon become known through the native press that such preparations exist for inflicting the penalty upon crime or treason which is most of all dreaded by the Hindoos.

While, however, England shows her power to wrest from the centre of Indian society the highest or the lowest whose treachery, turbulence, or guilt, may render it desirable to expel them from the fair land they had dishonoured, still the hope must be cherished that good government will, in spite of priest or fakeer, win the affections of the populace, and convince them of the benefit of our rule, and that the bright day of India may at last arise upon a loyal, contented, enlightened, and prosperous people.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

### ANCIENT INDIA.—CHRONOLOGY.—HISTORICAL RECORD.—BRAHMA.—MENU.—THE GREAT WAR.

In the chapter on the commercial intercourse between the Western nations and India, we collected the few historical references which can be gleaned from the Greek writers previous to the time of Alexander. The Indians yield to no people in their extravagant claims to a very remote existence. Hundreds of thousands of years is comparatively a short period in their calendar. The Hindoo chronology supplies no trustworthy landmarks, no fixed eras, no comparative history to guide us;* and the absurdity of its pretensions would be too puerile for notice, were it not applied rather to explain their indefinite notions of eternity than any mundane revolutions. In the *Vishnu Parana*, a system of Hindoo mythology and tradition, translated by Professor Wilson, the following explanation of it is given:—"Brahma is said to be born, a familiar phrase to signify his manifestation; and as the peculiar measure of his presence, a hundred of his years is said to constitute his life; that period is also called *param*, and the half of it, *parardham*. I have already declared that time is a form of Vishnu;* hear now how it is applied to measure the duration of Brahma, and of all other sentient beings, as well as of things which are unconscious, as the mountains, the

* Wilson's *Rig-Veda-Sanhita*, p. xlviii.

* *Vishnu*, the origin, existence, and end of all things, undistinguished by place, time, or property. The world, the Hindoos believe, was produced by him, exists in him—he is the cause of its continuance and cessation: he is the world.

oceans, and the like. Fifteen twinklings of the eye make a *kashtha*; thirty kashthas, one *kala*; and thirty kala's one *muhurtta*; thirty muhurttas constitute a day and night of mortals; thirty such days make a month, divided into two half months; six months form an *ayana* (the period of the sun's progress north or south of the ecliptic), and two ayanas compose a year; the southern ayana is a night, and the northern a day of the gods; twelve thousand divine years, each composed of three hundred and sixty such days, constitute the period of the four *yugas*, or ages. They are thus distributed: the *krita* age has four thousand divine years; the *treta*, three thousand; the *dwapara*, two thousand; and the *kali* age, one thousand: so those acquainted with antiquity have declared. The period that preceded a yuga is called a *sandhya*, and it is of as many hundred years as there are thousands in the yuga; and the period that follows a yuga, termed the *sandhyansa*, is the yuga denominated *krita*, *treta*, &c. The *krita*, *treta*, *dwapara*, and *kali*, constitute a great age, or aggregate of four ages; a thousand such aggregate are a day of Brahma, and fourteen Menus reign within that term. Seven *rishis*,* certain secondary divinities; Indra, Menu, and the kings his sons, are created and perish at one period; and the interval called a *manwantara*, is equal to seventy-one times the number of years contained in the four yugas, with some additional years. This is the duration of the Menu, the attendant divinities, and the rest, which is equal to 852,000 divine years, or to 306,720,000 years of mortals, independent of the additional period. Fourteen times this period constitutes a Brahma day; the term Brahma being the derivative form. At the end of this day a dissolution of the universe occurs, when all the worlds, earth, and the regions of space, are consumed with fire; the dwellers of *maharloka* (the region inhabited by the saints who survive the world), of such days and nights is a year of Brahma's composed; and a hundred such years constitute his whole life."†

Professor Wilson, in a note on this passage, remarks:—"This scheme, extravagant as it may appear, seems to admit of easy explanation. We have, in the first place, a computation of the years of the gods in the four ages, or—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Krita Yuga . . . . . | 4000 | |
| „ Sandhya . . . | 400 | |
| „ Sandhyansa . | 400 | |
| | —— | 4800. |
| 2. Treta Yuga . . . . . | 3000 | |
| „ Sandhya . . . | 300 | |
| „ Sandhyansa . | 300 | |
| | —— | 3600. |
| 3. Dwapara Yuga . . . | 2000 | |
| „ Sandhya . | 200 | |
| „ Sandyansa | 200 | |
| | —— | 2400. |
| 4. Kali Yuga . . . . . | 1000 | |
| „ Sandhya . . . | 100 | |
| „ Sandhyansa . . | 100 | |
| | —— | 1200. |

"If these divine years are converted into years of mortals, by multiplying by 360, a year of men being a day of the gods, we obtain the years of which the yugas of mortals are respectively said to consist.

4800×360=1,728,000.
3600×360=1,296,000.
2400×360= 864,000.
1200×360= 432,000 a mahayuga.

"So that these periods resolve themselves into very simple elements; the notion of four ages in a deteriorating series expressed by descending arithmetical progression as 4, 3, 2, 1, the conversion of units into thousands, and the mythological fiction, that these were divine years, each composed of three hundred and sixty of men. It does not seem necessary to refer the invention to any astronomical calculations, or to any attempt to represent actual chronology." *

Of these ages the three first in order are said to have expired, and in the current year, 1858, of the Christian era, four thousand nine hundred and fifty-two years of the last. With such claims to a long established national existence, the authenticated history of India is very modern. No date of a public event can be fixed before the invasion of Alexander: and no connected narrative of its transactions, or materials for its composition exists, until we descend to the period subsequent to the Mohammedan invasions. The only sources from which any knowledge of Indian antiquities can be derived are the Greeks and the natives of India themselves. The former we have already explored; and we shall now confine ourselves to an examination of what the latter has preserved. These are of a twofold character, writings and monuments.

The books which claim the highest antiquity, that are the oldest, and esteemed the most weighty authorities of the Brahmins for

* The great *rishis*, or mind-born sons of Brahma, are variously enumerated, as seven, eight, nine, as far as seventeen. They are reputed the immediate ancestors of all kinds of living beings, and are, therefore, called *prajapatis*, lords of creation. For a detailed account of them and their posterity, see the *Vishnu Purana*, b. i. chaps. vii. and x.

† *Vishnu Purana*, p. 25.

* *Vishnu Purana*, p. 23. Note 4.

their religion and institutions, are the Vedas. There are four of them, said to have been originally one, and contributed, as we now find them, by a divine or divinely-inspired person, named Vyasa.* They are entitled, respectively, the *Rich* or *Rig-Veda;* the *Yajush* or *Yagur-Veda;* the *Saman* or *Sama-Veda;* and the *Atharvana* or *Athar-Veda;* and in one compound word *Rig-yajusamatharva.* Many passages are to be found in Sanscrit writing, which limit the number to three.† Indeed, the *Athar-Veda* may be regarded rather as a supplement than as one of the four.‡

The *Rig-Veda* is composed of metrical prayers or hymns, the oldest form in which the divinities of all nations were addressed, termed *Suktas.* The absence of any obvious dependence upon one another, as Professor Wilson observes, is sufficiently indicative of their separate and unsystematic origin.§ That they are the compositions of the *rishis*, the patriarchal sages, to whom they are ascribed, they bear internal evidence in the references which they occasionally make to the name of the author, or of his family. Two of the Vedas have been translated recently into the English language: the *Rig-Veda-Sanhita*, in three volumes, by Professor Wilson, with copious and valuable explanatory notes, and the *Sama-Veda*, by Dr. Stephenson, of Bombay; and also the *Vajasneyi* portion of the *Yagur-Veda*‖ has been commenced by Dr. Webber, of Berlin. It differs from the Rig, and approaches near to the ritual form. In it several prayers and invocations are borrowed from the latter. The *Sama-Veda* is little else than a recast of the *Rig*, being made up, with few exceptions, of the very same hymns, broken into parts and arranged, for the purpose of being chanted on different ceremonial occasions.¶ The *Athar-Veda*, or supplementary Veda, comprises many of the hymns of the *Rig*. It is evident from the general appropriation of the formulæ of the *Rig-Veda*, by the three others, that it is the original, and is therefore justly entitled to the highest respect, and is valued for its great historical importance. It is in reality the fount from which is derived the knowledge of the old and most genuine forms of the institutions, religious or civil, of the Hindoos. Besides the *Sanhitas* the term *Veda* includes an extensive class of compositions designated collectively *Brahmina*. Of these the most interesting and important is the *Aitareya Brahmina* of the *Rig-Veda*, consisting of singular legends, illustrative of the condition of Brahminism at the period of its composition.* None of these have been published. This is to be deeply regretted, as we are assured by Professor Wilson that in them is developed the whole system of social organization, and the distinction of caste fully established. The *Suktas*, the prayers and hymns, had an independent existence, in all probability, long previous to their having been collected and arranged as they now are in the *Sanhitas:* indeed the traditions of the Hindoos confirm this opinion, and attribute the authorship of each to a *rishi*, or inspired teacher, by whom, in Brahminical phraseology, it has been *seen*—that is, revealed—being considered the uncreated dictation of Brahma.

The age of the Vedas has been the subject-matter of much discussion among the learned; Sir William Jones has made an unsatisfactory attempt† to fix the date of the *Yagur-Veda* at B. C. 1580, by computing the lives of forty-two pupils and preceptors, who successively received and transmitted the doctrines contained in the *Upanishad*, from the time of Parasara, a Hindoo sage, and the father of Vyasa, whose epoch is fixed by an astronomical test. The date assigned to them by Colebrooke‡ from other data, is fourteen centuries before Christ. Professor Wilson, arguing from the indisputable evidence which the hymns supply of the form of religious worship, and a state of society very dissimilar to those to be met with in all the other scriptural authorities of the Hindoos, whether Brahminas, Upanishads, Ithasas, or Paranas, and the genealogical and historical traditions, the origin and succession of regal dynasties, and the formation of powerful principalities preserved in other records, and all unknown to the Sanhita, concludes that one thousand years would not be too long an interval for the altered conditions which are depictured in the older and the more recent compositions, and in his opinion the Vedas date from about the twelfth or thirteen century B.C.§ After all, these dates are purely conjectural. However, it may be fairly pronounced that the hymns of the *Rig-Veda* rank with the oldest surviving records.

Great are the advantages which the internal evidence of these ancient books, the Vedas, presents to the antiquarian in investi-

* Colebrooke's *Asiatic Researches*, vol. viii.
† Ibid., vol. viii. p. 370.
‡ *Rig-Veda-Sanhita*, Introduction, p. viii.
§ Ibid.
‖ Montgomery Martin was not aware of the existence of Professor Wilson's translation, or Dr. Webber's labour. He asserts (p. 14 of his History) that the *Sama-Veda* only was translated.
¶ Professor Wilson's *Rig-Veda-Sanhita*, vol. i. p. ix.

* Wilson's *Rig-Veda-Sanhita*, vol. i. p. xi.
† Haughton's *Institutes of Menu*, Preface, p. xii.
‡ *Asiatic Researches*, vol. viii. p. 483.
§ Wilson's *Rig-Veda-Sanhita*, vol. i. p. xlviii.

gating the social and political, as well as religious condition of the Hindoos. For a true appreciation of the early history of mankind, and for a comparative study of the religions of the East, says Max Müller, a knowledge of the Vedas is indispensable,* and also for an acquaintance with the religious condition of the ancient Hindoos. The assumption of some eminent scholars that the Hindoos were originally a nomadic and pastoral people is negatived by the Vedas. The contrary is evident from the repeated allusions to fixed dwellings, villages, and towns. If pastoral, it is proved they were also agricultural, by their frequent supplications for abundant rain, and for the fertility of the earth, and by the mention of their cereal products, as, "Verily he has brought to me successively the six, connected with the drops as a husbandman repeatedly ploughs for barley."† They were a manufacturing people; for the art of weaving, the labours of the carpenter, and the fabrication of golden and iron mail,‡ are alluded to. They were also a maritime and mercantile people, familiar with the ocean and its phenomena: their merchants are described as pressing earnestly on board ship, and covetous of gain; and a naval expedition is represented as having been frustrated by shipwreck. The adoption of an intercalating month for the purpose of adjusting the solar and lunar years is stated. The mention of hundred-oared ships, chariots and harnessed horses, are of frequent occurrence.

The *Puranas*, eighteen in number, are evidently derived from the mytho-heroic stage of Hindoo belief,§ and record the fabulous achievements of gods and heroes. They repeat the theoretical cosmogony of the two great Indian epics, the *Rama Yana* and the *Mhaha Bharrat*. They expand and systematize the chronological computations, lists of royal races, and give a more definite and correct representation of historical traditions. Though the name *Purana* implies "old," the Puranas are not merely the repositories of ancient traditions. With these are incorporated much matter, the peculiarities of which are characteristic of far later times. They undoubtedly comprise details illustrative of the early history of India; and it may be fairly presumed, considering what has been recently done, that their stores will be further developed, with essential results, and that by their aid what is at present merely conjectural, may be converted into historical certainty.

Besides the two great classes already noticed, there is a third class, the *Sastras*, composed chiefly of annotations on ancient works; and a fourth, comprising dramatic works, fables, couplets, and light compositions. The two great epics are generally classed with the Puranas, which shall be treated of in a subsequent page.

Interesting monumental inscriptions have been found on stone and metal. It is very recently that attention has been directed to their importance, and however limited the historical information yet furnished by them, we are encouraged to anticipate extensive and satisfactory results. Indeed, the few deciphered, coincide with, although they do not to any considerable degree illustrate, the written volumes.

The Hindoos assert that they are the descendants of Bharrat, one of nine brothers, whose father was lord of the universe, and that the portion of it allotted to him was that described in the Institutes of Menu:—*

"Between the two divine rivers *Saraswati* (Sersooty), and *Drishadwati* (Caygar), lies the tract of land which the sages have named *Brahma-verta*, because it was frequented by gods. That country which lies between *Himawat* (Himalaya), and *Vindhya* (the Vindean of the Greeks), to the east of Vinasana, and to the west of Prayaga, is celebrated by the title of *Medhyadesa*, or the central region.

"As far as the eastern, and as far as the western oceans, between the two mountains just mentioned, lies the tract which the wise have named *Aryaverta*, or inhabited by respectable men.

"That land on which the black antelope naturally grazes, is held fit for the performance of sacrifices."

This tract of land, described by Elphinstone† to be about one hundred miles to the north-west of Delhi, and in extent about sixty-four miles long, and from twenty to forty broad, was, in the opinion of the Hindoo, the cradle of his race. Neither his records nor his traditions point to any previous settlement, and among the neighbouring chain of towering mountains on the north, their mythology places the mansions of their gods. Orme, in his *History of India*, observes that "this country has been inhabited from the earliest antiquity by a people who have no resemblance—either in their figure or manners—with any of the nations contiguous to them;" and that "although conquerors have established themselves at different times in dif-

* Müller's *Rig-Veda-Sanhita*, Preface, v. 2, p. lxi.

† Ibid., First Ashtaks, Second Adhya Varga x. v. 15.

‡ Varuna clothes his well nourished person, wearing golden armour. Ibid., Varga xviii. v. 11.

§ Wilson's *Vishnu Purana*, p. iii.

* Chap. ii. v. 17, 21, 22, 23.

† Vol. i. p. 388.

ferent parts of India, yet the primeval inhabitants have lost very little of their original character." How trivially they have been affected by the revolution of centuries, may be inferred from the following translation from the geographical poem of Dionysius :—

"To the East a lovely country wide extends,
India, whose borders the broad ocean bounds;
On this the sun, new rising from the main,
Smiles pleased, and sheds his early orient beam.
The inhabitants are swart, and in their locks
Betray the tints of the dark hyacinth.
Various their functions: some the rock explore,
And from the mine extract the latent gold;
Some labour at the woof with cunning skill,
And manufacture linen; others shape
And polish iv'ry with the nicest care;
Many retire to river's shoal, and plunge
To seek the beryl flaming in its bed,
Or glittering diamond. Oft the jasper's found,
Green, but diaphanous; the topaz too,
Of ray serene and pleasing; last of all,
The lovely amethyst, in which combine
All the mild shades of purple. The rich soil,
Washed by a thousand rivers, from all sides
Pours on the natives wealth without control."

As their patriarchal ruler and legislator the Hindoos claim Menu, whom they assert to be the primeval sage and progenitor of mankind. Sir William Jones informs us that the name is clearly derived, like *menes*, *mens*, and *mind*, from the root *men*, to understand, and signifies intelligent. An attempt to identify the period at which the first Menu lived would be a fruitless task, as the calculation would assuredly be involved in an "inextricable labyrinth of imaginary astronomical cycles." He was the reputed son or grandson of the creating deity, Brahma, and from him his posterity, the human family, are called *Manavas* or *Manussahs*, offspring of Menu. Dara Shucuh, quoted by Sir William Jones,* was persuaded that the Menu of the Brahmins could be no other than him to whom the Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans unite in giving the name of Adam. The alleged revelation made to him by Brahma has descended to the present day, and is extensively known as the *Institutes of Menu*, of which a translation was made by Sir William Jones. It is esteemed by the Hindoos as the oldest and holiest text next to the Vedas. In the Vedas he is highly distinguished by name, and whatever emanated from him is pronounced "a medicine for the soul;" and the sage Vrihaspeti, who is now supposed to preside over the planet Jupiter, says in his law tract that "Menu held the first rank among legislators, because he had expressed in his code the whole sense of the Veda; that no code was approved which contradicted him; that other Sustras retain splendour only so long as Menu, who taught the way to just wealth, to virtue, and to final happiness, was not seen in competition with them."* It is classed as one of the four works of supreme authority, which ought never to be shaken by arguments merely human. Of its contents, authority, and influence on Hindoo society, we have largely dwelt elsewhere.

Whether Menu was a real personage or myth, the influence which the institutes that bear his name have had in the formation of the social relations of the Hindoos, commands for him a place amongst the first of historical personages. The writings of the Hindoos mention fourteen of this name, and that it was the seventh and not the first of them whom the Brahmins believe to have been the child of the sun, and preserved in the ark from the general deluge, and the brother of Yama,† the judge of the shades below.

Amid all the nations—west, east, north, and south—who have preserved remote traditions, and even those unaffected by the teachings of Jew, Christian, or Mohammedan, the great and appalling event of the Deluge has been handed down. The genesis‡ of India—as is well remarked by Colonel Tod§ in his valuable work, the *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*—dates from this epoch. This divine visitation is thus recorded, in the glowing description of oriental feeling, by the *Agni-Parana* :—"When ocean quitted his bounds, and caused universal destruction by Brahma's command, Vaivaswata‖ Menu (Noah), who dwelt near the Himalaya Mountains, was giving water to the gods near the Kritmala River, when a small fish fell into his hand. A voice commanded him to preserve it. The fish expanded to an enormous size. Menu, with his sons and their wives, and the sages, with the seed of every living thing, entered into a vessel which was fastened to a horn on the head of the fish, and thus they were preserved."

What a singular confirmation is this Hindoo tradition of the scriptural narrative in its leading features! It may be here appropriately remarked that the traditions of the East refer to the West, of the West to the East, of the far North to the South, and of the far South to the North, as the cradle of their race, all wonderfully converging to the Asiatic

* Preface to the *Institutes*.

† Yama is the son of the sun, and regent of the infernal regions. He combines the offices of Pluto and Rhadamanthus. He is the judge of the dead, and the souls of both good and bad appear before his tribunal. The former he dispatches to Swurga, or Elysium; the latter to Naraka, or Tartarus.

‡ From the Sanscrit primitives, *Jenem*, birth, and *es* and *eswar*, lords.

§ Vol. i. p. 21.

‖ Son of the sun.

locality (the Mosaic Eden), in which the progenitors of mankind had their being. In the *Bavishya* it is stated that Vivaswata (the sun-born) Menu ruled at the mountain Soomer or Meru,* and from him was descended Cacoosta Rajah, who obtained the sovereignty of Ayodhya (Oude), and that his descendants filled the land, and spread over the earth. Tod thus essays to identify Soomer:—"This sacred mountain is claimed by the Brahmins as the abode of the Creator; by the Jains as the abode of Adnath, the first lord: they say he taught mankind the arts of agriculture and civilised life. The Greeks claimed it as the abode of Bacchus. In this vicinity the followers of Alexander had their saturnalia, drank to excess of the wine from its indigenous vines, and bound their brows with ivy, sacred to the Baghis (Creator) of the East and West, whose votaries alike drink of 'strong wine.'" † The Hindoos placed the cradle of their race not within the Indus, but to the west, amongst the hills of the Caucasus, whence the sons of Vaivaswata migrated eastward to that river, and onward to the Ganges, and located themselves in Kosulya, the capital of Oude. Few spots, as Tod remarks, possess more interest than that elevated central region of Asia, whence the Hindoos mention they issued, where the Amu, Oxus, or Jihoon, and other rivers have their rise, and which both the Soonya and Hindoo races (Sacæ) claim as the hill sacred to the great patriarchal ancestor.‡

The fourth book of the *Vishnu Parana*, translated by Professor Wilson, contains, he assures us, all that the Hindoos have of their ancient history. Though a rather comprehensive list of dynasties and of individuals, few indeed are the events it records. It is asserted to be a genuine chronicle of persons, if not of occurrences.§ The professor—than whom no European is a superior authority on Indian antiquities—thinks that there is nothing shocking to probability in supposing that the Hindoo dynasties and their ramifications have spread through an interval of about twelve centuries anterior to the great war of the *Mhaha Bharrat*, an event which he is disposed to ascribe to about the fourteenth century before Christ, thus carrying the commencement of the regal dynasties of India to about two thousand six hundred years before that era. According to this computation, the authenticated history of India dates from as early a period as the credible history of any country in the world.

The holy land of Menu and the Puranas, as has been already said, lies between the Drishadwati and Saraswati rivers. This was the land with which the adventures of their first princes and the most eminent of their sages were identified, and the abode of Vyasa, the compiler of the Vedas and Puranas. The Puranas pass over the earlier stages unnoticed, and commence with Ayodhya (Oude). This is the district in which the solar and lunar races had their origin.* They were descended from Vaivaswata Menu. The one, living under the designation of Surya (children of the sun), reigned in Oude; the other, Chandra, (children of the moon), at Pratisththana, or Vitora, between the Jumna and the Ganges. The dynasties prior to Krishnu precede the time of the great war, and the beginning of the kali age. To that period the princes of the solar dynasty offer ninety-three descents, the lunar but forty-five, though they both date from the same age. Ayodhya continued to be the capital of the most celebrated branch of the family of Vaivaswata, namely, the posterity of Ikshwaku. In the *Vishnu Parana* there is a description of the conquests made in all directions, and the colonies planted from this centre. Its position affords great facilities of approach to the east, west, and south, and we find that a branch of the line of Ikshwaku had extended to Tirhut, and furnished the Maithila kings; and the descendants of a son of Vaivaswata had reigned in Vaisah, in Southern Tirhut, or Saran. The enterprise and good fortune of the lunar branch was not second to that of the solar. The first ruler of Pratisththana, situated to the south from Ayodhya, was brother of Ikshwaku. The sons of his successor Paruravas extended

* The rulers of mankind lived on the summit of Meru, towards the north. Meru is a fabulous mountain in the centre of the earth, fully described in the *Vishnu Parana*, p. 116. On it the Hindoos allege are the cities of the gods, and the habitations of celestial spirits. Many of the notions entertained respecting it seem to have been suggested by the actual geography of central Asia, between the Himalaya and Altai Mountains.

† Tod, vol. i. p. 22.

‡ Ibid.

§ Professor Wilson is not in favour of the conclusion here arrived at. The traditions of the Puranas lend no assistance to the determination of the question whence the Hindoos came; whether from Central Asia, as Sir William Jones supposed, or from the Caucasian mountains, the plains of Babylonia, or the borders of the Caspian, as conjectured by Klaproth, Vans Kennedy, and Schlegel. It would have been obviously incompatible with the Puranik system to have referred the origin of Indian princes and principalities to any other than native sources. It is not, therefore, to be expected that from them any information as to the foreign derivation of the Hindoos should be obtained.—WILSON'S *Vishnu Purana*, p. lxvi.

* The great families of ancient India were distinguished as *Surya-vansas* and *Soma-vansas*, according as they derived their lineage from the sun or the moon. These pretensions are not yet laid aside. The Rances of Odeypore claim to be members of the Surya-vansa, whilst the Jharegas of Cutch and Scinde, as branches of the Yadu family, are still the representatives of the lunar race.

their power in every direction to the east, to Kasi, Magadha, Benares, and Bahar; southward, to the Vindaya hills, and across them to Vidarbha or Berar; westward, along the Narmada to Kusasthali and Dwaraka, in Gujerat; and in a north-westerly direction to Mathura and Hastinapura. There are existing evidences to corroborate the conclusion that settlements were also made in Banga, Kalinga, and Dakhin, though at a far subsequent period. For this information, obtained from the fourth book of the *Vishnu Parana*, we have to thank the facilities afforded by the learned and eminent translator. And these are the only historical facts which can yet be gleaned from the numerous legends, which are the only means afforded of distinguishing from fifty to seventy generations of contemporaneous dynasties.

After these follows in succession Rama,* a personage whose identity has been established, and who occupies a very prominent position in the history of his race, the hero of its oldest and greatest poem, the *Rama Yana*. He is described as a conqueror of the highest renown; the deliverer of nations from tyrants, and also of his wife Sita from the power of the giant Ravana, King of Lanka (Ceylon). He is reported to have been essentially aided in the achievement by an army of monkeys, commanded by Hunman, the high-cheek-boned. This prince, in all probability, possessed a powerful kingdom in Hindostan, and subdued no small portion of the Deccan, and also penetrated into Ceylon. He is said to have been excluded from his hereditary throne, and to have devoted many years of his life to ascetic devotion. However glorious may have been a portion of his reign, the close was disastrous. Having imprudently slain his brother Lachman, the partner of his dangers and his triumphs, his regret or remorse was so poignant that he cast himself into a river, and there perished. His followers deified him: by posterity he has been worshipped as a personification of the deity, and his ally Hunman, in some places, receives equal honour.† Sir William Jones, in his enthusiastic partiality for the East, has suggested, with very little success, an explanation of the fabled absurdity of his having been assisted by monkeys:—"Might not his army of monkeys have been only a race of mountaineers whom Rama had civilized." He even attaches some degree of credibility to the tale:—"In two or three places on the banks of the Ganges the Indian apes, at this moment, live in tribes of three or four hundred, are wonderfully gentle (I speak as an eye-witness), and appear to have some kind of order and subordination in their little sylvan polity." *

After Rama, sixty princes of his reign succeeded to his throne, but the seat of empire, in all probability, was translated, as Elphinstone surmises, from Oude to Canouj.

The great war celebrated in the *Mhaha Bharat*,† next presents itself in Indian history. The belligerents were two branches of the reigning family. The object of contention was the territory of Hastinapura, probably on the Ganges, north-east of Delhi, which still bears the ancient name.‡ The disputants were members of the Lunar family, sons of two brothers, Pandu and Dhritarashtra, but aided by allies from remote quarters. The sons of the former, five in number, were Yudishthira, Bhima, and Arjuna, by one of his wives, Pritha, and Nakula and Sahadiva, by his other wife, Madri. The family of Dhritarashtra was as numerous as the progeny of Priam, with one daughter only. Dungodhana was the eldest of the hundred sons, and detested his cousins with bitter and unrelenting hate.

In the East any one tainted with leprosy was disqualified from reigning; and Pandu, the pale, as his name expresses, was, in consequence of his pallor, suspected of possessing the seeds of that disease; therefore, though by birth the heir to the throne, he was set aside. He surrendered his claim to his brother, and sought a remote retreat in the Himalaya Mountains; and there, released from the cares of a crown, passed his life in retirement. On his death, the companions of his seclusion conveyed his orphan sons to

* Tod reckons fifty-seven princes from Ikshwaku to Rama; Sir William Jones gives fifty-six; Bentley agrees with Sir William Jones; Colonel Wilford's list Tod pronounces of no use; and other authors of repute abstain from any enumeration, prudently abiding the time till critical search shall succeed in enabling us to correct the errors of Indian chronology.

† *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i. p. 259.

* The banner of Arjuna, one of the Pandavas, had as its armorial bearing a painted representation of Hunman. It is worthy of remark, that it was also the device exhibited upon the flag of the Rajah of Bhurtpore, when captured by Lord Combermere.

† The text of the *Mhaha Bharrat* has been printed at Calcutta, in four quarto volumes. The work was commenced by the committee of public instruction, and completed by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Selections from it have been edited by Francis Johnson, Professor of Sanscrit, East India College, Herts, from whose interesting preface and copious and learned notes, has been compiled the details in the text. Elphinstone is of opinion that the story of the *Mhaha Bharrat* is much more probable than that of the *Rama Yana*, and contains more particulars about the state of India, and has a much greater appearance of being founded on fact, and, like the *Iliad*, is the source to which many chiefs and tribes endeavour to trace their ancestors. It was probably written in the fourteenth century before Christ.

‡ Elphinstone, vol. i. p. 390.

Hastinapura, and introduced them to their uncle as his nephews. This representation was doubted; and, indeed, not without ground, as the poet assures his readers that Pandu was only their reputed father, they being in reality the children of his wives, who had bestowed their favours on several divinities. Thus Yudishthira was the son of Dharma, the god of justice, the Pluto of Hindoo mythology; Bhima of Vayu, or god of wind, the Indian Æolus; Arjuna was the son of Indra, the god of the firmament, Jupiter Tonans; and Nakula and Sahadeva were the sons of two personages peculiar to the Hindoo mythology, their Dioscuri, twin sons of the sun, the Aswini-kumaras. Pandu, having never repudiated them, these princes were recognized by their uncle, and taken to his guardianship.

The sons and nephews of the ruling sovereign were at variance from early boyhood, and nature seems to have organized them for the prosecution of their feud. The sons are represented as envious, arrogant, and malignant; the nephews as moderate, generous, and just. The first flagrant manifestation of enmity was the clandestine attempt of the sons of Dhritarashtra to destroy by fire the residence of Pritha and her three sons. The intended victims having been forewarned of the projected danger, escaped privily by a subterranean passage; and it was believed that they had perished in the flames. They fled to the forests, and concealed themselves in their fastnesses, and there assumed both the garb and mode of life of Brahmins. In their seclusion, fame brought to their ears the report of the unrivalled beauty and perfections of Draupadi, the "five maled single femaled flower," as Sir William Jones calls her, the daughter of Draupadi, king of the upper part of Doab; and they prepared to attend the Swayambara, a rite familiar to the readers of *Nala*, an episode in this epic at which a choice of a husband is made by a princess from the midst of congregated suitors. They accordingly visit his court, and win the fair lady. Their achievements and success were bruited far and near. They were sent for by their uncle, and left joint heirs of his sovereignty with his sons. Yudishthira and his brothers ruled over a district washed by the Jumna, the capital of which was Indraprastha. Dhuryodhana, with his brothers, were the rajahs of Hastinapura, on the Ganges. The ruins of the latter city, it is said, are still traceable on the banks of the Ganges, and a part of the royal city of Delhi is still known as Ifidraprastha. The proximity of these two capitals, and consequently of the territories of which they respectively were the seats of government, is a proof that, as in modern times, so also in ancient, India consisted of a number of petty independent principalities; but it does not necessarily follow that there did not exist, at some period, a supreme monarch, who, by the terror of his arms, had rendered his feebler contemporaries his tributaries. Shah Alem was titular sovereign of India, and coins were struck in his name when a prisoner in the hands of Scindiah, and a pensioner of the English government.

The Pandava princes spread far and wide their conquests. The articles brought to them as tribute, catalogued in the great poem that perpetuates their deeds, contribute materially to elucidate the civil and political phases and territorial divisions of ancient India.

After the partition of the kingdom, a new impulse was given to the feelings of envy and hatred which festered in the hearts of the sons of Dhritarashtra. Yudishthira resolved on celebrating the Raja Suya solemnity, a sacrifice at which princes officiated in a menial capacity, and made presents in acknowledgment of submission. The assumption of duties of such great and enviable distinction exasperated the animosity of his cousins, who were present. Amid the gaiety and revelry of this solemnity, the celebrant was insidiously provoked to hazard the loss of his palace, wealth, kingdom, wife, brothers, and eventually himself, on the cast of the die. The game played appears to be a kind of backgammon, where dice were thrown, and pieces moved. By the remonstrances of the aged monarch Dhritarashtra, personal liberty and lost property were restored; but the inveterate passion for play prevalent among the ancient, as well as modern orientals,—some of whom, for instance the Malays, when all else is gone, stake their families, then themselves,—together with the incentives of his artful adversary, tempted him again to the dangerous risk. It was now stipulated that, in case he lost, he and his brothers should pass twelve years in the forests, and the thirteenth year incognito. If discovered before the expiration of the last year, the whole term of exile was to be reimposed, and submitted to. His previous ill luck still attended him, he was again the loser, and the full penalties were unrelentingly inflicted. With his brother and mother he retired to his forest home, and led a life of sylvan simplicity, unchequered by political enterprise or adventure, as an humble and unpretending forester, resigned, but hopeful. At the expiration of the twelfth year, the Pandavas entered the service of King Virata in different disguises, and ingratiated themselves into the king's favour, to whom, at the close of the

thirteenth year, having faithfully observed their covenant, they make themselves known, secure his alliance, and obtain his aid to avenge their wrongs, and vindicate their rights of sovereignty.

In the ensuing war, a new personage of great eminence amongst the deified heroes of India makes his appearance on the stage. Krishnu is a relative of the antagonistic cousins, and reluctant to identify himself with either party of the belligerents. Prescient of the future, he proposed to Duryodhana the choice of his individual aid, and the co-operation of an immense army. Duryodhana unwisely preferred the latter, and Krishnu, himself more than a host, enlisted under the banner of the Pandavas, and became the charioteer of his friend and favourite, Arjuna. To his undaunted prowess and military capacity were due the splendid triumphs of his friends. The glowing descriptions of the battles, the personal feats of arms, rival in vividity and variety the recitals of the *Iliad*. Soldiers and chiefs innumerable "bit the dust," and in succession fell beneath the weapons of their foes. Bhishma his great uncle, Drona his military preceptor, his friend Karna the King of Anga, his ally the King of Madra, the commander-in-chief of King Duryodhana, and, last of this illustrious series, fell in single combat the royal chief himself, beneath the mace of the valiant and victorious Bhimal. The surviving chiefs attempted to avenge his fall by a nocturnal attack on the camp of the Pandavas; they were repulsed with great slaughter by the opportune assistance of Krishnu.

Dhritarashtra, borne down by affliction, accompanied by his queen, Gandnari, and his favourite ministers, retired to a hermitage, and there obtained "felicity, or died."

An inundation buried beneath its waters Dwaraka, the capital of Krishnu, and this hero, in common with all his people, perished.

When his wars were over, Yudishthira became the victim of poignant regret, and deeply lamented the past. He abdicated his hardly-won throne, and, with his faithfully attached brothers and mother, Draupadi, once more retired to the Himalaya, on their way to the nursery of their race, the holy mountain Meru. On their journey, the avenger of their former misdeeds visited them, and each in succession dropped dead by the wayside, and Yudishthira and a faithful dog that followed them from Hastinapura were the sole survivors. Indra came to convey the prince to Swarga, Indra's heaven. This favour he refused to accept, unless his faithful dog should bear him company.

Here terminates the earthly career of the Pandavas; but the poet has not yet disposed of them: like Homer, Virgil, Dante, Milton, and other epic poets, he accompanies his heroes to the "realm of shades." The importance of this episode, replete with valuable and authenticated information of Hindoo literature, and the asserted verity of the leading incidents which constitute the basis of the poem, will contribute to reconcile the reader to the poetic and fabulous embellishments.

It deserves to be noted, that among the allies enumerated as aiding in this war, are chiefs from the Indus, and from Calinga, in the Deccan, and some who it is maintained belonged to nations beyond the Indus, and *Yavanas*, a name which is applied, as several consider, in early oriental works, to the Greeks. "It is by no means an impossibility," Professor Johnson observes, "that the King of the Yavanas (Greeks) should be a competitor at Draupadi's Sway-ambara—at least, according to the notions of the author of the *Mhaha Bharrat*, to whom the Greeks of Bactria and the provinces bordering on the Indus were probably familiar."* The Asiatics have always called the Greeks by names evidently derived from their Asiatic residence, or Ionians. Even as late as the ninth century, when the Greek writers and the Greek empire were well known to the Mohammedans, the Greeks were called *Yunanis*. *Yavan* is derived from the same term, which, as written in Hebrew characters, may be read either *Ion* or *Javan*, according to the vowel points. So in its Pali form the word is *Yona* or *Jona*, as the edict of Asoka upon the rocks of Orissa and Gujerat records the name of Antiochus, the Yona, or Jona rajah. A curious additional proof that the Greeks are intended by the word *Yavana* occurs in the example of a rule of Sanscrit grammar for the application of the present participle of the *atamane-pada*: it is *sayana bhunjate Yavanah* (the Yavanas eat sleeping)—that is, recumbent, a position likely to have attracted notice, as quite different from the attitude in which, as far as we have reason to believe, any Asiatic people took their food.

Twenty-nine—some say sixty-four—of the descendants of the Pandus, succeeded to the throne. Their reigns are not distinguished by any recorded incidents, and all that survives to mark their existence is their names.

* Page 89.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

### ANCIENT HISTORY:—THE KINGDOMS OF MAGADA AND CASHMERE.

THERE is a prince, whose name appears in the great Indian epic as an ally, who challenges special attention, namely, the King of Magada,* a province of Bahar. The line of his descendants presents an unbroken succession from the war of the *Mhaha Bharrat* to the fifth century of the Christian era, and its authenticity is singularly corroborated by evidence from various quarters.

Sahadeva was king of Magada at the close of the great war, and his descendants were, for two thousand years, lords paramount and emperors of India;† and their country continued to be the seat of learning, civilization, and trade. Though Magada proper was confined to the Southern Bahar, it subsequently comprehended the provinces extending eastward to the Ganges.

The first king of Magada, so-called, was Jara-Sandha, literally, Old Sandha. His memory still survives in the traditions of the country, and pilgrimages are made to his tomb, to the east of Gaya in South Bahar, in the low hills of Raja-giri, or the royal mountains.

The thirty-fifth king in succession from Sahadeva, was Ajuta Satru, in whose reign Sakya, or Gotama,‡ the founder of the Buddhist religion, flourished. "It is an important fact connected with the Buddhistical creed." Turnour observes,§ "that the ancient history, as well as the religion, are developed by revelation; and by the fortunate fiction of limiting the period intervening between the manifestation of one Buddha and the advent of his successor, a limitation has been put to the mystification in which historical data had been involved anterior to the coming of Gotama." Turnour fixes the entry of Gotama Buddha upon his mission B.C. 588, in the fifteenth year of the reign of King Bimbisaro, sovereign of Magada, another name for Ajuta Satru; and his death B.C. 543, seven years later than that assigned by Elphinstone. The Birmese, Ceylonese, Siamese, and other Buddhist annals written out of India thus agreeing, identify the exact period at which Ajuta Satru ruled over India. The paucity of such illustrations enhances the value of this, and intensify the hope that a more extended cultivation of oriental literature will add considerably to a knowledge of ancient India. This dynasty ruled during one thousand years, the number of kings, according to the *Vishnu Parana*, after Sahaveda, being twenty-one.

The last of the series was Repunjaya. This prince was slain by his minister Sunika, who established his own son, Pradyota, on the throne, and he transmitted the sceptre to his descendants. This dynasty consisted of fifteen, to whom the *Parana* assigns a period of four hundred years. The Buddhist authorities differ materially as to the duration of the reigns, and Professor Wilson is of opinion that a date of about six centuries may be claimed, with some confidence, for them.

To Mahananda, the last prince of this series, was born a son, Nanda, surnamed *Mahapadma*, the Avaricious, whose mother was of the Sudra, or servile race, and hence he was called a Sudra. Though avaricious, his memory has descended to posterity as that of a just, equitable, and indulgent prince. He was also renowned by his valour, and signalized by the success of his arms and the extent of his conquests. He reduced to submission all the kings of the country; and, like Parasama, crushed the Kshatrya race, and, in the language of the *Parana*, is said to have brought the whole earth under his umbrella."* He had two wives, Rathnavati and Mura. By the first, he had eight sons, Sumalya and others; by Mura, he had Chandragupta, and many others, who were collectively called Mauryas, from their mother, as the other sons went under the common appellation Sumalyadicas, derived from their brother's name. Colonel Tod, in his *History of Rajpootana*, surmises that Maurya is a corruption of Mori, the name of a Rajpoot tribe. The Nandas reigned one hundred years, according to the text of the *Parana;* but the learned translator and annotator of that work thinks it would be more compatible with chronology to consider the nine Nandas as so many descents.

Upon the cessation of the race of Nanda, the Mauryas possessed, that is, succeeded to, the throne; for Kautiya placed Chandragupta on the throne.† The last-named prince is the most important personage that

* So called, according to Captain F. Wilford, from Magas, who came from the Dwipa of Sacs, and settled there.

† *Vishnu Parana*, p. 82; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ix. p. 32.

‡ For a full account of this personage, his religion, and innumerable followers, see p. 48, &c., of this History.

§ *History of Ceylo*: p. 52.

* *Vishnu Parana*, p. 468. † Ibid., p. 469.

appears in this regal list. His identity is established by more than one credible authority, indeed, authorities above suspicion; and this identification marks an authentic era, as did the advent of Gotama, in the confused chronology of the Hindoos. It can be scarcely doubted, Professor Wilson deliberately observes, "that he is the Sandrocottus —or, as Athenæus writes it more correctly, the Sandrocoptus—of the Greeks, the contemporary of Alexander the Great, and Seleucus Nicator, who began his reign B.C. 310, and concluded a treaty with him B.C. 305." There are two versions of the circumstances which contributed to facilitate the elevation of Chandragupta to the throne. That which deals in the marvellous, and appeals more interestingly to the imagination, must, on the historic page, give place to that which exhibits the more homely features of historic truth.

When Nanda had advanced in years, he provided that on his demise his kingdom should be equally divided amongst the Sumalyadicas, and a decent allowance was settled on his other children, the Mauryas. This invidious distinction was probably suggested by the degraded caste to which the mother of the latter belonged. The more favoured brothers being jealous of the latter, conspired to put them to death. Chandragupta alone escaped, saved through the protection of Lunus; and to manifest his lasting gratitude assumed the name Chandragupta, or "saved by the moon." He fled, accompanied by a few friends, crossed the Ganges, and with all possible speed sought refuge and aid at the court of Parvateswara, lord of the mountains, king of Nepaul. Here he was kindly received and hospitably entertained. Assisted by this prince and his allies, the Yavans, Sacas, and Ciratas, with a powerful army he marched against his enemies, and soon came in sight of the capital of Prachi.* A battle followed, in which king Ugradhwana was entirely defeated, after a dreadful carnage, and fell amongst heaps of slain. The city was immediately beleaguered; and Sarvartha-siddhi, the governor, seeing the impossibility of successfully resisting a foe so formidable, abandoned his post, and fled to the Vindaya Mountains, and there led a life of austerity and devotion. Chandragupta having achieved, by the support of his friends and allies, all that he could have ambitioned, in the hour of his triumph did not testify a due appreciation of the great obligations he owed them; though he had stipulated, in the event of his success, to yield up half of his dominions in remuneration of their services, he refused to part with any of his territories, but expressed his willingness to load them with thanks and rich presents.

Nanda, the father, had an old and attached minister named Mantri-Rakshasa, who rendered him services of the highest character, and on his death was appointed the prime-minister also of his son and successor Ugradhwana. This man, on the fall of his royal master, transferred his services to Parvateswara, who, deeply chagrined by the ungrateful conduct of his *protegé*, who had perfidiously violated all his pledges, and by his own inability to enforce reparation, had retired to his kingdom meditating vengeance.

In the Nepaulese king the wily Mantri-Rakshasa found a tool keenly edged for his purpose. By working on his worst passions he incited him to send an assassin to take the life of Chandragupta. Such an attempt being apprehended, the latter prince took every precaution for his safety, and not only averted the peril, but, through the agency of the assassin, accomplished the death of Parvateswara; and what was more to his advantage, through the offices of some mutual well-wisher, Rakshasa, his bitter foe, was eventually reconciled, and the close of his reign, which was protracted for many years, was not only undisturbed, but also characterized by justice and equity. While living he was adored by his subjects, and his memory was cherished with sacred reverence for centuries after his death.

The particulars handed down by the Greek writers, in relation to this prince, agree in a great measure with the summary above given from the *Mudra Rakshasa*. Plutarch, in his *Life of Alexander*, states that Chandragupta had been in that monarch's camp, and had been heard to say that Alexander would have found no difficulty in the conquest of Prachi had he attempted it, as the king was despised, and hated too, on account of his cruelty. He is mentioned by Athenæus, Diodorus Siculus, and Quintus Curtius; but Wilford states that the two historians last mentioned are mistaken in saying that Chandram* reigned over the Prasu at the time of Alexander's invasion, as he was the contemporary of Seleucus Nicator. He also expresses his suspicion that he kept his faith with the Yavans (Greeks) no better than with his ally the King of Nepaul, and that this may have been the motive for Seleucus crossing the Indus at the head of a numerous army, but, finding him prepared, thought it expedient to conclude a treaty with him, by which he yielded up the conquests he had made, and, to cement an alliance, gave him one of his daughters in marriage.† Chandragupta appears to have agreed, on his

* An ancient name of Magada.

* Chandragupta, so named by these historians.

† Strabo, b. xv. p. 724.

part, to furnish Seleucus annually with fifty elephants; for it is related that Antiochus the Great, his successor, went to India to renew the alliance with Sophagesemus, and received fifty elephants from him. Sophagesemus he conceives to be a corruption of Shivacasena, the grandson of Chandragupta. In the Puranas this grandson is called *Asecavard-dhana*, or "full of mercy," a word of nearly the same import as Ascecasena, or Shivacasena, the latter signifying "he whose armies are merciful, and do not ravage and plunder the country." *

Several Sanscrit authorities verify the number of sovereigns, and the period of rule assigned by the *Vishnu Parana* to this dynasty, namely, ten successors, and one hundred and thirty-seven years.

Of these his grandson Asokavardana, or Asoka, is the most celebrated. His reign is variously stated at thirty-six years and at twenty-six. Educated in the tenets of the Brahminical faith, he in after years was converted to Buddhism, and is handed down to posterity as one of the most zealous supporters of that creed. He is said to have maintained in his palace sixty-four thousand Buddhist priests, and to have erected eighty-four thousand columns or topes throughout India. A council was held in the eighteenth year of his reign, in which a vigorous system of propagandism was organised, and missions established in Ceylon and other quarters. According to the Buddhist chronology, he ascended the throne two hundred and eighteen years after the death of Buddha (B.C. 325). This date is irreconcilable with that already fixed for the reign of his grandfather, and that allowed to his father. His reign is more accurately placed between the years B.C. 234 and 198. Professor Wilson presses other evidence besides the biblical into his service to identify and authenticate the reign of this prince. "It is certain," he proceeds, "that a number of very curious inscriptions on columns and rocks by a Buddhist prince, in an ancient form of letter, and in the Pali language, exists in India, and that some of them refer to Greek princes, who can be no other than the members of the Seleucidan and Ptolemean dynasties, and are probably Antiochus the Great and Ptolemy Euergetes, kings of Syria and Egypt, in the latter part of the third century before Christ. The Indian king appears always under the appellation *Pryadasi*, or *Pryadarsin*, 'the beautiful,' and is entitled *Devanam-piya*, 'the beloved of the gods.' According to the Buddhist authorities Pryadasi is identified both by name and circumstances with Asoka, and to him, therefore, the inscriptions must be attributed. Their purport agrees well enough with their character, and their wide diffusion with the traditionary report of the number of his monuments. His date is not exactly that of Antiochus the Great, but it is not far different, and the corrections required to make it correspond, are no more than the inexact manner in which both Brahminical and Buddhist chronology is preserved, may well be expected to render necessary." *

In following the history of the Mauryas, of the race of Nanda, it was considered advisable to descend to the reign of Asoka,—a remarkable period, and identified as it has been shown by native evidence,—rather than pause in the reign of his grandfather, for the purpose of introducing a memorable chapter of Indian history, in which is detailed, from Greek and Roman sources, the invasion of the Greeks under Alexander the Great,—an event which, however glorious as a brilliant strategic achievement, whatever its momentary influence on the countries bordering the Indus, produced no abiding effects on Indian polity, and whose influence, it would appear, has not even enriched the traditions of the Hindoos. Its external influences, however, were not so transient. The pages of Arrian, Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch, and Curtius, confirmed by recent inquiries, prove that a great mass of information regarding the Indians was conveyed to Europe by the followers of Alexander; and the flourishing Greek kingdom established, as the result of that expedition, in Bactria on its north-western confines, maintained a correspondence for centuries between the East and West.

The reign of Asoka is a point at which a pause may be, advisedly, made to direct attention to collateral tributaries, which lose their identity and commingle in the great stream of history. Cashmere has the next and best claim.

### CASHMERE.

Another contemporary and long-established kingdom of India, Cashmere, challenges attention; the only one whose history, such as it is, comes down to us in a consecutive narrative.

To that painstaking and very able oriental scholar, Mr. Colebrooke, Europe is indebted for the *Raja Taringini*, or history of Cashmere, a copy of which, that had belonged to a Brahmin who died some months previously, he secured from his heirs in 1805. The original had been presented to the Emperor Akbar by the natives of that country. It is the only Indian composition yet discovered, Professor Wilson vouches, to which the title of history can with any propriety be applied.

* *Asiatic Researches*, vol. v. p. 286.

* Wilson's *Vishnu Parana*, p. 469, note 23.

Whatever may be its value in elucidating the local history of Cashmere, it contributes nothing directly to the illustration of the antiquities, or the social or political condition, of the other principalities of India, of which it forms, relatively, only a small portion. It may, however, enable the historian to determine the dates of persons and events in other states, as it is stated by Sir William Jones "that the dates are regular, and for a long time both probable and consistent"* — benefits perhaps commensurate with those realized by the publication of the *Maha-Wanso*, or Great History of Ceylon, by the late Mr. Turnour.

The *Rajah Taringini* has hitherto been regarded as one entire composition; it is however, in fact, a series of compositions written by different authors and at different periods—a circumstance that gives greater value to its contents, as, with the exception of the early periods of the history, the several authors may be regarded almost as the chroniclers of their own times. The first of the series is the *Raja Taringini* of Calhana Pundit, the son of Campaca, who states his having made use of earlier authorities, and gives an interesting enumeration of several which he had employed. The list includes the general works of Suvrata and Narendra; the history of Gonerda† and his three successors, by Hela Raja, an ascetic of Lava; and of his successors to Asoka, by Padma Mihira; and of Asoka and the four next princes, by Sri Ch'havillacara. He also cites the authority of Nila Muni, meaning probably the *Nili Purana*, a Purana only known in Cashmere; the whole catalogue forming a remarkable proof of the attention bestowed by Cashmerian writers upon the history of their native country—an attention the more extraordinary, from the contrast it affords to the total want of such records in other Indian states.

The *Raja Taringini* contains the history of the princes of Cashmere for upwards of four thousand years.‡ Major Rennell, so far from doubting the tradition which records that a lake once submerged the valley of Cashmere, bears his creditable testimony that appearances alone are sufficient to convince, without the aid of tradition or history, "that it was a mere natural effect, and such as may be apprehended in every case where the waters of a river are inclosed in any part of their course by elevated lands. The first consequence of this stoppage is, of course, the conversion of the enclosed land into a lake; and if this happen near the fountains of a river, and the ground is solid, it is likely to remain a lake for ever, the river not having force enough in its infant state to work its passage through the mountains. Hence it is that more lakes are found near the sources of rivers than in the lower parts of their courses." He then proceeds to quote several proofs of the correctness of his suppositions.* The waters having subsided, Kushup, renowned for the austerity of his manners, first induced the Brahmins to inhabit it. When, in the course of time, the population had increased, they felt the propriety of initiating an established form of government, and for this purpose summoned a general assembly. Their election was a judicious one. The ruler of their choice was famed for his virtues, and so ingratiated himself with his subjects, that they never regretted their voluntary submission, and monarchy became an established and respectable institution, and continued so till the reign of Gonerda. This Gonerda† was slain in a battle fought at Mehtra, in which one of the leaders was Jarasandha, King of Bahar, Magada, and his opponent Kishen, by the hands of whose brother the sovereign of Cashmere was slain. To avenge his fall, his son, Damooder, attacked Kishen and his relatives on the banks of the Scinde, on their way to celebrate a marriage feast at Candahar, and lost his life in the action. The victor, Kishen, bestowed the kingdom on his posthumous son, who was succeeded by thirty-five princes, whose names live neither in the records or traditions of their country, a fate richly merited by their personal vices and tyranny. A consecutive list is not given in the *Ayin Acberi* of the princes who subsequently occupied the throne. A few are named whose reigns are distinguished by some remarkable incidents, which served to constitute epochs in the history of Cashmere, but no reliable data is supplied to mark the years or the centuries. We are informed that Loo was a just king, and the founder of Kamraj, the city of Looloo, vestiges of which existed in the days of Akbar, and probably do now.

* *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 2.

† From the period of the first settlement of Cashmere to the reign of Gonerda, the first prince whose name has been recorded, the country was governed by a succession of fifty-two princes of the Caurava family, whose reigns formed a period of 1266 years. (Wilson's *Introduction to the History of Cashmere*, vol. xv. p. 10; *Asiatic Researches*.)

‡ For a geographical description of Cashmere, see p. 115, &c.

* *Memoir of a Map of Hindostan*, p. 107.

† Owgnund, Augnand, or Gonerda, as appears from the transactions of his reign, was contemporary with Krishna and Yudishthira, and a relation of Jarasandha, King of Magada, to whose assistance we are here informed he led an army. The confederates were opposed to Krishna, in the province of Mathura, and defeated. Kishen and Krishna are identical.

It is said the buildings were eighty crore * in number.

Ashowg, identical with Asoka, established during his reign the rites of Brahma, and those of Jyen subsequently. He is described as a prince who ruled with equity; his son Jelowk was a prince of great administrative ability, who extended his conquests to the seashore, and on his return to Cashmere brought in his suite from Kanoje, formerly the capital of Hindostan, many learned and wise men, from whom he selected seven to preside respectively over the following departments—justice, exchequer, treasury, army, commerce, royal household, astrology, and alchemy.

In the reign of Rajah Werk the Brahmins rose superior to the Buddhists, and burnt down their temples. His reign is fixed by Professor Wilson B.C. 490.

Mihiracula, or Mehrkul, B.C. 310,† made extensive conquests. A curious tale is recorded of this reign, which, divested of its metaphorical character, discloses the general laxity of morals which then prevailed. A large stone appeared in one of the rivers of Cashmere, and entirely blocked it up, and whatever was cut away from it in the daytime grew again in the course of the night. The workmen abandoned their labours in despair. Then a mysterious voice proclaimed that if a virtuous woman touched the stone with her hand it would disappear. Royal proclamation was made, and woman after woman was brought, who touched it without producing any effect. The king had the women put to death for their incontinency, their children for their illegitimacy, and the husbands for conniving at this wholesale harlotry. Three million lives had been forfeited, when an humble woman, a potter, was found, free from taint; her virgin touch dispatched the magic stone, and gave an open channel to the rock-obstructed stream.‡ A reign so sanguinary was terminated by a death deserved by its atrocities. As he advanced in years he became the victim of an excruciating disease. His suffering, it appears, made him keenly feel the torments he had recklessly inflicted upon myriads. To expiate his crimes, he resolved on a voluntary death, and a funeral pile was erected for his obsequies. An obstacle here presented itself. He had appropriated the endowments of the higher orders of the priesthood, and appointed to the discharge of the sacerdotal functions an inferior and disreputable caste—the Gandha Brahmins, a low race. The consequence was, that now, in the hour of his extreme need, no one could be found duly qualified to perform the ceremonies of his cremation, those impure tribes of Doradas, Bhoteas, and Mechhas, the recipients of his favours, alone being accessible. The Brahmins of Aryadesa were invited, by the offer of liberal treatment, to return. A pile was constructed of military weapons, to the summit of which the repentant monarch ascended, and amid its flames he yielded up his spirit, purified, as he believed, from those sins, which, his traditions taught him, were expiated by his voluntary immolation.

Vaca, or Beek, the son of this last noticed monarch, succeeded to him. His name has been perpetuated in connection with a city which he founded on the banks of the river Vacavati, called Lavanotsa, and a religious rite at which he assisted. The names of his immediate successors are the only known surviving memorials of their reigns.

Kubaret, or Gopaditya, governed with wisdom and justice. He was a prince of eminent piety, and in whose reign they report the golden age, *Satya*, was restored. He imposed a strict observance of the ritual and distinctions of caste, reformed the priesthood by the ejection of evil-doers, and the enforcement of rigid discipline; he encouraged Brahmins of literary reputation and exalted virtue to resort to his kingdom, and throughout his dominions all were strictly prohibited from destroying animal life, and all ranks of people were enjoined to abstain from flesh meat. According to the Mohammedan authorities, he built a temple near the capital, called Takht Suliman, which, with several other places of Hindoo worship, in later ages, was destroyed by Sekander, called the Idol-breaker, one of the first Mohammedan kings of Cashmere. After a reign of sixty years, he was succeeded by his son Kurren, or Gokerna, of whom it is merely related that he built a temple.

Jewdishter, or Yudishthira, surnamed the Blind, from the smallness of his eyes, was the last of his race who mounted the throne of the Cashmere. By his sensual indulgence and insupportable tyranny, he so estranged his subjects, and outraged the feelings of neighbouring princes, that, by a combination of the Cashmerians and the kings of Hindostan and Thibet, according to the *Ayin Acberi*, he was defeated, captured, and ignominiously cast into prison. Professor Wilson states that when he found resistance hopeless he fled, and secreted himself in the woods and moun-

* A crore comprised one hundred lacs, or ten millions, an incredible number.—*Hand-book of British India.*

† The dates here assigned are from the adjusted chronology of Professor Wilson, on whose authority—and there exists no higher—they may be accepted.

‡ *Ayin Acberi*, vol. ii. p. 181.

tains with his women and a few followers. Doomed to exchange luxury for privation, the downy couch for the sharp rock, and the harmony of minstrels for the wild dashing of cascades or the wilder horns of the mountaineers, he at last found a refuge in the court of some compassionate prince, where, according to general belief, he died in exile.*

As this reign terminates the close of a dynasty, and, according to the chronology we have followed, has brought the narrative to the beginning of the second century, to a period nearly coinciding with that at which the history of the kingdom of Magada was interrupted, and as near the epoch of Alexander and Chandragupta as we could conveniently approach, it is advisable to resume the thread of our history where we diverged, and devote a chapter to the expedition of the great Macedonian, and its consequences, the only truly historic and well-authenticated episode in the ante-Mohammedan records of India, and the point from which contemporaneous annals afford us an insight into the transactions of the countries beyond the Indus.

## CHAPTER XXX.

### INVASION OF THE GREEKS—ALEXANDER THE GREAT—SELEUCUS NICATOR—THE BACTRIAN GREEKS.

THE conquests made in India by the Persian monarch Sesostris,† and which constituted his wealthiest and most lucrative satrapy, descended to his successors, and, it may be inferred, remained subject to them down to the fall of that empire, and the imposition of the rule of the Greeks.

The fall of Darius, the appropriation of his home empire, the discomfiture of Bessus, and the subjugation of Bactria and the countries which lay between the Oxus and Tanais, or Transoxantes, the defeat of the King of Scythia, and subsequent alliance, and the overthrow and acquisition of Sogdia, enabled Alexander, in the tenth year of his reign, and the seventh after his invasion of Persia, to direct his immediate attention to the state of India.

The perilous situation of Persia, and its eventual subjection, in all probability, inspired the Indian satrapy with the hope of being able to proclaim its independence. The occasion appeared to be the most favourable for the attempt. The great extent of the Persian empire, the remote situation of India, the violent opposition, which might be reasonably calculated on, from the powerful satraps whose territories intervened between the Indus and the seat of government, the length of time which would be devoted to the organization of the new government, all combined to confirm the assumption that they might act with impunity. India was too rich a prize to be easily relinquished; its products, borne on the wings of commerce to the far West, were long previously articles of necessity to the wealthy, refined, and luxurious Greeks. A more intimate acquaintance with these enriching productions, obtained through Persian channels, and the fact, which their fiscal returns recorded, that its tributes constituted nearly one-half the public revenue of that wealthy empire, decided the Macedonian on imposing his yoke upon them.

The history of Alexander the Great is the theme of every schoolboy's declamation. No personage is more familiar to every tyro, in some phases of his character. The means by which he secured the supreme command over the combined forces of the congregated states of Greece, the rapidity with which he spread far and wide his conquests, the vastness of his military conceptions, his untiring energies, mastery of details, and administrative capacity, have been universally recognised, and have placed him in the van of the most able and most illustrious of heroes. The destruction of the city of Tyre, the Western emporium of the commerce of the East, and the stores of the Indian province, and probably the cognition of the fact, that whatever nation from the remotest antiquity monopolised that trade became the arbiter of the destinies of the world, inspired the first thought of carrying his arms into the far East.

The brilliant achievements which crowded the history of the campaigns which led to the total discomfiture of the Persian armies, the flight of Darius, and the total subjugation of the great empire founded by Cyrus, though they furnish the most thrilling chapters of history, have no direct claim to a place in Indian story.

The battle of Arbela was the last stand made by Darius for his throne and personal

* *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 31.

† See page 366.

safety. The plains washed by the Tigris on the west, about sixty miles to the east of the site of Nineveh, the modern Mossoul, was the arena of the defeat. Abandoned by his army, and attended by a few body-guards, Darius fled eastward, and sought refuge beyond the range of the Gordyene Mountains, which guard the western frontiers of Media, calculating that the conqueror's progress would be retarded, if not entirely stopped, in regulating the affairs of the empire now at his mercy, and in appropriating the treasures exposed to him in the three southern capitals of the empire—Babylon, Persepolis, and Susa. These events transpired at the close of the year B. C. 300.

An interval of six months elapsed after the battle of Arbela, during which Alexander was occupied in the plunder and demolition of the far-famed Persepolis, and the pacification of Persia proper; and Darius had taken his residence in Ecbatana, the modern Hamadan, the capital of Media, and the birthplace of Cyrus the Great. His day-dream of being left here in safety and obscurity was soon dissipated. The Macedonian could brook no living competitor. His army was soon in motion, and the refugee was now compelled to seek a more remote asylum. Eight days after that precipitous flight, Alexander entered Ecbatana, and here he laid down a new basis for his operations. This royal stronghold—a description of which has been transmitted in the *Cyropædia* of Xenophon—the ordinary summer residence of the Persian monarchs, he made his principal depot, and garrisoned it with seven thousand men. Here, as a place of the greatest safety, he deposited the immense mass of wealth he had accumulated during the progress of his triumphs, amounting, it is stated, to 180,000 talents, equal to £41,000,000. After a very brief stay, he resumed his pursuit of the fugitive, who had forwarded his wives, baggage, and treasures, amounting to over a million and a half, to Hyrcania, on the south-eastern shores of the Caspian. The approach to this locality was difficult in the extreme, the mountains which intervened were passable at one defile only, called, from its commanding position, the Gate of the Caspian. His determination had been to prosecute his flight till he had reached the satrapy of Bactria, the government of Bessus, who stood high in his estimation, and was still the partner of his toils and misfortunes. Here he calculated that his safety would be insured; he relied on the distance of that country, the bravery of its inhabitants, and probably on its proximity to the remotest and the wealthiest of the eastern divisions of the Indian empire. To strengthen his chances he had resolved on the further precaution of devastating the countries through which his journey lay, and thus deprive his enemy of the supplies required for such a protracted expedition. The road from Ecbatana to Bactria, along which both the flight of Darius and the pursuit of Alexander lay, passed along the broken ground skirting the southern flank of the mountain range Elburz, and of this route the Caspian Gates formed the worst and most difficult portion. Alexander hoped to anticipate his arrival at this pass,* and to accomplish it used all expedition. Fear had accelerated the speed of Darius, and ere the approach of Alexander to that post he had placed the steeps of the Taurus between them. The difficulties of the journey did not retard the pursuit; though the fainting soldiers and lifeless steeds strewed the line of march, onward hasted the wearied pursuers. In eleven days they reached Rhages, within a day's march of the pass.

The escape of Darius across the mountains destroyed all the expectations Alexander had entertained of overtaking him, and consequently he here halted his forces for five days, in order that they might recover from their excessive fatigue. He also directed his attention to the pacification of the Parthians, on whose confines he then was.

An enemy more proximate, treacherous, and relentless, accompanied the ill-fated prince. When Darius had entered Hyrcania, several of his followers returned to their habitations, and others submitted to the victor. Some of his officers—the chief of whom was his favourite, Bessus, the mainstay of his hopes—conspired against their sovereign, seized upon him, and held him in custody. Intelligence of this circumstance was speedily conveyed to Alexander, who felt that now there was a more imperative need of speed than ever. Accompanied by a body of choice troops, lightly accoutred and with only a moderate supply of provisions for two days, he prosecuted his march the next night and following day without intermission. Allowing a short respite for refreshment he resumed his journey, and after a march of two nights and one day, he reached the camp from which the intelligence of the outrage on Darius had reached him, but the enemy had previously abandoned it. He ascertained that Darius had been taken away a captive by Bessus, who had usurped the imperial title with the approval of the army, with the exception of

* On the part of Mount Taurus south of the Caspian, in Armenia. (See Strabo, vol. ix. pp. 508-523; Herodotus, vol. i. p. 125; Grote, vol. xii. p. 256.)

the Greek mercenaries, who, though faithful to the Persian monarch, were too weak to afford him protection. The leading conspirators were the satraps of the remote eastern provinces, Drangiana, Arachosia, and Bactria, the inhabitants of which were the bravest of all the Asiatics; and to them was committed the royal captive, fettered with golden chains,* and confined in a covered chariot. Grote opines that, under the desperate circumstances, the plan pursued by the conspirators was perhaps the least unpromising that could be proposed, the double flight of Darius having destroyed all hope in him.† The conspirators had resolved to proceed with all expedition eastward, and to reach Bactria and Sogdiana, and there to organize a powerful resistance. The hereditary monarch, with all the resources of his vast empire, had failed in two great battles, and had been driven to seek safety in ignominious flight. The conqueror was not the man to afford to the subalterns of Darius an opportunity of completing their plans; as soon as he ascertained their designs, he resolved on immediate pursuit, to overtake them, and rescue their prisoner. In this crisis expedition was everything; with the scanty resources at his command, he precipitated his arrangements, and though men and horses were fatigued with incessant labour, he ordered his troops to march, and with all the alacrity which he could inspire, they continued the pursuit all that night and till noon the next day, when they reached a village in which Bessus, his suite, and guards, had pitched their tents the previous evening. Alexander here learned that the Persian fugitives were intent on pursuing their flight that night; he inquired if there was any shorter route than that they had taken; he was told there was, but that it lay through a desert destitute of water. Not deterred by even these physical disadvantages, he adopted that route, and when he found that his infantry could not master the difficulties of their situation, five hundred of the cavalry having been ordered to dismount, their horses were supplied to the captains of foot and the most approved men of that service, all heavily armed. Another body had been dispatched along the main road, which Bessus and his companions had pursued. That night four hundred furlongs were accomplished, and early the next morning he came in sight of the flying enemy. The result was, that the mere appearance of resistance was presented: at the sight of Alexander they turned their backs without striking a blow, and fled in the utmost disorder. Darius, who resisted all the efforts made to induce him to leave his chariot and seek safety on horseback, pierced by the javelins of his captors, was left behind. Arrian states that before Alexander had seen him, he had expired of his wounds, in the fiftieth year of his age, and B. C. 330. Alexander sent the body to Persia proper, there to be interred in the royal mausoleum amongst his regal predecessors.

The fall of his feeble opponent deprived Alexander of the advantages which would, necessarily, result from his rescue from the hands of his rebellious subjects, and threatened a more tedious protraction and vigorous prosecution of the war. The countries which extended from beyond the Caspian Gates to the north-western extremity of India, as well as India itself, though tributary to Persia, were very imperfectly known. This, added to the facts that contingents led from these extensive and remote districts were the bravest soldiers of the empire, and that the revenues of India, the most easterly of them all, as previously shown on the authority of Herodotus, constituted one-third of those of the entire twenty divisions of Persia, must have presented a more troubled future to the conqueror.

Bessus had the reputation, amongst his compatriots, of being a brave man, and an experienced commander. His treatment of his sovereign had but very little effect upon the devotion of his followers and accomplices, and may have been looked upon as a laudable act by all but the invaders, as it offered the only rational hopes of a successful struggle. The complicity of guilt, and the frustration of any hopes which the perpetration of their crime might have led them to expect from Alexander, destroyed by the indignation with which the crime was denounced, and the magnificence with which the funeral obsequies were celebrated, must have convinced them that their last resource was in a combined and obstinate effort.

A foretaste of the formidable character of the desperate resistance which might be expected from the more remote, and, as reputed, more warlike tribes, was experienced by Alexander in the expedition which he undertook, soon after, into the mountain occupied by the Mardi, a single tribe, as brave as they were poor, and who displayed great valour, inflicting upon the Macedonians serious loss. From the Mardi he hastened through Zeudracarta, the chief city of Hyrcania; then eastward through Hecatompylæ to Susia, the capital of the province of Aria, pursuing the direction, if not the road, the conspirators had taken. Here very important

* Arrian, Curtius, and Grote, vol. xii. p. 248.
† Ibid., p. 249.

news reached him—that Bessus had usurped the insignia and title of King of Asia, and assumed the name of Artaxerxes; that he had at his disposal a large army, composed of Persian troops, and a great number of Bactrians, and he expected that his warlike neighbours, the Scythians, would send a considerable accession to his force. No time was to be lost—not a moment for preparation to be afforded to the enemy. All his forces were made ready for the occasion; and evidently, though Arrian and the other ancient writers omit to state the fact, this military organization, and the direction of the march, were the results of his resolve to crush Bessus and his pretensions at the first opportunity. Bessus had judiciously matured his plans. Satebarzanes, governor of Aria—through whose country Alexander had passed a short time previously, and who was an officer he had reinstated in authority—shared his confidence. Alexander had the mortification to learn, as he was hastening to Bactria, that he had slain the few Greeks who had been left behind for his protection, and had summoned a general muster, in order to raise an army for the assistance of Bessus, which, united to his, would be a match for the Macedonians. Alexander's measures were as prompt and as masterly executed as usual; he retraced his steps, and effectually crushed the incipient rebellion.

This was the work of only a few days. He as rapidly arranged the affairs of that province. Being in the meantime joined by his rear division, he marched into the territories of the Zarungei, or Drangi, the modern Seiestan; but Barsaentes, one of those concerned in the murder of Darius, and prince of that country, on his approach, fled to the Indians "on the other side of the river Indus." This fact, stated, in the words quoted, by Arrian, deserves particular notice, as does the sequel, that "they [the Indians], having seized him, sent him to Alexander, who, for his treachery, commanded him to be put to death."*

The autumn and winter† were spent by Alexander in reducing Drangiana, Gedrosia, Arachosia, and the Paropamisidæ, the modern Seiestan, Affghanistan, and the western part of Cabul, lying between the Gazna on the north, Candahar or Kelat on the south, and Furrah on the west. The entire subjugation of these extensive countries was necessary to the accomplishment of his avowed object, the complete conquest of Bactria, and to his concealed—that is, so far as the omission of all allusion to it amongst the authorities—and ulterior object, the subjection of India. The second revolt of the Arians, and the bravery of the resistance they this time offered, threatened serious consequences, had not the fall of their general in a well-contested battle crushed all after-opposition. The elements were the fiercest enemies Alexander encountered, and his troops suffered severely from cold and privations, passing through plains deeply covered with snow, and enduring all the extremities of want.

The Paropamisidæ were separated from Bactria by a high chain of mountains, to which the Macedonians gave the name Caucasus, out of compliment to their prince, who wished to traverse them. Near the southern termination of one of the passes of this mountain range, by the moderns termed Hindoo Koosh, to the north-east, it is maintained by respectable authorities, was founded a new city, called Alexandria ad Caucasum. A colony of seven thousand Macedonian veterans was planted there. In crossing the Hindoo Koosh from south to north they probably marched by the pass of Bamian, which Wood maintains is the only one of four passes open to an army in winter.* It was at the close of this season the bold attempt was made to cross this mighty range. The army spent seventeen days in achieving this hazardous feat.†

The man who feared no danger, and who had surmounted every obstacle, encountering Nature in her most terrific mood, soon overran Bactria, although Bessus had taken very wise precautions to impede, if not obstruct, his approach, having laid waste all the country in his line of march. Drapsaca, Aornos, previously pronounced impregnable, and Bactria, the modern Balk, fell in rapid succession into his hands, and the unfortunate Bessus fled beyond the Oxus, the boundary between Bactria and Sogdiana. The Oxus was soon reached, nor did its precipitous banks, nor deep stream, rapid and six furlongs wide, the most formidable river the Macedonians had ever seen, long retard their progress. When Alexander arrived at its course, he found no possible means of transit. As a final resource, he ordered all the skins which the troops used for their tents to be collected and inflated, and made water-tight, and by this contrivance, in the course of five days, he and his entire army is reported to have passed over the river in safety. The enemy offered not the slightest opposition. In a few days, deserted and betrayed, Bessus fell into the hands of his enemy, and eventually suffered a severer and a more ignominious fate than he had in-

* B.C. 330-29. This fact clearly proves that close relations existed between the Indians and the Western satraps.

† Arrian, b. III. c. XXV.

* Wood's *Journey to the Oxus*, p. 195.

† Curtius, b. VII. c. V. Grote, without quoting his authority, says fifteen days.

flicted on Darius.* Having inflicted this summary punishment, the Macedonians hastened northward, and reached Maracanda (Samarcand), the capital of Sogdiana, and then the Jaxartes, which they mistook for the Tanais, the boundary between Europe and Asia. Here terminated their northern progress, about the forty-second degree of latitude, and sixty-ninth east longitude. Here Alexander built a town, called, like many others, after him. The rising of the Sogdians and Bactrians in his rear was the immediate cause of his return. To their complete subjugation he applied his masterly ability; and though a brave race, strongly supported by their allies, the Scythians, and led by a prince brave and popular, Spitamenes, after several hard-fought conflicts, they were reduced to such a state of subjection, that a Grecian kingdom—the Bactrian, previously noticed—flourished there for centuries. Of the transactions of these campaigns, the writers so often quoted, and who furnish the materials of this history, give a full and trustworthy account. The accuracy of Curtius' description of the general features of Bactria and Sogdiana, is attested, in the strongest language, by modern travellers. But, unfortunately, so little is known of these regions, that of all the localities named by him, except Maracanda, now Samarcand, the river Polytimetus, now Kohik, and Bactria, now Balk, nothing appears certain.†

In the winter of the year B.C. 229 Alexander crossed the Hindoo Koosh. In the summer of B.C. 227 he began his march back to the same mountain range, having plucked fresh laurels, and contracted some deep stains. The massacre of the innocent and unsuspecting Branchidæ, the assumption of Asiatic despotism, the death of Clitus, the provoked conspiracy of the Pages, the torture and execution of Calisthenes, although startling incidents, crowding the eve of the invasion of India, are no part of its story, the leading historical and topographical notices being preliminary and illustrative.

Preparatory to his march on India he recalled the bravest, and, at this period of his career, the most confidential of his generals, from Sogdiana; assembled his forces, raised a body of Bactrians thirty thousand strong, and, leaving a force of fourteen thousand foot and horse, under Amyntas, at Bactria, to keep his newly-conquered subjects in awe, he directed his journey southward, and in ten days re-crossed the Hindoo Koosh.

It has been previously conjectured that, from the commencement of his pursuit of Bessus, he had in contemplation the invasion of India. In Bactria he had opportunities of consulting natives of that country, fugitives from their home, and of ascertaining what prospects of success presented themselves. Curtius states that Alexander turned his attention towards that country, because it was esteemed rich not only in gold, but in gems and pearls, which, he says, were applied to excessive decoration rather than magnificence, and that the shields of the Indian soldiers were said to glitter with gold and ivory.* The Indian mercenaries by their bravery had provoked his hostility, and the severity of his treatment of a band of them who had defied his arms in the defence, in the late war, of one of the towns, will serve to show how determined and annoying to Alexander must have been their resistance. So long as their general survived they repulsed the Macedonians with the utmost bravery; when he fell, and many of his soldiers in battles, they sent a herald to Alexander, who agreed with them that they should enter into his service. They accordingly came forth from the city, armed, and encamped by themselves in an elevated position, opposite to the Macedonian tents, with the intention of stealing away by night, and returning home because they did not wish to fight against their friends. That very night they were surrounded, and cut to pieces.† This crime wanted even the shadowy pretext here given, for Plutarch states that he seized the mercenaries on their march homeward, and put them to the sword.‡

When Alexander arrived at the Cophenus (the Cabul River) he dispatched a herald to an Indian prince named Taxiles, and others of his rank on this side the Indus, to summon them to come forth and meet him as he approached their territories. Plutarch, whose love of anecdote led him to estimate a man by his wit rather than by the greatest sieges or most important battles, gives a highly amusing dialogue which occurred between them at their first meeting.§ There are other passages of Indian literature which lead to the conclusion that it is likely to have ensued. "What occasion is there for wars between you and me, if you are not come to take from us our water and other necessaries of life, the

* Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, vol. ii. p. 489. Langhorne. Curtius says he was delivered up to Oxathres, the brother of Darius (b. XVII.) Appian, on the authority of Ptolemy, states his death with no reference to severities (b. III. c. XXX.)

† The valuable researches of Burnes, Wood, Morier, and others, have done much already, and will stimulate to further investigation in a field rich in ancient monuments and coins, and whose ancient history would be so interesting and instructive.

* Curtius, b. VIII. c. V.

† Arrian, b. IV. c. XXVII.

‡ Plutarch, Introduction to the *Life of Alexander*.

§ Ibid.

only things that reasonable men will take up arms for? As to gold and silver, and other possessions, if I am richer than you I am willing to oblige with part; if I am poorer, I have no objection of sharing your bounty." Charmed with his frankness, Alexander took his hand, and answered, "Think you, then, with all this civility, to escape without a conflict? You are much deceived if you do. I will dispute it with you to the last, but it shall be in favours and benefits, for I will not have you exceed me in generosity." Therefore, after having received great presents from him, and made greater, he said to him one evening, "I drink to you, Taxiles, and, as sure as you pledge me, you shall have a thousand talents."* Whatever may be the credit of the main part of the story, it is to be feared that the Macedonian did not behave so magnanimously. Arrian, always partial to his hero, asserts that the Indian prince presented the most valuable presents India could supply, and made him a promise of twenty-five elephants. Hephæstion was sent forward to construct a bridge for the transport of the troops across the Indus, and to reduce to submission the nations through which his course lay. Taxiles, and the other princes of the country, accompanied his army, and executed all commands imposed, with the exception of Astes, prince of Peucealotis, who, after nobly defending his city for thirty days, was captured and slain.

Alexander, with a band of targeteers, and half the army, marched against the Aspii, Thyræi, and Arasaci,† and, passing near the river Choes, or Choaspes, through a country rough and mountainous, he rapidly reduced the independent principalities, which, acting in the absence of any organization, however bravely they resisted, could offer no effective nor prolonged opposition. In one of the storming affairs Alexander nearly received his deathblow from one of these hardy mountaineers; a dart pierced his armour, and wounded him in the shoulder. He was saved by the strength and thickness of his coat-of-mail. This engagement must have been severely contested. Ptolemy and Leonnatus were both wounded in the conflict. From a few admissions of the Greek historians, it is evident that Alexander was encountered by men who had all the essentials of a formidable enemy but combination. Their efforts were desultory, and their warfare was of the guerilla order. The army of the Aspasii, Arrian relates,* was posted on the banks of the river, within two days' march. Ptolemy, at the head of a large force, was dispatched to dislodge them. The enemy retired to the mountains, having first set fire to the city which they abandoned, and there prepared to defend themselves. From this post the Grecian general resolved to expel them, and gallantly placed himself on foot at the head of the advancing party. When the Indian general saw him approach, he boldly advanced in the van of his force, nor did he relax his ardour until he came within spear's reach of his adversary, Ptolemy; he then hurled his spear with such force and aim, that it struck upon his breastplate, but could not penetrate his well-wrought armour. Ptolemy struck him then through the thigh, and having slain him, according to the Homeric practice, still prevalent, stripped him of his armour; but the brave mountaineers again and again renewed the fight around the body of their chief, and were with great difficulty finally forced to retreat to the steeps; and even this repulse was not accomplished, till a large reinforcement had opportunely arrived, under the command of Alexander in person. After this engagement he marched against one of their fortresses called Arygdus; but the enemy, on his advance, set fire to it, and then abandoned it. The situation of this town, and the strength and convenience of its position, recommended it to Alexander as an eligible post to strengthen his line of communication with his territories, and late conquests to the west and the north. He had it rebuilt, and peopled it with such of the natives as had willingly submitted, and with those veterans of his army, broken down by the inroads of old age and the fatigues of the service. In the meantime he did not neglect to attend to those who had fled. He soon ascertained their location, and set out in search of it. He at length arrived at the foot of a precipitous mountain, and encamped there. Ptolemy, having been sent to reconnoitre it, reported that the number of fires burning on it exceeded those in the Grecian camp. Leaving a sufficient force for the protection of the camp, Alexander set out with the rest of the army. When Alexander arrived within sight of the enemy's fires, he divided his forces into three parts, one of which he committed to the command of Leonnatus, one of his body guards; the second to Ptolemy; he himself assumed the

* Plutarch, vol. ii. p. 502.

† The Aspii, or Aspasii, a tribe of the Paropamisidæ, at the south foot of Hindoo Koosh, on the Choes, or Choaspes, now Kahmeh. Thyræi, or Gorya, the capital of a small district of the same name, at the foot of the same range, north of the Punjaub, on the banks of the Suastes, one of the tributaries of the Cophenes. Arasaci, or Assaceni, the territory of this tribe, appears to have lain between the Indus and Cophenes, or Cophen, at their junction, and adjoining the valley last noticed, now called Panjkore.—SMITH, *Dictionary of Geography*. Grote thinks they cannot be now identified (vol. xii. p. 303.)

* Arrian, b. vii. c. xxiv.

command of the third, which he led against that part of the Indian army where the strongest array presented itself. Though placed on an eminence, in a situation of great strength,—either relying on their courage and numbers, or despising the paucity of the Macedonian army,—the enemy rashly descended into the plains to give battle to those troops led by Alexander in person. There can be but little doubt, from the details, as given by Arrian,—the most to be relied upon of all the ancients who treat this subject, though he does not state it directly,—that the Indians, when they descended from their stronghold, presumed they were proceeding to encounter the Macedonian army in complete array. They had no suspicion that two powerful divisions, were approaching in other directions, under competent generals, to create powerful diversions. To their cost, they soon found that the danger they so boldly faced, was not so perilous as the tactics of their great military opponent, that not one but three battles were to be fought, and that the enemy they so lately despised was become a triple-headed monster. Sanguinary was the conflict with Alexander, but he, as ever, proved resistless. Ptolemy had not the advantage of contending in the plain, he had to ascend a steep hill, possessed by the forces left to protect the camp, and who apprehended no surprise. He moved his army to where the ascent was easiest, and, conscious of the bravery of the assailed, to tempt them to seek safety in flight, he prudently forbore to surround the whole hill with his troops. Here, it is said, the battle was also terrible, both "in consequence of the disadvantage of the ground on the part of the Macedonians, and because the Indians of that province far excelled all the other Indians in military exploits; however, they were at last driven down from the mountains." * Leonnatus had a similar reception. The nature of this engagement may be imagined from these facts: that forty thousand men were taken, and above two hundred and thirty thousand head of cattle, out of which Alexander chose the best and largest, that he might send them into Macedonia for a breeding stock, for "they excelled the Grecian cattle in bulk and beauty."

The next people that attracted Alexander's attention were the Assaceni. Their army was reported to be composed of twenty thousand cavalry and thirty thousand foot, besides thirty elephants, all ready for the field. To prepare for an encounter with this army, as formidable in reputation for bravery as in numbers, he assembled troops from all available quarters, and enlarged his army to the greatest possible extent. He passed through the territories of the Gurœi; crossed the river of that name, not without great difficulty, not so much in consequence of its great depth and the violence of its current, as from the circumstance that its bed was overlaid with round and slippery stones, over which neither man nor horse could with safety pass. The successful accomplishment of what the natives considered an insurmountable difficulty so disheartened them, that they retired from a post they might have still longer maintained to the annoyance of the invaders, and sought refuge in their strongholds.

Masaga was the capital of this people, to attack which, when Alexander approached, the inhabitants being strengthened by the co-operation of seven thousand mercenaries from the interior of India, boldly resolved not to await his assault under the defences of their walls, but to meet him in the field, and trust the issue to the God of battles. They had also the daring to make an attempt to storm the Grecian camp. Alexander, perceiving this, drew out his forces in order of battle; and to deprive the enemy of the advantages of the shelter their walls would afford, in the event of their discomfiture, he had recourse to a stratagem which was successful. On their approach, he ordered his Macedonians to fall back on a hillock about a mile in their rear. The Indians, deceived by the feint, hotly pressed on the retreating foe. When they had approached within the reach of darts, on the preconcerted signal the whole army turned and fronted their pursuers. Under a fierce discharge of darts and arrows, surprised by the rapidity of the movement and the suddenness of the charge, the Indians in turn broke ground and sought the security of their bulwarks, leaving two hundred of their force dead behind them. Alexander then resolved on besieging the town, and shortly after he came before it, he received a wound in the heel from an arrow. This served as a further stimulus to his ardour: on the next day he advanced his battering engines, and a breach being made, the Macedonians entered with their wonted intrepidity; but here, again, they were met breast to breast, and such was their reception that Alexander sounded a retreat. The following day the assault was renewed, and a large wooden tower having been drawn to the battlements, from its shelter showers of arrows were discharged on the besieged. So determinedly brave was the defence, that on this day also the Macedonians were completely baffled. On the third morning the Macedonians again attempted the place, and from the tower threw a bridge to

* Arrian, b. IV. c. XIV.

the top of the breach. By this a body of targeteers crossed over, but such was the precipitation with which the soldiers crowded to enter the city, the bridge gave way, and all upon it fell with it from its elevation. The Indians reaped all the advantages of the disaster. With loud shouts they rushed upon their prostrate assailants; others from the walls hurled showers of stones and darts and all kinds of missiles; and some issuing from the small posterns, between the towers, in the walls, completed the destruction of those who had fallen. Fresh troops were sent from the camp to the succour of the besiegers, and to cover their retreat. On the fourth day Alexander projected another bridge, from other works, with similar success. At length all his efforts to capture the town having failed, terms of capitulation were agreed to. At Bazira and Ora the Macedonians met with a brave resistance. At Ora a number of elephants were captured; these, the historian Arrian states, were appropriated to the use of the army.

When the intelligence of the fall of Ora had reached the inhabitants of the neighbouring town of Bazira, they fled from their city in the dead of night to Aornos, a place of great security; a position which has commanded a prominent place in history, though its geographical identity has hitherto baffled all speculation. The situation of Bazira, a fort of the Assaceni, was somewhere at the south foot of Mount Paropamisus; and it is, with some probability, maintained that it is the Bajore, or Bisore, of modern times, north-west of Peshawur, but its site is by no means certain.* And in this respect it shares the common fate of the localities in this direction, mentioned in the narrative of Alexander's Indian proceedings. Only a few places have as yet been identified—namely, Maracanda, the modern Samarcand; the river Polytimetus, the modern Kohik; and Bactria, or Zariaspo, the modern Balk. The recent extension of the British power in the north-west, will bring the classic lands of the Macedonian operations within the sphere of antiquarian and scientific investigation, and a few years must, necessarily, bring to light the materials—abundant it may be fairly assumed, though unheeded or unrecorded—which have been left by the followers of the great conqueror of Asia. The capture of this rock has been looked upon as the most extraordinary achievement of the most extraordinary man who has yet trod the human stage; and though the history of its capture has formed hitherto a page of Grecian story, its equally appropriate locale is the Indian records. The Greek historian,—or rather the Egyptian, being a native of Alexandria,—Appian, gives the particulars. Aornos is described as the most stupendous natural fortress in all the East. The Indians had long deemed it impregnable. According to the old traditions of the country, the gods had essayed in vain to take it. Three times it is reported to have defied the efforts of the invincible all-conquering Hercules, the reputed ancestor of the Macedonian. The rock is described as being twelve miles in circuit, and the lowest part of it three quarters of a mile above the plain. Did not its great strength impose the prudence of dislodging its warlike occupants, the prospective glory of accomplishing that which had defied all his predecessors was sufficient to incite Alexander to the perilous enterprise. A precipitous, dangerous, and solitary path, the work of human labour, was the only means of ascent. On the summit was a fine spring of pure water, which welled forth a plentiful stream, that leaped down its craggy sides. A wood encircled a great portion of its ascent, and its surface supplied as much arable and fertile land as was requisite for provisioning a garrison of one thousand men. Alexander sent forward Hephæstion with orders to make preparations for bridging the Indus, while the great conqueror himself remained to have the distinction of directing the advances, and of securing the occupation of this fortress. He designed, should he not succeed in reducing it, at first, either by assault or stratagem, to weary the garrison by a protracted siege, or starve them into submission. Treachery lent its mercenary aid to facilitate the hostile projects of the beleaguerers. The secret path was disclosed, and Ptolemy sent in command of a sufficient force to avail himself of the opportunity. Ptolemy, having triumphed over every difficulty of the situation, and, through this rugged and dangerous path, having gained the summit, as he had been commanded, reared a burning torch on that part of the hill whence it could be most distinctly seen. This being observed by Alexander, he prepared for an assault on the following day. The assailants were fiercely received and eventually repelled. The attacking force under Alexander having been thus obliged to withdraw, the Indians directed their whole strength against Ptolemy, and a dreadful conflict ensued, the besieged having resolved to demolish the rampart which he had thrown up for his protection, while he endeavoured with all his might to defend it. Galled by the incessant discharges of the

* Arrian, b. IV. c. XXVIII; Curtius, b. VIII. c. XI; Diodorus, b. XVIII. c. LXIV. See Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*; Grote, vol. XII p. 304; *Bengal Journal*, 1854.

Macedonian archers, the besieged were compelled to retreat on the approach of night to their former position. During the following night Alexander dispatched an Indian scout, on whose fidelity and aptitude he could rely, to communicate to Ptolemy his orders, that when he perceived him about to storm the rock below, he should, on his side, make a simultaneous attack, and thus prevent the besieged from concentrating their force on the point of assault. At break of day Alexander led his division to the place where, as has been above related, Ptolemy had ascended, being satisfied that if the difficulties of that ascent were surmounted, and both forces united, the enemy would be soon driven from their stronghold. Breast to breast was the fight maintained without relaxation; the one party struggling to ascend, the other to hurl them downwards; while at convenient intervals the wearied warriors of the front rank, were relieved by fresh succours from the rear. Through the entire day this personal conflict was vigorously sustained; at last the Macedonians reached the top, and were received by their exulting friends. The united forces, without respite, made a combined attack—again in vain; night closed the encounter without any further advantage being gained. Alexander now despaired of carrying the fortress by the unaided prowess of his men, and had recourse to his strategic skill for aid. When daylight appeared, he ordered his troops to bring from an adjacent wood, each one hundred poles or stakes, and with these materials he caused a huge rampart to be constructed from that part of the hill where their entrenchments were to a level with the summit of the rock possessed by the Indians, that from this elevation they might be enabled to annoy the enemy with their darts and arrows. While this laborious and exposed operation was in progress, Alexander was cheering his toiling soldiers with word and example.

The army carried on the rampart the length of a full furlong during the day, and, on the following, on the portion thus completed, he stationed his slingers and engineers, who defended the workmen from attack. Thus in three days the work, as originally designed, was finished. On the fourth a little hill, as high as the defences of the enemy, was gallantly carried and secured by a spirited charge; to this, as a terminus, Alexander decided on prolonging the rampart. The boldness of this undertaking, and the skill and rapidity with which it was executed, made the Indians despair of being longer able to hold their position. They now resolved to abandon it, and in order to effect their purpose on the following night, unperceived by the enemy, they had recourse to an artifice. They sent a herald to Alexander to announce to him that they were ready, on certain conditions, to surrender themselves into his hands. Their concealed intentions were to lull his suspicions by these negociations, and under the favour of the darkness of the night to steal away, and betake themselves to their homes. Alexander was informed of their design, and availed himself of it. He allowed sufficient space for their purpose, by withdrawing the sentinels, and in person awaited their descent. When the defences were evacuated, accompanied by seven hundred of his guards and targeteers, he himself first entered the rock which the enemy had just deserted, and his troops, by helping one the other, climbed up after him. Once in possession, a prearranged signal was given, and the main body of the Macedonians fell upon the disorganised and unprotected garrison, and cut many of them to pieces. Hundreds, seized with panic and fear, in their flight fell headlong from the precipices, and perished. Alexander was thus in possession of the rock which had defied the assaults of all previous assailants, and tradition included amongst those, Hercules, his ancestor. Having offered sacrifice, and supplied the place with a sufficient garrison, he entrusted the command to Sisicottus, an Indian prince, who had, in previous years, fled from his native country, for some cause, to Bessus, in Bactria, and had in that country, and during the present campaign, rendered Alexander most essential services.

The site of this stronghold has been a subject of inquiry to several modern scholars. The discrepancies which exist in the description of it by Arrian and Curtius have added to the difficulties. The most elaborate and valuable paper on the subject is the "Gradus ad Aornos," by Major Abbot, in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, No. 4, 1854. His views are here quoted, and if he has not decided the question, he has supplied materials which are calculated to lead to its early solution. The train of investigation which he has pursued was suggested by the very Reverend J. Williams, Archdeacon of Cardigan, in his *Life of Alexander*, the best biography of the Macedonian which has appeared in the English language, in which it was suggested that it was to be sought on the right bank of the Indus:*—"The whole ac-

* "The rock is not known to me from modern authorities, nor do I know of any traveller who has examined this remote corner. It is on the right bank of the Indus, close to the river, but I have no means to ascertain the exact site. A traveller going up the right bank from Attock could not fail to find it."—ARCHDEACON WILLIAMS' *Life and Actions of Alexander the Great*, New York edition, p. 293.

count of the rock of Aornos is a faithful picture of the mountain Mahabunn. It was the most remarkable feature of the country, as is the Mahabunn. It was the refuge of the neighbouring tribes. It was covered with forests. It had good soil, sufficient for one thousand ploughs, and pure springs of water everywhere abounded. It was 4125 feet above the plain, and fourteen miles in circuit. It was precipitous on the side of Embolima, yet not so steep but that two hundred and twenty horses and the war engines were taken to the summit. The summit was a plain where cavalry could act. It would be difficult to add a more faithful description of the Mahabunn.* Why the historian should call the rock Aornos, it is difficult to say. The side on which Alexander scaled the main summit had certainly the character of a rock, but the whole description of Arrian indicates a table-mountain. The fortification itself, though styled the rock, does not seem to have been very lofty nor formidable. Alexander assailed it without scaling ladders the night of its evacuation, and was the first, as has been said, to ascend it. This we learn from the remark, 'that the soldiers drew one the other up the rock.' No European in modern times has ascended the Mahabunn. The accounts of natives are so vague that it is difficult to trust them; it is certain, however, that the Mahabunn has been occupied by castles in two or three places. The best known of these is called Shahkote, or 'the royal castle,' a modern name, which may refer to the visit of Nadir Shah, who pitched his tent on that spot. Another castle is said to have stood on the brink of a precipice of several hundred feet deep. To the westward is the table of Mahabunn. To the north is a ravine, and beyond it a small hill of the same height as the rock, or mound, on which the castle stood. The water on which the garrison depended was a spring in this ravine. When the mound was lost the garrison had no choice but to surrender. This site appears to answer best the description of Arrian. Ptolemy might have easily passed round to the east, and have occupied the point on the mountain crest. The ordinary path of ascent would have placed Alexander also on the left, that is south of the fort. He would have broken ground at two hundred and fifty yards, that is beyond arrow-flight, and have driven his trench up obliquely to the fort. The capture of the small hill near, would not only have cut off the water of the garrison, but in case of assault, left them no choice but to fly down the precipice on the east, where every man must have perished in the hot pursuit, whereas, when favoured by night, the paths were practicable to mountaineers well acquainted with them. From Aornos Alexander went in search of the brother of Assacenus, who had rallied his forces in the mountains, and had carried off some of the elephants. From the summit of the Mahabunn the extensive valleys of Boonair and Chumla lie spread out to view—the probable retreat of fugitives from Sohaut. When, however, the enemy had mastered the Mahabunn by the north-western spur, Alexander would have found himself in Chumla. The country was utterly deserted by its inhabitants, and Alexander does not seem to have attempted to retain possession of it by occupying it with garrisons or colonies. He probably thought the valley too remote from support, and too much shut in by the mountains."*

This is a strong case of identity, and would have been conclusive could it be reconciled to the description of Curtius, who compares Aornos to a meta (the conical goal of a stadium), and says that the Indus washed its base—that at the first assault several Macedonian soldiers were hurled down into the river. This close juxtaposition of the Indus has been the principal feature looked for by travellers who have sought Aornos, but no place has yet been found answering the conditions required. The fall of Aornos, while it added greatly to the fame of Alexander, struck terror and dismay into the contiguous states. The Assaceni fled with their elephants to the mountains. Dyrta and the surrounding country were so wholly abandoned by the inhabitants, that not one could be found to supply any information to the Greeks.

Alexander, anxious to glean some knowledge of the customs of these clans, their mode of warfare, and the number of their elephants, dispatched Nearchus and Antiochus, with large bodies of troops, to endeavour to catch some of the inhabitants. He in the meantime prosecuted his journey towards the Indus, having sent troops before him to level the road, which was unfit for the passage of his army. His scouts having brought to him some of the natives, he learned that the entire population had fled to Barisades for protection, but that their elephants had been left in the pastures near the river Indus. Conducted by these natives, he set out in quest of the elephants. Two of them, in the endeavour to obtain possession of these animals, tumbled from the rocks, and perished, the remainder

* *Mahabunn* signifies mighty forest or mighty pool. The original name had been *Mahabatt*, "mighty rock," which would account for the Greeks calling it emphatically the rock.—ABBOTT.

* *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, 1854, p. 341, &c.

were safely secured, and conveyed to the army for their use. Near these pastures he opportunely discovered a wood, extending to the river, capable of supplying ample materials for building boats. To this use they were expeditiously appropriated, and the boats being built, were forwarded to the bridge which Hephæstion and Perdiccas had by this time completed. Alexander then entered that part of the country which lies between the Cophen and Indus. It was in passing through this district that he visited Nysa,* a city sacred to Dionysius (Bacchus). As soon as the inhabitants were apprised of his arrival, they sent to him their chief, Akouphus, and thirty elders, to claim his protection. These envoys having been abruptly introduced to Alexander's tent, surprised him, dusty with travel, and clad in his mail armour, his helmet beside him, and his spear in his grasp. In utter amazement at the figure before them they prostrated themselves on the ground, and for a considerable time kept silence. At length reassured by the king, their chief is reported by Arrian to have addressed to him the following extraordinary speech, which, if credit-worthy, evidences a far closer intercourse between the East and far West than is disclosed by any known passage of the ante-Alexandrian period. As a mythological illustration it proves the connection between the Asiatic and European superstitions, and historically confirms the conclusion arrived at in a former chapter, of the very early relations existing between the extremes of the ancient world. Akouphus thus accosted him:—"O king, the Nyseans entreat you, by the respect in which you hold Dionysius, to leave them free, and their own masters. Their claims are these: when Dionysius had conquered the Indian race, he returned to the Hellenic sea. From the outworn of his army, Dionysius founded this great city, as a memorial of his wandering and his victory to after generations,—even as thou thyself hast founded Alexandria in the Caucasian Mountains, and another Alexandria in Egypt, and many others hast thou founded, and shalt found, from time to time, even as thou hast shown greater exploits than Dionysius. Dionysius assuredly called this city Nysa,† after his nurse Nysa, and the country Nysaia; and that mountain which is near the city, Dionysius named Meros the Thigh, because according to fable he grew in the thigh of Jupiter. From that time have we dwelt in Nysa the free,—and we are free, and are a commonwealth, and peaceably have we lived under the protection of our own laws. And of our origin from Dionysius we have this undoubted testimony, 'the ivy, which here abounds, and grows nowhere else in Indian soil.'"

This oration, it is said, was most acceptable to Alexander, who had an interest in having the story of Dionysius and his travels accredited, and in his being believed to be the founder of Nysa. These being taken for granted, it would be universally recognised that his own conquests were not only co-extensive with those of the mythic and divine hero, but had penetrated far beyond them. It was also conducive to his projected measures to make these fables subservient to his designs. He knew the influence their being believed in would exercise over the minds of the Macedonians, who though now over three thousand miles distant from their homes, fatigued by the labours of eight campaigns, many of them loaded with honours and riches, were about to be led, through the insatiable ambition of their restless monarch, beyond that river which to them was the bounds of the explored world, to the perilous enterprise of attempting new acquisitions, and from peoples whose bravery they had to apprehend from the stern resistance with which they had been recently so effectively opposed. It is more than probable that at this early period were heard through the camp the sullen murmurings of that discontent which at a subsequent and not very remote period, terminated the onward course of the Macedonian conqueror. That the interview narrated took place there is no reasonable doubt, and that the speech addressed to Alexander, was faithfully reported, there is every reasonable assurance to believe. But the probability is that the king took advantage of the similarity of names, and the unusual presence of the ivy, and preconcerted the dramatic interview with the deputation from Nysa, in order to gratify the pride and vanity of his Grecian soldiers, and thus reconcile them to the campaign for which he was then preparing. He conceded to the Nyseans a full confirmation of their liberties merely stipulating that they should furnish him with three hundred horsemen as a military contribution, and a hundred of their *best men* as hostages. At the last demand the king observed that Akouphus smiled, and when asked to state the cause of his mirth, he replied that Alexander was welcome to that number, nay, to double that number of the *bad men* in Nysa, but wished to know how any city could be governed if deprived of one hundred of its *best men*. Alexander, pleased with the answer, took the cavalry, but remitted the hostages.

* A small town in the country of the Assaceni, in the Western Punjaub.

† There were several towns of that name dedicated to Dionysius.

The observations on this passage by the very reverend Archdeacon Williams are so masterly conceived, and pertinent to the subject, though at variance with the conjectures above ventured, that they are considered worthy of quotation:—"It is difficult to account for those and other traces of Hercules and Dionysius which are gravely recorded in the writings of Alexander's most trustworthy historian. The arms of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, had no doubt been carried to the Indus, and the rock Aornos might have been repeatedly besieged in vain by the Persians; Greeks also from Ionia, Doris, and Eolis, might have been settled according to the well-known policy of the Persians on this distant frontier, and have carried with them the mysteries of Bacchus: yet with all this it is difficult to believe that the Macedonians, who had travelled over the most enlightened and civilized states of Asia without discovering one trace of Hercules and Dionysius, should thus find vestiges of the supposed expeditions of both heroes in the obscure corner between the river of Cabul and the Indus. Might not some Macedonians have visited Nysa during the celebration of the festival of the Hindoo god Rama, and easily recognized his identity with their own Dionysius? The following passage, from Bishop Heber's *Journal in India*, is the best illustration of the subject:—'The two brothers, Rama and Luchmun, in a splendid palace, were conducting the retreat of their army. The divine Hunniman, as naked, and almost as hairy as the animal whom he represented, was gamboling before them with a long tail tied round his waist, a mask to represent the head of a baboon, and two great pointed clubs in his hands. His army followed—a number of men with similar tails and masks—their bodies dyed with indigo, and also armed with clubs. I was never so forcibly struck with the identity of Rama and Bacchus. Here were before Bacchus, his brother Ampelus, the satyrs, smeared with wine lees, and the great Pan commanding them.'"

Alexander, with the companion cavalry, and the flower of the phalanx, ascended Mount Meros, that he might see a hill overspread with laurel and ivy, and groves of every variety of trees, and stocked with all kinds of wild beasts. The Macedonians delighted by beholding, after such a lapse of time, their fondly revered green ivy-plant, memorial of their homes and altars, wove it into chaplets and wreathed their brows, sung hymns to Bacchus, and invoked him by all his names. Costly sacrifices were offered in his honour, and sumptuous feasts of regal magnificence prolonged the solemnities. To such a pitch was the general enthusiasm inflamed that Arrian states, on the authority of some preceding writers, that Macedonians of the first rank during the banquet, their brows encircled with ivy, in religious frenzy made the mountains re-echo with long-continued acclamations of *Evoe!* and *Bacche!* From Nysa the whole army marched to the bridge erected over the Indus, as Alexander had commanded. The whole summer and winter, as recorded from Aristobulus by Strabo, had been spent in the march from Bactria and their late campaign among the mountains, and with the commencement of spring they descended into the plains.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

### ALEXANDER CROSSING THE INDUS, AND SUBSEQUENT OPERATIONS.

THE laborious operations accomplished amidst the severities of winter, despite natural obstacles of no ordinary magnitude, and against foes not to be despised, imposed the necessity of giving some little respite to the army previous to their entering on their ninth campaign. They halted for thirty days on the western bank of the Indus, and spent their time in the performance of religious rites, and gymnastic and equestrian sports, and the indulgence of all sorts of festivities. In addition to the bridge, which, as has been stated, was completed, he found two large vessels also built, with thirty oars, besides many more small ones.

It is presumed, on grounds sufficiently satisfactory, that the Grecian army crossed the Indus at Attock. At this period the region immediately to the east of the upper course of the river owned three independent sovereigns: Abisares, whose territories lay amongst the mountains; Taxiles, who ruled over the country immediately in front, stretching from the Indus to the Hydaspes (the Jhelum); and Porus, whose dominions extended from the Hydaspes eastward—a prince who from the military resources at his command, appears to have been an object of suspicion and fear to his neighbours on every side.*

* Williams's *Alexander the Great*, p. 236.

Taxiles, whose name appears to have been derived either from the capital of his dominions, or from the office which he bore, immediately proffered his submission, and sent a princely present of two hundred talents of silver, three thousand oxen, above ten thousand sheep and thirty elephants, and a reinforcement of seven hundred Indian horse.

The construction of the bridge across the Indus has not been described by any of the historians of Alexander's Indian campaign: Arrian, who regrets the omission, thinks it was composed of vessels close bound together; and to this conclusion he is drawn, not by the fact that the extraordinary depth of the river would prevent piles being driven, but because a great work so built could not be accomplished in the short time occupied by it.

Alexander, having gained the other side of the Indus, again offered sacrifices to the gods, and then proceeding on his journey he arrived at Taxilla,* a large wealthy city, and the most populous between the Indus and the Jhelum. By Taxiles and his subjects he was received in the most friendly manner, and in return for this reception he assigned to him as much of the adjacent country as he desired. Thither came ambassadors to him from Abisares, with his brother and some of his nobles, and from Doxareus, another prince of that country, with presents also. Although Alexander treated Taxiles with such high distinction and consideration, he nevertheless left a governor in the province, and placed a garrison in the city. Here he also left all his invalids for the recovery of their health, and then moved on towards the Jhelum, on the eastern bank of which he was informed a powerful prince, Porus, was encamped with a formidable force to dispute his passage. On receiving this intelligence he dispatched an officer back to the Indus with instructions to have those vessels with which he had crossed that river taken to pieces, and transported to the Jhelum, and there put together again, and launched upon it. This was accordingly done, the smaller vessels being divided into two parts, the larger (of thirty oars) into three.

Strabo asserts that the Macedonians marched in a southern direction from the Indus to the Jhelum. It is probable, then, that the advance of the army was along the main road leading from Attock to Jelliapore. On his march he was strengthened by the accession of five thousand Indian horse, under the command of Taxiles and other native princes. As he had previously heard, on his arrival he found Porus encamped on the opposite side, with his whole army surrounded by elephants. Every spot, both above and below the main road, that presented facilities for passing, was carefully and skilfully guarded, and instructions given that wherever the enemy attempted a passage they were to be confronted. Alexander, startled by these preparations, resolved to divide his army in the same manner into several parties, in the hope of distracting Porus, and thus rendering his arrangements fruitless.

Alexander was convinced by the preparations so skilfully made for his reception that he had no contemptible opponent to deal with, and that his policy should be to deceive Porus as to his immediate intentions. He ordered his troops to lay waste the surrounding country, and while on this duty covertly to survey the river, and ascertain where it might with greatest facility be crossed. He had large supplies of corn conveyed to his camp from all the country lying to the west of the Hydaspes. The object of this accumulation of stores was to induce Porus to believe that it was his determination to remain in his present entrenchments till the waters of the river had subsided, and an opportunity would be afforded him of effecting the passage despite all opposition. With his vessels stationed at every convenient point, and the covering of his tents stuffed with light buoyant matter, as usual, and the whole bank lined with horse and foot, he suffered the enemy to take no rest, and so distracted him, that he could not calculate where the attempt to cross would be made, or what provision to make for the repose and safety of his troops.

Alexander's Indian expedition was undertaken nearly at the close of the spring, when the rainy season had already commenced in the mountains, from which all the rivers of the Punjaub flow, and he passed the Hydaspes at Midsummer, about the height of the rainy season. At this time of the year the snows on the mountains, melting with the summer heat, contribute to augment the floods, and consequently the streams are both muddy and rapid. In winter, when the snow congeals, the rivers become clearer and shallower, and, with the exception of the Indus and Ganges, are fordable in some places. Alexander caused a report to be sedulously circulated that it was his resolve to abide a favourable opportunity, and not to hazard an attempt till the season would favour the enterprise. In the meantime he was anxiously

* Taxilla, a place of great importance in the Upper Punjaub, between the Indus and Hydaspes. The country is reported to be more fertile than Egypt. There can be little doubt that it is represented by the vast ruins of Mankyala. Wilson considers it to be the same as Takhasila of the Hindoos.—SMITH'S *Dictionary of Geography*.

watching an opportunity to pass over secretly and unobserved by the enemy. The dangers of attempting it openly were many and imminent. Porus was on the alert, and prepared for the contest. His tone was defiant. Curtius relates that Alexander imagined that the prestige of his name might influence the Indian prince to submission, and, with this presumption, dispatched Cleochares with a summons, "that he should pay a tribute, and meet the king at the nearest pass on his frontiers." Porus replied "that he had intended to perform one of these acts, and would meet the Macedonian at his entry, but with an army."* Alexander was also apprehensive of the effect which would be produced by the multitude of elephants in the Indian army, amounting to eighty-five of the best class, which were drawn up in the first line, well accoutred and excellently disciplined, in readiness to fall upon the Macedonians as they emerged from the stream; also lest his horses would not be able to gain the other side without much difficulty, because of the elephants, which would meet them, and frighten them with their unusual noise and aspect; and, in addition to these considerations, he was in some doubt whether they could be kept on the inflated hides, and so conveyed across the river, for the appearance of the elephants upon the banks before them would terrify them, and force them to plunge into the stream. In the rear of the elephants were ranged three hundred war chariots, and thirty thousand infantry, including bowmen. Porus, himself was mounted on a richly caparisoned elephant, which towered above the rest; his armour, enchased with gold and silver, set off with effect his gigantic person. His courage, the Greeks confess, corresponded with his stature, and "his mind was the seat of as much wisdom as could subsist in an unpolished barbarian."† The river, on the banks of which the armies were intrenched, is represented to be one English mile in breadth, its channel deep, and similar to an arm of the sea.

Influenced by these various and potent considerations, Alexander resolved on having recourse to stratagem, and thus secretly to secure the unopposed transport of his army. He dispatched, in various detachments, to several parts of the river, by night, his cavalry, with instructions to raise loud shouts, and sound alarms, and to have all things apparently ready for an immediate passage. This order being faithfully carried out, Porus was alarmed, and directed his elephants to be sent wheresoever these demonstrations were made, while Alexander kept a strict watch on his movements. These alarms having been repeated for several consecutive nights, without any further attempts being made, Porus began to relax his precautions, and eventually desisted from making his observations; and though the Macedonians persevered in their tactics, the Indians treated them with total indifference. The only precaution Porus continued to take was to place guards on several parts of the bank.

Having thus lulled the enemy into supposed security, Alexander made arrangements for a decisive move. During the explorations of the parties who were ordered to survey the river, an island was discovered about nineteen miles above the spot on which the Macedonians were encamped. This island was thickly wooded, and uninhabited, and opposite to it lay a rock, or high point of land, where the channel of the river takes a great sweep, and this also was covered with trees of various kinds. Alexander considered that this was a place suited to his objects, and that there might be advantageously and safely located a large body of his troops, without the cognizance of the enemy. He therefore gave orders for the conveyance thither of a large force of horse and foot. About nine miles up the river—that is, nearly halfway between the camp and the island—he posted some choice troops, and Craterus, with his own body of horse, was left in possession of the camp. He directed that the same uproar which had been indulged in for several nights previous should still be persevered in, and fires lighted through the camp for many nights together; and when he decided on immediately passing over, he made his preparations openly. He gave Craterus strict orders not to attempt to cross before he observed Porus on the other side either coming against them or flying from the field. "If Porus," said he, "should come out to meet me with part of his army, and leave the other part with the elephants in the camp, then do you keep your present station; but if he draws off all his elephants against me, and leaves the rest of his army encamped, then hasten over the river with all your force, for the sight of the elephants alone makes the passage dangerous for horses." To the detachment which was posted, as stated, halfway between the camp and the island, he issued instructions to divide the force, and when they perceived the Indians on the opposite side engaged in battle, to ferry over. He had taken the precaution to have the vessels, by the aid of which he had transported his army across the Indus, forwarded to the Hydaspes, and also the hides which he had inflated, and made air-tight. Having completed all the

* Curtius, vol. ii. b. VIII. c. xiii.
† Ibid.

preparations which his great abilities had suggested, Providence came then to his aid. The night on which he had arranged for the passage to take place was ushered in by a fierce storm: a dense fog, say the Greek historians, covered the plain, the winds howled, the lightning flashed, and thunder pealed, while the rain fell in incessant torrents. The clash of armour, the tramp of moving hosts, and the noisy confusion of embarkation, were all silenced amid the uproar of the jarring elements. A little before day the winds were hushed, and the rain ceased, and during this auspicious respite as many of the foot and horse as the hides and ships could carry, passed into the island unobserved by the guards which Porus had placed upon the bank. Before they had passed through the island, and were ready to ascend the bank, Alexander, accompanied by some of his principal officers, followed in a vessel of thirty oars. After traversing the island the troops approached what appeared to be the opposite bank of the river, in sight of the enemy's outposts, who rode with all imaginable speed to carry the news to Porus. In the meantime Alexander, the first to ascend the bank, marshaled his troops as they landed, and then led them on in order of battle. As they prosecuted their march, however, they discovered that they had not yet reached the opposite bank —in fact, that they had passed from one island to another, separated by a small stream from the mainland. This stream was so swollen by the rain which had just fallen, that the cavalry could not find a place fordable, and apprehended that this passage would prove more formidable than the former. After some time and difficulty they were successful in finding a point at which they could cross, but even here the water reached up to the breasts of the foot soldiers and to the necks of the horses. Having at length accomplished their arduous task, preparations were at once made for an encounter. A squadron of horse, composed of his best soldiers, was posted on the right wing, and the equestrian archers to front the whole cavalry; the royal targeteers were placed in the front rank of the infantry, and some mixed amongst the cavalry; next to these were stationed the royal cohort; then the other companies of the targeteers in their several orders; and on the flanks of the phalanx stood the archers and the Arians.

Alexander's army being thus disposed, he commanded his foot, amounting to six thousand, to follow him leisurely, and in order, and, at the head of five thousand horse, he pushed quickly forward. The archers were commanded to follow. Alexander calculated that should Porus advance against him with all his force, he would be able to defeat him, or sustain the attack till his infantry came up; and that if on his approach the Indians should abandon their ground, he would be at hand to pursue them. As soon as Porus was informed that the Macedonians were crossing over, he dispatched his son with two thousand horse and a hundred and twenty chariots to obstruct or prevent their passage, but previous to their arrival Alexander had landed all his troops. On sight of the approaching enemy Alexander supposed that Porus, with all his forces, was at hand. Into this misapprehension he was led because the rest of the troops were shut out of view by the cavalry, which marched in the van. His scouts having reported to him the true state of the matter, he vigorously charged the Indians with his horse, and put them to flight. Four hundred of the Indian horse were slain, and amongst them was their leader, the son of the king. The chariots, in consequence of the slippery state of the ground, were rather an impediment than a service to the Indians, and most of them, with their horses, fell into the hands of the Macedonians. The communication of the particulars of this disaster, and of the death of his son, and that the greater part of the invading army had effected a passage, so painfully affected Porus that he knew not what measures to adopt; and his distraction was further aggravated by the fact that the troops commanded by Craterus, and posted directly opposite his camp, was endeavouring to pass the river. After some hesitation, he at length resolved to march against Alexander, and to give battle to his division as the strongest, and leave a part of his army and some elephants behind to resist the attempts of Craterus, and to intimidate his horse as they approached the bank of the river. The forces which he led were composed of four thousand horse, three hundred chariots, two hundred elephants, and thirty thousand foot. On his march he reached a plain both firm and sandy, which the late rains had not rendered unfit for the evolutions of his troops and chariots. Here he resolved on drawing up his army, which he did in the following manner:—First, he placed the elephants in the front, at intervals of one hundred feet from each other, in order to cover the whole body of infantry, and at the same time to strike terror into Alexander's horse. He imagined that neither horse nor foot would venture to penetrate the spaces between the elephants. The horsemen, he concluded, could not, because their horses would be terrified by the strange sight of the elephants; and the foot would not dare,

because the armed soldiers would be ready to receive them on each hand, and the elephants to trample them under their feet. The foot formed the next rank: they were not arranged in the same order as the elephants; they were stationed a little in the rear, and appeared to fill up the interspaces. On the extremes of the wings he stationed elephants bearing large wooden towers filled with armed men. The foot were defended on each flank by the horse, and the horse by the chariots, which were drawn up before them.

As soon as Alexander had reconnoitred their order of battle, he resolved to refrain from an engagement till his infantry had come up, and when they had arrived, fatigued by the operations of the passage and the march, he felt the necessity of affording them rest and refreshment. Having surrounded them with his cavalry, he left them to their enjoyments, and proceeded himself to review the disposition of the enemy. Their order of battle induced him not to charge them in front, where the great body of the elephants was posted, and the ranks of the foot much thicker in the intermediate spaces. The same apprehensions which led Porus to arrange his army thus, hindered Alexander from attacking him there first. In consequence of his great superiority in horse, he, with the best part of them, resolved on making an attack on Porus' left wing, and, if possible, to break through it. He at the same time dispatched a large body to the right, with orders to charge the Indians in the rear as soon as they were perceived to turn their horse to resist the fury of his attack. The phalanx of foot he commanded not to engage before they perceived the horse and foot of the enemy in disorder; but when they should have come within reach of their missives, to immediately dispatch a thousand archers against the left wing, that by the united charge of these and the cavalry they might be thrown into irremediable disorder. These directions were punctually and effectively executed; and when, as he anticipated and provided for, the left wing was thrown into confusion, he placed himself at the head of the auxiliary horse, and swiftly flew to complete the discomfiture which the archers had initiated.

The Indians, surrounded on all sides, first led on their horse to resist the attacks of Alexander. Conjointly, as was arranged, a fierce charge was made on the flanks, and thus they were separated into two parts. The best and most numerous were led against Alexander, and the other division faced about to sustain the attack made on it. This movement served to break the ranks as well as the courage of the Indians. Alexander, the moment he perceived the diversion thus made, without hesitation, rushed forward to receive his assailants. The determined resistance which they encountered soon cooled their ardour; the Indians turned their backs, and fled for shelter to their elephants, whose leaders stirred them up to trample down the horse. The Macedonian phalanx made preparation for their reception, and attacked with their arrows not only their horses, but also their riders. This mode of fighting was not only new to them, but had never been heard of. Wherever the elephants turned, the ranks of the foot, however serried, were compelled to give way. The Indian horse, seeing the infantry in the heat of action, rallied again, and attacked Alexander's horse a second time, but were again repulsed with loss, and forced to retreat amongst the elephants. By the casualties of the battle the Macedonian cavalry, which had been advisedly separated, were again united, and wherever they fell upon the Indians they made dreadful havoc, and the elephants, confined to a narrow space, and galled into ungovernable fury, were as destructive to their own men as to their enemies. As they plunged and rushed about, multitudes were trampled to death. The confusion was aggravated by the horse, who had fled to them for safety, and by the fact that several of the elephants had lost their leaders. The Macedonians were not so much exposed to danger from this quarter as the Indians, having the advantage of a more free and open space, and thus enabled to avoid them by wheeling out of the way, or opening a passage for them through their ranks. They slew several of them as they attempted to return. At last, worried and wearied with wounds, and toil, and "moving their fore feet heavily," they passed slowly out of the battle. Having surrounded all the enemy's horse with his, Alexander commanded his infantry to close their shields fast together, and haste, thus serried, to attack them. Few of the cavalry escaped from the carnage; the infantry shared no better fate. The Macedonians hemmed them in on every side; and at length all, except those who, as has been stated, were surrounded by the Macedonian cavalry, seeing the desperate situation of affairs, turned their backs, and fled. No sooner had the troops of Craterus perceived the advantages gained by their brother soldiers, than they began to cross the river; and being fresh, and elated by success, they pursued the flying enemy, and slaughtered thousands of them. Of the Indian foot little less than twenty thousand fell on that day; of the horse, about three thousand; all their chariots were destroyed. Two of Porus' sons were

amongst the slain; also the governor of that province, all the leaders of the elephants, the charioteers, and all the captains of the horse and foot. The entire loss of men sustained by Alexander, his historians say, amounted only to three hundred and ten.

During the engagement Porus neglected nothing which it became a consummate general and a brave prince to perform. Collected and circumspect, he was present in the thick of the fight; and as long as a single troop of his men held their ground, there was he to direct and cheer them. At length, being wounded in the right shoulder, he turned his elephant, and quitted the field. His bravery won the admiration of his adversary, and all his sympathies were roused for his preservation. He accordingly dispatched Taxiles in search of him, who, when he overtook him, and came as near as was safe, for fear of his elephant, he requested him to stop, and receive Alexander's commands, for that all his efforts to escape were in vain. Porus, perceiving it was his old enemy Taxiles, by whom he was accosted, ran against him with his spear, and would have slain him had not the latter reined round his steed. This reception of his messenger did not destroy the interest which Alexander felt for his safety. He again sent an old friend of Porus in search of him, by whose persuasion and reiteration of Alexander's friendly intentions, added to the exigencies of the occasion, he accompanied him to Alexander's presence. The conqueror, being informed of his approach, advanced before his army to meet him, and, stopping his horse, was seized with surprise and admiration at his fine manly figure. Porus is said to have been seven and a half feet high; and such was his physical development, that his breastplate was twice the dimensions of any other in his army.* The impression produced by his imposing presence was further heightened by his kingly bearing. The vicissitudes of his fortunes had not humiliated his lofty and dignified tone of mind. Amid the wreck of his regal power he was still the king. Alexander's first inquiry of him was "what he should wish him to do for him." Porus replied, "To treat me like a king." Alexander, smiling, replied, "That I would do for my own sake, but say what I shall do for thine." Porus told him that "all his wishes were summed up in his first reply." Alexander was highly pleased by the nobility of these answers. He not only restored him to liberty and the full possession of all his dominions, but he also added another kingdom beyond his own, and treated him so generously, that he continued for ever after an attached friend.

To commemorate this decisive victory he caused two cities to be erected—one on the battle-field beyond the river, and the other on the site of the camp before he crossed the river: the former he named Nicæa (victory); the latter Bucephala, in honour of his favourite charger, which died in the battle without a wound, worn out by age and over-exertion.

The whole country from the Hydaspes (Jhelum) to the Acesines (Chenab) was reduced, and placed under the direction of Porus. The population of this district is reported to have been great and wealthy. Thirty-seven cities, none containing less than five thousand inhabitants, submitted to Alexander. Ambassadors also arrived from a powerful prince named Abisares, with a proffer of the surrender of himself and kingdom. Alexander, being advised that he had made preparations to co-operate with Porus to resist his invasion, sent him a peremptory order to appear in person, or to expect a hostile visit.

The territories between the Acesines (Chenab) and the Hydraotes (Ravee) were ruled by another Porus, a powerful prince, and previously at enmity with his namesake, and who had therefore offered his submission. Now, having heard that his enemy was in high honour and favour with his conqueror, he lost all confidence, and fled with his troops beyond the Hydraotes. Alexander seized on his abdicated dominions, and bestowed them on his rival. Alexander, having traversed the Punjaub, passed over the Hydrastes, and then learned that a confederation was formed of the Cathaians and other free Indian states, and that they were prepared and resolved to oppose his further progress, and had selected the city of Sangala, strongly fortified by nature and art, as their ground for resistance. The Cathaians, and their allies, the Oxydracæ and Malli, had a high reputation for strength and bravery. Porus and Abisares some time previously had united their forces against them, but were repulsed. Their reputation was a further inducement to Alexander to make them bend to his superior military prowess. Without hesitation he marched against them, and on the third day found himself in presence of Sangala, and the enemy drawn up before the city, on the side of a hill neither precipitous nor difficult of ascent. Their waggons they had drawn up in a triple intrenchment, by which it was fortified as if by a triple wall, with their tents pitched in the middle. The manner in which the camp was thus protected, as also the absence of elephants, is presumptive proof that these

* Diodorus Siculus, p. 559.

were Scythian clans. Alexander here pitched his camp, and awaited the arrival of his troops still on the march. These having arrived, and being refreshed from their fatigue, were led to an attack on the waggons. The enemy received them in their intrenchments. The only movement they made was to ascend their waggons, and thence, as from an eminence, they discharged their missive weapons against their assailants, who were composed of the cavalry. Alexander, judging his horse unfit for such an attack, led a body of foot to the charge, and, after a fiercely contested conflict amongst the waggons, the Greeks prevailed, and the Indians fled for safety to the defences of their city. In despair at the result of the battle, they resolved to evacuate Sangala in the dead of the night. This movement Alexander anticipated, and took the necessary precautions to prevent it. He surrounded the place, which was inclosed with a brick wall, and had a shallow lake on one side. The besiegers had already constructed a double rampart round the town, except on the lake side. This lake was not only undefended, but its waters were sufficiently shallow to be waded. Through it the besieged determined to ford in the night, and escape. Of this arrangement Alexander was informed, and he gave orders to Ptolemy to prevent its execution. That general brought together all the waggons abandoned by the enemy, and with them formed a barrier round the edge of the lake. The Cathaians at midnight proceeded from the city, and made their way to the hastily raised rampart, where they were received by the besiegers, and driven back. By this time the walls had been battered down, and the Greeks took the place by storm, putting to the sword seventeen thousand Indians, and capturing, according to Arrian, seventy thousand more. The Grecian loss is stated at less than a hundred, and twelve hundred wounded, several of the superior officers amongst the latter. The very great disproportion between the wounded and the slain on the side of the Greeks is accounted for by the descriptions of weapons—arrows and hand missiles—used by the Cathaians. These seldom proved fatal to foes arrayed in good armour.

Two neighbouring towns in alliance with Sangala were abandoned by their inhabitants. Alexander pursued them, but could not overtake them, except five hundred invalids, whom his soldiers put to death. Sangala was razed to the ground, and the territory added to the dominions of Porus, who was present with a contingent of five thousand men.

Sangala was the most easterly of all Alexander's conquests. His further progress was here interrupted by the reluctance of his troops to accompany him in his projected campaign. He had reached the Hyphasis (Sutlej), the last of the rivers of the Punjaub, at a point conjectured to be below its confluence with the Beas. The country beyond was reported to be rich, the inhabitants were skilful agriculturists as well as good soldiers, and possessed of a greater store of elephants than any other Indian nation. Their elephants surpassed all others in stature and strength. These reports were incentives to Alexander; and though his historians do not afford any information on the subject, it is more than probable that he was influenced by the reports which must have reached him of the wealth and magnificence of Paliborthra, the Indian Babylon, reported to excel in wealth and power the Assyrian capital, the seat of the great monarch of Magada of the royal lunar race, whose sway extended over all the Indian peninsula, and who could bring into the field six hundred thousand infantry, thirty thousand cavalry, and nine thousand elephants.

It must have been observed that since his approach to the Oxus, Alexander had to maintain a series of well-contested struggles to the day on which he pitched his tents on the banks of the Hyphasis. The resistance of the Sogdians was the prelude to many a perilous conflict, and in his recent engagements his losses were severe. It is true that from his conquered provinces contingents daily arrived to swell his diminished troops, and provisions and money to supply their wants, but now every day's march in advance added to the number of the disaffected tributaries in the rear, and removed him farther from those more reliable and kindred supplies from the Ionian cities, the Greek confederates, and his hereditary kingdom of Macedon. Before the Macedonian army lay nations reputed to be brave, well supplied, and prepared. Enough had been done for glory, honours, personal distinctions and competence, and therefore general discontent pervaded all ranks that his veterans should be jeopardized to gratify an ambition which seemed to be insatiable, and to seek an endless repetition of barren victories. The part of India already conquered had not yielded those incalculable stores of gold, the promised acquisition of which had inflamed the cupidity of the troops on their first approach; nor did they find all the portable luxuries which many-tongued rumour had reported in their far Western homes would recompense their toil when they had once crossed the Indus. Rich as was the Indian soil, its people were simple, frugal, brave, and patriotic. However long these

elements had been fermenting, it was on the banks of the Hyphasis they had their first ebullition. The discontent of the toil-worn veterans was aggravated during the passing campaign by the constant torrents of rain which deluged them, and most of them were worn out with wounds, fatigue, and privations.

Frequent meetings were held in the camp, and the numbers which thronged them, and approved of the outspoken dissatisfaction of the bolder men, showed to what an extent and how deeply the minds of the soldiers were agitated. The propriety of resisting every attempt to induce them to cross the Hyphasis, even though Alexander himself should lead the way, was generally and sternly advocated.

These proceedings failed not soon to reach the ears of the king, and to excite those apprehensions they were calculated to suggest. Fearing the contagion might extend, and the discontent result in active sedition, he resolved, with his usual foresight and promptitude, to summon a council of his commanding officers, to express to them his opinions, and elicit theirs.

Having minutely recapitulated the extent and nature of his conquests, he assured them that he recognised no limits to the labours of a high-spirited man, but the failure of adequate objects. He assured them that they were not then far from the Ganges and the Eastern Ocean; and this he ventured to assert was not far from the Hyrcanian Sea, for the great ocean surrounded the whole earth, and the Indian Gulf flows into the Persian, and the Hyrcanian into the Indian. That from the Persian Gulf his fleet would carry their arms round Africa as far as the pillars of Hercules, and subject that continent within the pillars of Hercules, and thus the boundaries of his empire would be coextensive with those with which the Deity had encircled the globe. He added his fears that the interruption of the prosecution of his scheme would stimulate peoples lately subdued to revolt. He favourably contrasted his labours with those of his most illustrious predecessors, and referred to his share of the dangers; recounted the liberality with which the territories conquered and the treasures acquired had been distributed to them; and, in conclusion, appealed to Jupiter to witness his solemn promise that when all Asia had been conquered he would not only satisfy the wishes but exceed the expectations of every individual.

This enthusiastic appeal did not produce the results which it was calculated to realize when addressed to the bravest of men. The disaffection of the troops was appealed to; the severe losses which had thinned the Macedonian ranks; the few of them that survived; the yearnings of these to revisit their native land, to behold once more their wives, their children, and homes. The king had failed. The gods were consulted; the omens conspired with the stubborn resolve of the army, and Alexander at length yielded a reluctant assent. Such is the story told by his own historians. It is to be regretted that no Indian version of it is known to us.

Before closing this eventful period of Indian history there is a passage of Alexander's speech—namely, the geographical—which demands a few observations.

Amongst his other qualities, as has been remarked by an historian of India, he was animated with an ardent thirst for knowledge. To gratify this was obviously one of the objects he proposed to himself. He had now reached, as he supposed, nearly the limits of the world. On the banks of the Sutlej he considered that he was very convenient to the Ganges and to the great Eastern ocean, which surrounds the whole earth, and that the Hyrcanian Sea (the Caspian) was connected with this ocean on one side, the Persian Gulf on the other; that after he had subdued all the nations which lay before him to the eastward towards the ocean, and northward towards the Caspian, he would be enabled to proceed by water first to the Persian Gulf, then round Lybia to the pillars of Hercules, and thence back through Lybia, and included all Asia as part of the Macedonian empire. It is also worthy of remark that while Alexander made so serious an error in limiting the extent of Eastern Asia, the Ptolemaic geography, recognised in the time of Columbus, fell into an error not less in the opposite direction, stretching too far to the east; and it was to this misconception we owe the discovery of the new world, Columbus having projected his voyage of circumnavigation from Western Europe in the expectation of coming to the eastern coast of Asia from the west, and after no great length of voyage.*

* Grote's *History of Greece*, vol. xii. p. 312.

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## CHAPTER XXXII.

### THE RETURN OF ALEXANDER.

THREE days were spent by Alexander in solitary seclusion, as was his habit when greatly agitated, before he announced to his troops that he had changed his resolve in deference to their united remonstrances. During this interval his most intimate friends were excluded from his presence. Arrian states that the king expected that some change of mind would happen amongst his soldiery, and that they might yet be prevailed upon to accede to his wishes; but perceiving no manifestation of such a change—on the contrary, that a sullen silence still prevailed, that they were more and more exasperated against him, and fixed in their determinations—he had it proclaimed that sacrifice should be offered, and the gods consulted. This was accordingly done, and the diviners announced that the victims showed omens entirely adverse to the passage of the Hydaspes (Jhelum). He then called together the oldest of his officers and the most confidential of his intimates, and through them announced to the army the unfavourable state of the auspices, that he submitted to the will of the fates, and gave immediate orders for return, to the entire satisfaction of the army.* Grote remarks that the fact that Alexander, under all this insuperable repugnance of the soldiers, still offered sacrifice preliminary to crossing the river, is a curious illustration of his character.

To perpetuate the limits of his Eastern conquests, he ordered twelve altars to be erected, built of hewn stone,† equal in height, to so many fortified towers on the western bank of the river. On these gigantic altars he offered sacrifices with due solemnity, which were followed with the customary festivities and gymnastic and equestrian exercises.

To consider the probable results of this forced (if such it were) return of Alexander would be suggestive of interesting speculations; but whether such speculations are objects of legitimate historical consideration would be as debateable a subject; and also whether the consequent extension of commerce, with geographical knowledge and the imposition of Macedonian polity and Greek literature and art, would compensate for the subversion of Indian independence and civilization.

Having committed all the territories west of the Hydaspes (Jhelum) to the government of Porus, he returned, and recrossed the Hydrastes and Acesines, and arrived at the Hydaspes, near the point where he first passed. The two new cities which he had directed to be built, as previously stated,—namely, Bucephala and Nicæa,—had suffered seriously from the rains and the overflowing of the river, sufficient allowance not having been made for its rising. These were now repaired, and experience suggested the adoption of precautions to save them from such disasters. At this juncture Arsaces, governor of one the contiguous provinces, and brother to Abisares, waited upon Alexander, and, amongst other presents, brought thirty elephants. Abisares was received into favour, and the amount of tribute which he was to pay arranged. Alexander also here received a large reinforcement both of cavalry and infantry forwarded to him from Europe, together with twenty-five thousand new panoplies and a large stock of medicines. Had he been thus strengthened during the hesitation of his troops on the Hyphasis, it is very probable his advance to the Ganges would not have been diverted. For these, his veterans, and what auxiliaries his tributaries Porus and Taxiles could supply, he had ample as well as novel employment in collecting the materials for and constructing a fleet to transport his army down the Hydaspes, and afterwards to the mouth of the Indus. During the whole of the summer months they were engaged in these preparations. The timber was found in the mountain forests through which the river descends into the plain, and consisted, according to Strabo, of firs, pines, cedars, and a variety of other trees fit for shipbuilding.* By the early part of November a fleet of two thousand boats, of various sizes, were ready. The rowers and pilots were carefully selected from the Phœnicians, Carians, Cyprians, and Egyptians, who followed his army, and were skilled mariners.

His forces he divided into four divisions: Craterus led one along the right bank; Hephæstion led another, constituted of the best men and largest number, with two hundred elephants, along the left bank; Nearchus, who wrote an account of the voyage, of which an epitome is preserved by Arrian, commanded the river fleet, on board of which was

* Arrian, *Alexander's Expedition*, b. v. c. xxviii.
† Curtius, b. x. c. iii. xix.

* Strabo, b. xv. c. i. s. 29.

Alexander himself; and Philip, governor of a province beyond the Indus, was ordered to follow with all his forces.

When all the preparations had been completed, sacrifices were offered to the maritime deities; and Alexander, standing on the prow of his own ship, poured from a golden cup a libation into the stream of the Hydaspes, and invoked the deities of the Indian rivers known to him. These were rites exceedingly acceptable to the Hindoos as well as Greeks, and there is little doubt, as the Greek writers relate, when the vessels gave their canvas to the breeze, their departure was hailed by the enthusiastic greetings of the Indians of Bucephala and Nicæa, and that they accompanied their progress to a great distance, rushing in dense crowds to the edge of the banks, and demonstrating the intensity as well as the sincerity of their joy by wild chants and dances. The fleet pursued its course, slowly down the river, to where the Hydaspes unites its waters with those of the Acesines, the Hydraotes, and the Hyphasis, and all discharge their confluent tributaries to swell the stream of the majestic Indus. In the month of November, B.C. 326, the fleet sailed, and reached, nine months after, in the August following, the mouth of the river and the Indian Ocean. This voyage was not performed without its interesting incidents; indeed, it was diversified by very active and important military operations on both sides of the river, of which Alexander was not, it may be concluded, an indifferent nor a quiescent spectator. He repeatedly disembarked to impose his yoke on all who had not made voluntary submission. He regulated the movements of the three divisions pursuing the land route. Of those who made resistance the most formidable, by far, were the Malli and Oxydracæ tribes, who had hitherto maintained their independence, and were now making preparations to defend it. The Malli occupied the tract of country which extends between the Acesines (Asikni), and the Hydraotes (Ravee), and constituting the south part of the district now known as the Punjaub. Their stronghold is supposed to have been the modern city of Moultan.* Want of cordial union, a curse that has blighted many a good cause, weakened and defeated their purpose. They at first decided on co-operation, and the plan agreed upon was, for the Malli to send their warriors lower down into the country of the Oxydracæ, and there to make a decided stand; the Malli relied on the natural advantages of their own country, and thought they had nothing to apprehend from a lateral attack, as they were separated from the river by a great extent of desert.

On the eighth day after its departure, the fleet had reached the confluence of the Hydaspes and Acesines. Hither Craterus and Hephæstion had been directed to march, and arrived when Alexander had decided on his expedition against the Malli. The elephants were ferried over, and placed under the care of Craterus, and he was commanded to proceed along the right bank of the *Acesines*; the remaining troops were divided into three corps. Hephæstion, with one division, commenced his march five days before Alexander; and Ptolemy was ordered to remain with another for three days after he had started. These dispositions were made with the design that Ptolemy's troops should intercept and cut off those who fled to the front, and Hephæstion's those who fled to the rear. The different divisions had commenced to reunite at the confluence of the Hydraotes and Acesines. With a select cohort of horse and foot, Alexander proceeded from the left bank of the river Acesines to cross the intervening desert, and on the western confines of it he arrived at a small stream which separated him from the territory of the Malli. Here he encamped, and allowed his men to take repose and refreshments. Before they marched he commanded that each should provide himself with water. They then pursued their journey, during the remainder of the day and the entire of the night, and as the dawn broke he found himself before one of the Mallian cities. The inhabitants were completely taken by surprise; they had entertained no apprehensions of an attack from that side of the bleak desert. Several of them were outside the walls pursuing their daily employments. These having been easily captured or destroyed in their defenceless condition, he then surrounded the city with his cavalry, and awaited the arrival of the infantry, who were following. In the meantime he dispatched Perdiccas with some troops to another city of the Malli, within whose walls a great body of the Indians had fled for shelter; he had strict orders not to attempt to storm the place, but to confine himself to preventing the escape of any one who might alarm the country before he himself had arrived. The defences of the city which he first approached, after a smart resistance, were carried, and shortly after a strongly-fortified castle, erected on an eminence, was forced, and its defenders, to the number of two thousand, were put to the sword. The Malli were taken entirely by surprise; the rapidity with which Alexander

* Williams' *Life of Alexander*; Grote's *History of Greece*; Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*.

had performed his forced march of over twenty-five miles across the desert, had deranged their plans, and their warriors were absent on some duty when the enemy appeared. The consequence was, that Perdiccas found the city against which he was sent abandoned and dismantled; and all the others, on the approach of the Macedonians, were similarly left to their fury. The inhabitants either fled beyond the Hydaspes, or sought the shelter of the dense jungles with which the marshy banks of the river were lined.

Having allowed his troops a brief respite from toil, Alexander set forward, and directed his course to the Hydraotes, and marching all night reached it early in the day, as some parties of the Malli were preparing to cross over. These he attacked, and slew many of them. He then passed the river, and found that several thousands had sought refuge there; vast numbers of these were slain and many taken prisoners, indeed, all who refused to surrender were put to the sword. The main body made good its escape into a city favourably situated for defence and strongly fortified. They were, however, unable to resist the assault of their enemies, the place was stormed and the garrison captured. Alexander then led his army against a city of "the Brachmans," evidently Brahmins. It is not possible to say whether all the inhabitants of this town were Brahmins, or whether it was the property of that predominant class. It is recorded that they made a noble defence. When their walls were undermined, and themselves galled by the darts of the Macedonians, they retreated from the city, and betook themselves to the citadel. The first body of assailants who approached they bravely opposed, and successfully repulsed, slaying twenty-five of them —this number of slain the Greeks admit. The citadel was so bravely defended that Alexander, who led the storming party, was the first to mount the scaling ladder, and was for a time the sole Macedonian occupant, till, as Arrian states, "his soldiers, ashamed of their backwardness, one after another climbed over the wall."* Thus was it at length won, and, when all hope was lost, the Indians set fire to their own houses and perished in the flames. Five thousand of them are reported to have fallen during the siege; and so great, says the historian, was their valour, that very few fell into the hands of the enemy.

Having afforded another day's rest to his wearied troops, a detachment was sent to scour the jungles, and to put indiscriminately to the sword all who refused to surrender. These orders were rapidly executed. Williams thinks it probable that it was in these jungles Peithon killed the largest snake which the Macedonians saw in India. It was twenty-four feet long, and although this is a small size for a boa-constrictor, it was a monster to which the Greeks had seen nothing similar, as the marshes of Lerna and the borders of the lake Copais had, since the heroic days, ceased to teem with these enormous reptiles. But the Indians assured them that serpents of far greater magnitude were to be seen.* According to Onesicritus, quoted by Strabo, the ambassadors that came from Abisares to Alexander reported that he kept two serpents, one eighty and the other one hundred and forty cubits long. It has been also noticed as a curious circumstance that the Macedonians did not see a Bengal tiger, although in modern days his ravages are very destructive between Gujerat and the lower Indus. They saw his skin, and heard some exaggerated reports respecting his size, strength, and ferocity. It is a fair inference from his non-appearance in the vales of the Indus and its tributaries, that the natives of these regions were, at the period of the Macedonian invasion, more powerful, populous, and warlike than in our days.

Alexander next led his forces against the chief city of the Malli, in which that warlike people, he heard, had concentrated, for better security, all who had abandoned the other cities. On his approach he found this town also had been evacuated, and that the inhabitants having crossed the Hydraotes, had drawn up their forces on its banks to dispute his passage. He did not hesitate, he intrepidly entered the river with the body of horse he led, although the bank which the Malli occupied was precipitous and the ascent steep and hazardous; his horse were followed and supported by the foot. The Indians, seeing him in the middle of the current, retired hastily and in good order from the bank, and were followed by Alexander. As soon as the Malli perceived that their pursuers consisted merely of a party of horse, they faced about and stood their ground, prepared for battle. Their force is stated to have been fifty thousand. Alexander having been joined by his reserves, the Indians declined an engagement, and retired into one of their fortified cities. He then pitched his tents beneath their walls, and resolved to besiege them in regular form. The late hour of the day, the fatigue of a long march and of crossing the river, induced him to defer any further proceedings till the next day, when his troops would have been cheered by rest and refreshment.

* *Alexander's Expedition*, b. v. c. viii.

* Williams' *Life of Alexander*, p. 267.

Next morning his army was formed into two divisions. Perdiccas led one; the other was led by himself in person. A fierce attack was conjointly made on the walls; and when the Indians were unable to resist its force, they gave way and retired into the citadel. Alexander made an impetuous assault on one of the gates, burst it open, and took possession a considerable time before Perdiccas effected an entry. As soon as the latter had mounted the battlements, he perceived, from their being evacuated, that the city was already taken. Not so the citadel. To this the besieged had retired, resolved to defend it to the last extremity. The Macedonians essayed, some to undermine the walls, others to scale them; and the latter force endeavoured, in every possible position, to fix their ladders, with the determination of storming the place. Ardent and daringly impetuous, at all times, in action, Alexander appears to have acted with far more reckless daring since he had retired from the Hyphasis, than he ever before exhibited. There was no peril which he did not risk. Was it his chagrin at the interruption of his contemplated designs, or his anxiety to convince his insubordinate troops that each individual of them valued his personal safety more than he did, or a frantic indulgence in those stimulants which at no distant period hastened his end—perhaps it was a combination of all—that superinduced that morbid excitement which he latterly so constantly manifested, and which exposed him to so many otherwise unaccountable dangers? The ardour of the troops, shown in the success which had already favoured them, appears to have been frigidity itself to the fierce spirit of Alexander. Not brooking such—to him—slow proceedings, he snatched a ladder from one of the soldiers, applied it to the wall, and covering himself with his shield, rapidly gained the summit. Three of his faithful friends were at his side in an instant. Alexander, in personal conflict, hurled headlong into the citadel the astonished soldiers who attempted to resist his ingress, and with the quickness of lightning cleared his way. The targeteers, in their eagerness to succour their royal master, crowded the ladders, these snapped beneath the pressure, not only hurling them to the ground, but obstructing the ascent of others. In the meantime, Alexander, all but alone, conspicuous by his armour, stood as a mark for the Indians—but none had the hardihood to confront him—recognized by every one. The imminent danger in which he stood suggested a bold resolve; he leaped from the wall into the citadel, conjecturing that so startling a feat would confound the enemy, or that his death would be more glorious, fighting in the midst of his foes. When inside, he placed his back against the wall; some of his assailants he slew with his sword, and amongst the first the Indian commander. Thus fighting he struck such terror into them that none dared approach, but all from a distance endeavoured to dispatch him with their darts and such other missiles as they could command. The three who ascended, as stated, before the ladders broke, leaped with him from the walls and fought like heroes to save their king. Abreas, one of them, fell dead, struck with an arrow. Alexander's breastplate was pierced by another, and so serious a wound inflicted in the breast, that Ptolemy states, such was the effusion of blood, it was for some time considered fatal. Though he still valiantly defended himself, he was at length seized with a dizziness in the head and chillness through his limbs, and fell forward on his shield. His two surviving companions, struggling to protect him, were seriously wounded. The excitement outside the walls was intense in consequence of the imminent peril of the king in the hands of his foes, and the means of scaling the walls being destroyed. At length, by the combined aid of iron pins driven into the walls, and by some of the soldiers mounting on the shoulders of others, the top was gained. The gate was shortly after forced, soon a rampart of his devoted soldiers was formed round his prostrate body; and thus was he saved from further peril.

Frightful was the carnage made amongst the brave Malli; every man, woman, and child that fell into the hands of the Macedonians was mercilessly butchered. Alexander was borne away on a shield, and very little hopes entertained of his recovery.

While the king's life was still in danger a report reached the camp, whence he had set out on this expedition, that he was dead. The alarm which this produced was intense and general, and only equalled by regret for a prince to whom they were so devotedly attached. The camp was one scene of lamentation as the rumour flew from mouth to mouth. When the first agony of sorrow had subsided, then succeeded feelings of perplexity and despondence. Who would succeed to the command of the army where many had equal claims, but none paramount? Who was qualified to conduct them, when the master spirit was no more, through so many fierce and warlike nations, several of whom had never experienced the prowess of the Macedonian soldiery, and who, in all probability, would fight, determinedly, for the preservation of their independence. Others, only

too anxious to avail themselves of any specious opportunity to cast off a foreign yoke, would consider that the death of Alexander released them from all fear. Besides, they were apprehensive of the obstacles they had to encounter in traversing countries so extensive and diversified, intersected with rivers as formidable, perhaps, as those they had so recently met with. These considerations produced the most profound sensation amongst all grades of the army. They were almost driven to despair. Indeed, every danger was exaggerated in the absence of their king. When correct intelligence was at length conveyed to the camp, the messengers were not credited: even when letters came announcing his intended arrival amongst them in a very short time, the news was pronounced apocryphal, and suspected to be the contrivance of his body-guards and his generals, to quiet the universal feeling of dissatisfaction.

Fearful that this state of uncertainty might lead to very serious results, and perhaps eventuate in an insurrection, the moment he felt that the state of his health would justify his removal, Alexander ordered that he should be conveyed to the banks of the Hydraotes, and thence by water to his camp. On his approach he gave directions that the cover of his royal pavilion should be hoisted upon the poop of the vessel, to be seen by the whole army. These demonstrations failed to remove the general incredulity. It was only when passing before their eyes, and he extended his right hand to salute his faithful followers, that confidence was restored, and the whole army felt that their living king, and not his lifeless body, was nearing the place of debarkation. A simultaneous shout of joy pealed along the expectant groups that crowded to bid him welcome. Some with hands extended to heaven poured forth their thanksgivings for his recovery. Others, under the influence of the sudden transition from grief to joy, melted into tears. He declined the attentions of his retinue, who wished to convey him to his quarters in his litter; he ordered his horse to be brought, and having mounted, he rode through the ranks, receiving as he passed the joyous acclamations of the whole army, the banks and neighbouring woods echoing with the sound. Before he entered his tent he leaped from his horse, and showed himself on foot, to assure them of his recovered strength and health.

The Malli and Oxydracæ both sent ambassadors to present their submission, and to tender to him the government of their nations: the Malli soliciting pardon for their resistance, the Oxydracæ for their tardy surrender, and to profess their obedience to him. They thought themselves not unworthy of his consideration, because, like other free nations, they had a strong desire of living according to their own laws, which liberty, they are reported to have told him, they had enjoyed, free and unmolested, from the time that Bacchus conquered India to that day. As they understood that he was also the offspring of a god, if it were his pleasure they would accept a satrap of his selection, pay whatever tribute he thought proper to impose, and surrender to him as many hostages as he would require. From the Malli he exacted no further concessions; the loss they had previously sustained he considered sufficient to ensure their future obedience. From the Oxydracæ he demanded one thousand hostages, the bravest and noblest of their nation, whom he said he would detain or use as soldiers till he had conquered the rest of India. These were immediately sent, and with them five hundred chariots of war, with their charioteers. Over both nations he appointed Philip as satrap, and being gratified with the munificent presents of the Oxydracæ, he freely sent back to them their hostages, and only reserved the chariots.

While he was under the care of his medical men, and restrained from active operation, the army was employed in constructing more ships near the confluence of the Hydraotes (Ravee), and Acesines (Chenab). As soon as his health was sufficiently recruited he resumed his voyage, having added to the strength of the land force on board, and sailed down the river slowly, to enable him to carry on more actively and efficiently his operations against the nations occupying both its banks. At the junction of the Acesines with the Indus (Pungnund), in the southern extremity of the Punjaub, Alexander ordered Philip to erect a new city, with adequate docks and every accommodation for ship building. His object in so doing was to command the navigation. Here he was joined by Perdiccas, who, with a part of the land force, had been engaged in the subjugation of the Abastani, or Avasthanas, an independent tribe of Indians. He also received the submission of the Ossadians, and an accession to his fleet from the banks of the Acesines. Of a city built here for the cultivation and preservation of Indian commerce, not a vestige remains. Thirlwal conjectures, or rather repeats a conjecture, that the small town of Mittun stands in its place. Alexander's father-in-law, Oxyartes, paid him a visit during his sojourn here, probably, as Thirlwal considers, to communicate to him the intelligence that a revolt had broken out among the Greeks settled in Bactria, and to report the misconduct of Tyriaspes, the satrap of Paropamisus. The latter was deprived of

his government, which was bestowed on Oxyartes. Having no further need of so great a land force on board, a large body, including all the Thracians, was left with Philip, and a considerable force with the elephants, was disembarked on the left bank of the Indus to pursue their course to the Delta. This route was judiciously selected, as the country presented few natural obstructions to their progress, and it was imperative, for the preservation of communication, that the natives should be overawed. Alexander next reached the capital of the Sogdi,* and transformed it into a Greek colony, which he named Alexandria. This town he also supplied with an arsenal, and other commercial conveniences, and refitted a part of his fleet there. The prince whose territories he next reached is by the classic writers named Musicanus. This state was reported by them to be the richest, in wealth and natural productions, of all the Indian nations visited by the Macedonians. The contemplation of its abundance filled Alexander with admiration. Burnes thinks that the traces of its capital are to be found in the ruins of Alore, four miles distant from Bukkur, which tradition repeats was once the chief city of a mighty kingdom, ruled by a Brahmin, who was slain by the Moslems in the seventh century.† "This description," says Williams, "suits well with the rich and well watered plains between the lower course of the Aral, the Arabis of Ptolemy, and the Indus. Musicanus and Oxycanus, the appellations of neighbouring chiefs, point probably to the names of the territories governed by these princes; as the word *khawn* is constantly found, even to this day, on the lower Indus, such as Chuck-kawn, Khawn-gur, and Gurkhawn, and other different compounds. Musicanus, perhaps, might be probably described in the modern English fashion as the Rajah of Moosh, and Oxycanus as the Rajah of Ouche."‡ Musicanus was permitted to retain the possession of his kingdom on condition that a fortress should be built in the city, under the superintendence of Craterus, to be occupied by a Macedonian garrison. This precaution was taken, the situation being well fitted to command the surrounding country. The next subjugation was the territory of Oxycanus. This prince was slain or taken prisoner. During this expedition, the Brahmins, whose influence unfortunately for him was great, induced Musicanus to make a patriotic effort to expel the impious invader, who, they said, had sacrilegiously dared to violate their sacred soil with his impure footstep. Peithon, with a sufficient force, was dispatched against him; defeat followed defeat, patriotism fired by religious zeal failed. The king and his priests were crucified,—a conspicuous spectacle, and appalling warning to any of the adjacent states whose aspirations were for independence. Alexander had neared the terminus of his Indian voyage, and was approaching the upper part of the Delta, where the Indus divides into two branches of unequal extent. The enclosed space was named Pattalene by the Greeks, from its chief city Pattala, a little below the point at which the stream divides, and in all probability not far from the modern town Hyderabad. Hephæstion received orders to strongly fortify this place, which had been evacuated by its inhabitants on his approach, but these had been induced to return. A citadel was erected, a harbour constructed, docks built sufficient to contain a large fleet, and wells dug, and other provisions made for the supply of troops and travellers. Dr. Vincent considers that Alexander had conceived a plan of the commerce which was afterwards carried on from Alexandria in Egypt to the Indian Ocean, and that this is capable of demonstration by his conduct after his arrival at Pattala. In his passage down the Indus, he says, he had evidently marked that river as the eastern boundary of his empire; he had built three cities, and founded two others on this line, and he was now preparing for the establishment of Pattala, at the point of the division of the river, and planning other posts at its eastern and western mouths. Droysen describes Alexander's object to have been nothing less than to facilitate the communication between Pattala and the east of India,

* *Sogdi*, in the language of the country, signifies valley. This is why it recurs.

† Burnes, vol. i. p. 66.

‡ These names are an etymological puzzle, say's the Bishop of St. David's (*History of Greece*, vol. vii. p. 53, note), tempting from the seeming readiness of solution. Mr. Williams thinks that they "*point to the names of the territories governed by these princes*, because the word khawn is constantly found *even to this day* on the lower Indus, so that Musicanus might be properly described as the Rajah of Moosh, and Oxycanus as the Rajah of Ouche." "I am surprised," the bishop proceeds, "to find that Ritter entertained a similar opinion. Do we not require some better evidence that the *Turkish title* khan was in use before the time of Alexander on the lower Indus?" In the still existing obscurity in which the native Indian records are immerged, the right reverend historian cannot expect to obtain much information unless from companions of Alexander, *of what was in use before his time on the lower Indus*. The objection he makes to the philological solution of the difficulty here by Williams and Ritter, is entirely grounded on the improbability that khan is Turkish. Had he known as much of the *Celtic*, and of its close affinity with Sanscrit, as does the erudite author of *Gomer*, he would have been enabled to discover, with little search, that *khan*, a head chief, father of a clan, is to be found in a far older language than the Turkish—in its matrix, in fact, a language too which has left its nomenclature in the East as well as in the West.

and to open it for the caravans from the countries on the Ganges, and from the Deccan. Thirlwal sees a great difficulty in believing either that Alexander had acquired sufficient information as to the geography of India to form such a plan, or that he had the means of using it, and that his view seems to have been confined, for the time at least, to two points—the survey of the mouths of the river, and of the Delta, and the establishment of commercial intercourse with the west.* The two objections advanced against Droysen do not appear to be well grounded, as it is well known that Alexander's original design was to reach the Ganges. Its position, the productions on its banks, the commerce carried on upon its waters, he had means of ascertaining from the many persons of station and information with whom he had communication in the several kingdoms he had subdued. The condition of the Deccan he also must have known; and it is more than probable among nations, then, confessedly, in the same stage, at least, of civilization, as at present, that several of the towns laid waste by his troops were emporiums of a large and an extensive commerce, and that among his objects in erecting so many new cities, not the least was to attract and engross the commerce which, by their destruction, would be diverted to his own. It must not be forgotten, in addition, that the Indian caravans were no strangers to the monarchs of Persia and other western powers.

As soon as the works at Pattala had made some advance, Alexander began his preparations for his march homewards. Having no further occasion for so large a land force, as he apprehended no resistance on his progress to the mouth of the Indus, he had previously ordered Craterus, with three brigades of heavy infantry, some light troops, and the elephants, accompanied by the Macedonian invalids, to march westward through Arachosia and Drangiana to Caramania, and in all probability through the pass called Bolan by the moderns. He embarked late in the year 325, in a squadron of his swiftest galleys, and sailed down the right arm of the river, while Leonnatus, in command of eight thousand infantry and one thousand cavalry, proceeded by land along the same side of the Delta. After encountering some difficulties produced by a smart gale, which, meeting the rapid current of the Indus, caused a swell, he for the first time came in sight of the Indian Ocean. The ebbing and flowing of the tides, by their fury, created much surprise and alarm to men hitherto acquainted only with the comparatively placid waters of the inland seas, or those convenient to the southern and eastern shores of Europe. Having passed the mouth of the Indus, Alexander put out to the open sea, that he might survey whether any land lay to the south. He then returned to Pattala to convince himself that the orders he had given were faithfully executed. He found the fortifications of the citadel completed, and Peithon arrived with a very satisfactory report of what he had done. The works of the harbour were yet unfinished; the time at his disposal till their completion he appropriated to the exploration of the left arm of the Indus. He found that here the stream expanded into a broad gulf, which he at once concluded would make a safe and capacious naval station. He had docks constructed, and magazines, in which he stored four months' provisions, and left a garrison sufficient for its protection. The home-bound fleet, entrusted to the command of Nearchus, was awaiting the arrival of a more propitious season. The recent observations made in the Indian Ocean, and the fact that it was boundless, of which three days' sail convinced him, led to the conclusion that no land intervened between the mouth of the Indus and the Persian Gulf. Were the correctness of this speculation confirmed by actual survey, a new road would be opened for facile intercourse between the eastern and the western portions of his dominions both for commercial enterprise, and for all strategic purposes. Here were the means for consolidating a mighty and far-spreading empire. To expose Nearchus, after his invaluable services, to the perils of this voyage, Alexander was, or pretended to be, adverse. With such great and enlightened objects in view, as he here gets credit for, it is not too much to say that to this officer's experience he was anxious to entrust it. It is stated that he consulted him as to who was best qualified to lead the fleet home. When he is found himself in the command, it may be fairly presumed, he proffered his services to his sovereign. Thirlwal is justified in suspecting the reluctance which Alexander is said to have expressed, to permit so valued a friend to embark on so perilous an adventure; and that he desired the offer should be freely made by Nearchus for the sake of the confidence with which it would inspire those who were placed under his orders.

Some surprise has been expressed that there do not survive throughout India historical evidences or traditions of the Macedonian invasion. That there should not, would be by no means extraordinary, considering how small a portion of the peninsula was affected, and how transitory was the imposition of the foreign rule. In the

* Thirlwal's *History of Greece*, vol. vii. p. 56.

archives of some of the princes of the north-western provinces, however, some records of it may yet be found; as also in the recent accumulation of coins, not alone in Bactria, but within the confines of India; and in the relics of discovered ruins, such as those of the ancient city of Brahminabad, which may reward their explorers with further and more elucidatory evidence than even the "glass and glazed earthenware," formed upon Greek models, which, as has been previously remarked,* will possibly throw light upon the interval between the Greek and Mohammedan periods of Indian history. Some traditional knowledge of Alexander's invasion of India is preserved in the northern provinces;† there is also a race of rajahs claiming descent from Porus. Among the inhabitants of Kaffiristan—still *terra incognita*—as also among those of Badakshan, on the other or northern side of the Hindoo Koosh, there exist traditions of Alexander, and a sort of belief that they themselves are descended from his soldiers.‡ A seid, who was a professor of theology in the city of Tatta, and looked upon by the Indians as a good historian, asked Captain Hamilton whether in his country he had ever heard of Alexander the Great. The captain replied in the affirmative, and mentioned the victory he gained over Porus as a proof of it. The seid then said, that according to their historians, Shah Hasander§ made war upon Porus, and that, being a great magician, he by his art collected above a million wild geese, which carried his army over the river; and that they also relate that Porus's elephants could not be brought to turn their heads towards the place where Alexander was.‖ The incident of the wild geese, fabulous as it is, is a verification of the fact that the historians referred to by the seid, alluded to the transport of the Macedonian troops; for the reader will remember by what an ingenious and singular contrivance that feat was accomplished, and how the white coverings of their tents were formed into bags and inflated. These were, naturally enough, transformed into wild geese in the fables of a simple and credulous people.

The close of the month of August (B. C. 325) witnessed the completion of the preparations for the departure of both armaments. And in the following month Alexander set out and marched westward, through the territories of the Arabitæ and the Oritæ, and then through the deserts of Gedrosia. Pura, the capital of the latter, was sixty days' march distant from the confines of the Oritæ. The incidents of the journey and voyage are interesting; but having dismissed the Macedonian conqueror from Hindostan, his future career is alien to our purpose.

The Macedonian episode in Indian history has been rather fully given, and an attempt made to trace the conqueror's approach to India from an early period of his Asiatic operations. The first impression made upon him by the reputed wealth and power of that country, the stimulant furnished to push forward in pursuit of the fugitive Darius, and subsequently of Bessus, till in Bactria, he found himself in communication with Hindoo exiles as well as Hindoo mercenaries—all these incidents are links in a chain of consequence, individually and collectively dependent; and the most remote exercised, and perhaps still exercises, and will exercise, an influence over India. The various stages of Alexander's progress to the Indus are subjects not of vague curiosity. The extension of British territory to the west of the Indus and advances towards Persia; the precautions that may be necessitated, to repress the appetite for Asiatic acquisitions in that direction; the requirements which, already, contemplate an electric communication through the valley of the Euphrates, may render the particulars detailed of Alexander's eastern progress not the least pertinent and important of the pages of the history of the British empire in the East.

The rapidity with which Alexander had passed through and from India, had not allowed sufficient time for the consolidation of his newly-acquired dominions; and though we perceive that he took able precautions to perpetuate them, the premature termination of his career, the dissensions and conflicts which arose between his successors, the general insecurity, snapped asunder the ties which could preserve together such a mass of incongruous components. India, though the most remote province, was in all probability the first seriously affected. The detached garrisons left behind were but too eager to return home; and had they wished to remain, what support had they to rest upon? Those princes who bent to the foreign yoke were the bravest and the first of their race to resist the Macedonians. Their submission was a necessity, not a choice; and when the death of Alexander was made known, they probably were the first to raise the standard of revolt. If the Greeks were the Javans of the Hindoos they, after some years, are met with in Indian history merely as mercenaries.

* Chap. vii. p. 157.

† Robertson's *Disquisition concerning Ancient India*, p. 301, note viii.

‡ Grote's *Greece*, vol. xii. p. 305.

§ The Mohammedan name for Alexander.

‖ Hamilton's *New Account of the East Indies*, vol. i. p. 127. Edinburgh, 1727.

In the partition of the empire, which followed soon after the death of Alexander, it is evident that the Indian provinces, or those adjacent to them, were not considered the chief prizes; though their wealth and variety of productions should have made them the most desirable. That they were not so considered can be explained only by their distance from the seat of government, the insecurity of tenure, and the difficulty to displace their governors, principally native princes, who owed merely a nominal allegiance. Thus Taxiles was permitted to rule in India; Porus continued in his dominions; Oxyartes, in Paropamisus; while the southern provinces were committed to Peithon; Babylonia, to Archon; Mesopotamia, to Archelaus; and in the west, Ptolemy had obtained Egypt, Arabia, and Lybia; Nearchus, Pamphylia and Lycia; Leonnatus, Hellespontine Phrygia; and Eumenes, Paphlagonia and Cappadocia: and in Europe, Macedonia and Greece, together with the western countries on the coast of the Adriatic, were divided between Antipater and Craterus.

He who, of all the generals of Alexander, alone figures after his death in Indian history, Seleucus, is not to be found amongst those who shared in the partition. The cause of this, perhaps, is to be found in the fact, that he was the friend and partizan of Perdiccas, who was then in the ascendant, and was retained by him near his person. Though no sharer, as it appears in the satrapies, he was entrusted with the Chiliarchy, the appointment bestowed on Perdiccas himself. This was a post of the highest importance, and, in the Persian court, was equivalent to that of prime-minister, or grand vizier of the whole empire. It was held by Alexander's great favourite Hephæstion, to whom he would not permit a successor. In the contests for power which succeeded, Seleucus, it is recorded, was obliged to abdicate the government of Babylon, but afterwards recovered and subjected to his sway all the provinces beyond the Euphrates. This brought him in contact with Sandrocottus, or Chandragupta, the King of Magada, already mentioned among the rulers of that kingdom. History does not relate the circumstance which brought him into collision with that prince. It is likely that Chandragupta was led by the dissensions which involved the Greek chiefs in war, to assert his own independence, and perhaps to encroach upon territories which were subject to them. Indeed, it is alleged that under the specious pretext of enabling the Indians to shake off the yoke of the foreigners, he assembled an army of six hundred thousand men, and a prodigious number of elephants, and made himself master of India; and that it was in order to recover the dominions thus appropriated, Seleucus marched over the Indus, and seeing the formidable force at the command of the Indian, thought it expedient to enter into terms of amity with him, and not to hazard the force under his command, which were better preserved to meet the storm which he had to apprehend from the threatening aspect of affairs in the west, where Antigonus and his son Demetrius, not satisfied with having compelled him to fly his satrapy of Babylon, were prosecuting war against his friends, and had recently ravaged Babylonia. Seleucus yielded the conquests he had made, and to cement an alliance gave one of his daughters in marriage to the Indian. It is probable that the concession of territory included all that had been acquired by Alexander and himself east of the Indus, and all that which lay between the upper Indus and the mountains. From Chandragupta, among other presents, he received five hundred elephants; and some, perhaps, if not all, of the hundred war chariots which he had in his army—contingents which had no small influence in achieving shortly after the decisive battle of Ipsus, in which his enemy Antigonus was slain, and his son obliged to fly. Chandragupta reigned, according to the *Varu Parana*, twenty-four years, and according to the *Mahawanso*, thirty-four; and as Professor Wilson calculates, ascended the throne about B. C. 313.* The last-mentioned authority asserts that this is the most important name in all the lists of Indian kings, as it can scarcely be doubted that he is the Sandrocottus, or, as Athenæus writes more correctly, the Sandrocoptus of the Greeks.

Although from this time the power of the Greeks was no longer dominant in India, there is no doubt a commercial communication was maintained between Syria and India. As Professor Wilson remarks—"Now it is certain that a number of very curious inscriptions on columns and rocks by a Buddhist prince, in an ancient form of letter and in the Pali language, exists in India, and that some of them refer to Greek princes, who can be no other than members of the Seleucidan and Ptolemean dynasties, and are probably Antiochus the Great and Ptolemy Energetes, kings of Syria and Egypt in the latter part of the third century before Christ." Athenæus states that Amithrocates, King of India, probably of the family of Sandracottus, wrote to Antiochus, one of Seleucus's descendants, to request that prince to send him a quantity of sweet wine, dried figs, and a Greek sophist, for which he offered to pay whatever might

* *Vishnu Parana*, p. 471.

be demanded of him. Antiochus, in answer to his letter, informed him that he would send him an abundant supply of figs and wine; but that the laws of the Greeks did not permit him to sell a Greek sophist. The result of this correspondence has not been transmitted to posterity.

The references to India, by the historians of the Roman empire, are few, disjointed, and therefore not very important. From the time of Chandragupta to the reign of Augustus, the Roman influence very partially operated on the eastern provinces of the Persian empire; and probably more slightly still, on the realms beyond the Indus. In the reign of Augustus the Roman power had reached the zenith of its glory. In person, or by his generals, he had crushed all opposition at home and abroad. Suetonius relates that by the character he had thus acquired, the Scythian and Indian nations, before known to the Romans only by report, sent ambassadors to court his friendship.* Orosius,† recording this circumstance, adds that the Indian envoys came from a prince called Porus, and found Augustus in Spain. The object of their mission was to form an alliance. Some considerable time having been spent in useless negotiation, another embassy was dispatched by Porus some years after to Augustus, whom they met at Samos, for the final adjustment of affairs. Nicolas, of Damascus, saw these ambassadors, who, he says, were reduced to three, their companions having expired at Antioch, from the fatigues of their wearisome and protracted journey. According to him, they brought with them a letter written upon parchment or vellum, in Greek, intimating that Porus ruled over six hundred kings; that he highly valued Cæsar's friendship, and was ready to serve him, in everything reasonable, to the extent of his power. The retinue of these ambassadors is described, and their costume is that of the Hindoos. They wore a sort of loose trowsers or drawers, and were perfumed with aromatic unguents. They were the bearers of presents from their royal master. Amongst these were articles which the Indians alone would consider worthy of royal acceptance. Several vipers of large size, a serpent above fifteen feet long, a river tortoise nearly five, and a partridge larger than a vulture. They were likewise accompanied by a Brahmin Zarmanochagas, who afterwards burnt himself at Athens, as Calanus had done before at Pasargadæ.‡ Zarmanochagas is said to have destroyed himself in the height of his prosperity, to escape from future misfortune. He approached the pile with a smiling countenance, and had upon his tomb the following inscription:—"Here lies Zarmanochagas, the Indian, of Bargosa, who voluntarily terminated his life in conformity with a custom prevalent among his countrymen." Pliny states that in the reign of the Emperor Claudius, Annius Plocamus, a freedman, having farmed the customs of the Red Sea, was, while sailing along the coast of Arabia, driven by contrary winds into Hippuros,* a port of Taprobane (Ceylon); here he was entertained during a period of six months with the greatest hospitality. To his royal host he gave an account of the power and greatness of the Roman empire. The king examining the money which Plocamus had brought with him, observed that the *denarii*, though coined in different places, were uniformly of the same weight. This circumstance gave him a high opinion of the integrity of the Romans, and induced him to send an embassy to Rome. The Ceylon embassy was composed of four persons, the chief of whom was named Rachias,† a man of great influence in the island. The object of their mission was to establish an alliance with the Romans. Pliny furnishes much of the information communicated by these on their arrival. According to their statements Ceylon was then in a flourishing condition, and the great probability is, that it was. Among other things, they told that there were five hundred towns in the island; that Palæsimundum, the capital, was so extremely populous that one part of it contained 200,000 inhabitants, and that from an extensive lake, named Mequisba, there flowed two rivers, one called Cydara;‡ that it abounded in gold, silver, pearls, and all kinds of jewels. Diodorus tells a remarkable story which has been generally held to refer to Ceylon. According to him, Jambulus, the son of a merchant, on his way to the spice countries, was taken prisoner by the Aithiopians,§ and after a time, with one companion, placed in a boat, and left to his fate. Having been a long time at the mercy of the waves, he came to an island rich in all kinds of natural productions, and 5000 stadia round. Jambulus stayed there seven years, and thence went to Palibothra, the capital of Magada, where he was well re-

* *Lives of the Cæsars: Augustus*, chap. xxi.

† Alfred the Great translated this author.

‡ Pasargadæ, a great city of the early Persians, situated, according to the best authorities, on the small river Cyrus, now Kur, in a plain on all sides surrounded by mountains. —SMITH'S *Geographical Dictionary*.

* Hippuros may be identified with the modern Kudremalai, which has the same meaning in Sanscrit.

† Rachia, Rajaih, or Raha.

‡ Cydara, the Kundara, or Kadambo of the *Mahawanso*, or *Great History of Ceylon*; now Aripo. Translated by Turnour.

§ *Aithiopians*. Herodotus (b. iii. p. 94, vii. p. 70) mentions Aithiopians in Asia. It generally meant all the sunburnt, dark-complexioned races, and thus included the peoples of Hindostan.

ceived by the king, who is said to have been friendly to the Greeks.* Though the details of this voyage are fabulous, yet the narrative seems to be founded on facts and points—as is well observed in Smith's invaluable work, the *Roman and Greek Geography*—to an early intercourse between the shores of eastern Africa and India. Theophrastus in his *Life of Apollonius Tyanaeus*, makes mention of two Indian kings, named Phraortes, to the court of the younger of whom Tyanaeus paid a visit. The king is described as having, under the tuition of his father, made great progress in Grecian literature, and subsequently spent seven years with the Brahmins studying their philosophy. After Trajan had entirely subdued the Daci, A.D. 105, and formed into a Roman province their territories, which contained what is now called the Banat of Temesvar, Hungary, east of the Theiss, the whole of Transylvania, the Bukowina, the south point of Gallicia, Moldavia west of the Pruth, and the whole of Wallachia, and had subdued several nations in alliance with them, the fame of his conquests extended to the most distant regions of the earth. Ambassadors were sent even from the remote India to congratulate him on the success of his arms. Eutropius records that he fitted out a fleet for an Indian expedition, and to ensure success had informed himself of the customs, strength, and manner of fighting of the inhabitants. Indeed, the Romans had the vanity to assert that India had been brought under their sway, and equally groundless was their claim to the conquest of Arabia. Aurelius Victor records that an embassy arrived in Rome from the Indians, stimulated by the reports which had reached them of the great wisdom, justice, and moderation of Antoninus Pius. The objects they sought, or the results of their journey, do not appear. In the triumph which celebrated the overthrow of Zenobia, and the fall of her interesting kingdom, and the destruction of proud Persepolis, amid the groups who followed the triumphal car of the conqueror Aurelian, were several Indians, accompanied too by their neighbours the Bactrians, and the more easterly Seres.† Two Indian embassies visited the Emperor Constantine, one the bearer of magnificent presents. The latest mention of India by the ancients, is that by Cosmas Egyptius,‡ or as he is more commonly called Cosmas Indicopleustes, in the reign of Justinian. When Cosmas wrote, his friend, Thomas Edessenus, was promoted to the archbishopric, or primacy, of Persia, and probably sent some clergymen to Calliana (Calicut). There were many Christians at this time in India, whose introduction into the peninsula, and all that may be gleaned pertaining to their establishment and progress there, shall receive due attention, after having disposed of what little remains to be collected from Indian sources, of its ante-Mohammedan history.

As henceforth all trace, except a few disputed references, which will be noticed in their proper place, of Indian transactions, is lost in western history, till the appearance of the followers of Mohammed upon the stage, the only sources available are the native, and the information supplied is derived, chiefly, from the fourth book of the *Vishnu Parana*, which Professor Wilson affirms contains all that the Hindoos have of their ancient history. Though this work contains a comprehensive list of dynasties and individuals, it is a barren record of events. It can be scarcely doubted, however, that much of it is a genuine chronicle of persons, if not of occurrences. That it is discredited by palpable absurdities, in regard to the longevity of the princes of the earlier dynasties, must be granted, and the particulars preserved of some of them are trivial and fabulous. Still there is an inartificial simplicity and consistency in the succession of persons, and a possibility, nay, a probability, in some of the transactions which give to these traditions the semblance of authenticity, and render it likely that they are not altogether without foundation. At any rate, in the absence of all other sources of information, the record, such as it is, deserves not to be altogether set aside. It is not essential to its credibility, or its usefulness, that any exact chronological adjustment of the different reigns should be attempted. Their distribution among the several *yugas*, or ages, undertaken by Sir William Jones, or his pundits, finds no countenance from the original texts further than an incidental notice of the age in which a particular monarch ruled, or the general fact that the dynasties prior to Krishnu precede the time of the Mahabharata, or great war, and the beginning of the Kali age, both which events we are not obliged, with the Hindoos, to place five thousand years ago. To that age the solar dynasty of princes offers ninety-three descents, the lunar but forty-five, though they both commence at the same time. Some names may have been added to the former list, some omitted in the latter; and it seems most likely that, notwithstanding their synchronous beginning, the princes of the lunar race were subsequent to those of the solar race. They avowedly branched off from the solar line.

* Pliny, b. vi. c. xxii.

† Vopiscus, in *Vit Aurelian*, p. 218. These Seres are said to have dwelt on the confines of China.

‡ A monk.

"Deducting, however, from the larger number of princes a considerable proportion, there is nothing to shock probability in supposing that the Hindoo dynasties and their ramifications were spread through an interval of about twelve centuries anterior to the war of the Mahabharata; and, conjecturing that event to have happened about fourteen centuries before Christianity, thus carrying the commencement of the regal dynasties of India to about two thousand six hundred years before that date. This may or may not be too remote; but it is sufficient, in a subject where precision is impossible, to be satisfied with the general impression, that in the dynasties of kings, detailed in the Puranas, we have a record which, although it cannot fail to have suffered detriment from age, and may have been injured by careless or injudicious compilation, preserves an account, not wholly undeserving of confidence, of the establishment and succession of regular monarchies amongst the Hindoos, from as early an era, and for as continuous a duration, as any in the credible annals of the world." *

The grandson of Chandragupta was Asokavarddhana. In the annals of the Buddhists there is no prince so celebrated, nor one whose memory is so highly revered by the members of that widely spread and influential sect. Educated in the religion of the Brahmins, he embraced Buddhism, and as has been previously observed, became an energetic propagandist. India abounds with memorials of his zeal.

An epitome was given, in a preceding chapter, of ancient Indian history down to the failure of the descendants of Chandragupta, who were called the Mauryan dynasty. To them succeeded the dynasty of the Sungas. Their elevation to the throne was accomplished through the murder of his sovereign, the last of the preceding dynasty, by his general, Pushpamitra. This usurper is represented in an ancient Indian play as engaged in conflict with the Yavanas (Greeks) on the Indus. Hence it may be inferred that political relations were still continued with the Greeks or Scythians of Bactria and Ariana. Ten princes of this house wielded the sceptre; the last of whom, Derabhati, having surrendered himself to the indulgence of his libidinous passions, was cut off by his minister, Vasudeva, who usurped the throne. Four of the family reigned during a period of forty-five years. The last of them, Susarman, was killed by a powerful servant of the Andhra tribe, who became king, and founded the Andhra-bhritya†

* Wilson's *Vishnu Purana*, Preface, p. lxiv.

† *Bhritya*, the last word in this compound signifies a slave.

dynasty. Thirty of this family reigned, and during a period of four hundred and fifty-six years. This dynasty is of great chronological interest. Pliny notices the race of Andhra princes, and describes them as possessing thirty fortified towns, with an army of one hundred thousand men, and one thousand elephants, in the earlier part of the Christian era. Calculating from the commencement of the reign of Chandragupta, according to the number of years assigned to the respective dynasties in the text, it will be found that the total of all amounts to about seven hundred and thirty; deducting from this date, B.C. 312, the reign of the first of the line would commence eighteen years before the Christian era. In the Chinese records, quoted by Des Guignes,* mention is also made of Indian potentates whose names appear to agree with some members of this line, as Yue-gnai (Yajnasri), King of Kiapili, A.D. 408, and Holomein (Puloman), King of Magada, A. D. 621. The Paranik lists place these two princes close together.† If the Indian Puloman be the same with the Chinese Holomein, there must be some considerable omission in the Paranik dynasty, but in the case of Holomein a prince of Magada is obviously alluded to. The place of his residence is called by the Chinese Kia-so-mo-pulo-ching, and Potoli-tse-ching; or, in Sanscrit, Kusuma-pura and Patali-putra. The equivalent of the latter name consists not only in the identification of the sounds *Patali* and *Potoli*, but in the translation of "putra" by "tse," each word meaning in their respective language "son," obviously Patali Putra, or Palibothra, the capital city of the kingdom of Magada is meant. A third not less singular verification of the historical entity of the Andhra kings, has turned up at Gujerat in the form of an ancient inscription, recently discovered and deciphered by the late Mr. J. Prinsep—who has done so much in the development of Hindoo antiquities—in which Rudra Dama, the satrap of Surashtra, is recorded as having repeatedly overcome Satukarni, a name which occurs the sixth in this royal line, described as king of the southern country. Though the inscription is without date, its antiquity is indisputable, the character being very old, and Chandragupta and his grandson Asoka being mentioned as existing not very long prior to its composition. Mr. Prinsep thinks that Rudra Dama lived about one hundred and fifty-three years before Christ.‡ To this dynasty succeeded seven princes of

* Des Guignes, vol. i. pp. 45, 56.

† Wilson's *Vishnu Purana*, p. 473, note 63.

‡ See Prinsep's *Essays*, collected and lately published, —a valuable addition to Indian antiquities.

the line of the Abhiras, ten of the Gardhabas, sixteen of the Sakas, eight Yavanas, fourteen Tusharas, thirteen Mundas, and eleven Maunas. Altogether seventy-nine princes are stated to have been sovereigns of the earth for one thousand three hundred and ninety years.

This series of reigns, if consecutive, and the number of years specified added to the date assumed for the termination of the Andhra line, would infringe upon the present century. Professor Wilson helps to solve the difficulty which here presents itself, and which is further complicated by the successions which carry extinct dynasties, if the order were intended to be continuous, into the remote future. They are not, he says, however, continuous, but merely contemporary dynasties; and if they comprise, as they probably do, the Greek and Scythian princes of the west of India, the periods may not be very wide of the truth. There is probably some confusion of the two races—the Magada and Talinga kings. "Wilford has attempted a verification of these dynasties, *in some instances*," Wilson says, "perhaps with success—certainly *not in all*." The Abhiras he calls the shepherd kings of the north of India, but Wilson is inclined to believe them Greeks, or Scythians, or Parthians, along the lower Indus. Wilford's ingenious conjectures, with Wilson's interesting running commentaries, are here given from a note on the text of the Paranas:—"Traces of the name occur in the Abiria of Ptolemy, and the Ahirs as a distinct race still exist in Gujerat: Araish Mehfil. The Sakas are the Sacæ, and the duration is not unlikely to be near the truth. The eight Yavana kings may be, as he supposes, Greek princes of Bactria, or rather of Western India. The Tusharas he makes the Parthians. If Tushkaras be the preferable reading they were the Tochari, a Scythian race. The Murundas, or, as he has it, Maurundas, he considers to be a tribe of Huns, the Morundæ of Ptolemy. According to the Matsya they were of Mlechchha origin, Mlechchha-sambhava, the Vayu calls them Arya-mlechchhas, query, barbarians of Ariana; Wilford regards the Maunas also as a tribe of Huns, traces of whom may be still found in the west and south of India. The Garddabhins, he conjectures to be the descendants of Bahram Gor, King of Persia, but this is very questionable. That they were a tribe in the west of India may be conjectured, as some strange tales there prevail of a Gandharba being changed into an ass. There is also evidently some affinity between these Garddabhins and the old Gadhia Pysa, or ass money, as vulgarly termed, found in various parts of Western India, and which is unquestionably of ancient date. It may be the coinage of the Garddabha princes, Garddabha being the original of Gadha, meaning also an ass." * Several other princes are mentioned by name in the Parana, but as there are no authentic particulars by which they are identified at home, and no reference to them in contemporary history, or discovered monuments, there are no means of ascertaining whether they be not imaginary creations: for it must be observed that the historical details narrated in the Parana are delivered, as if in a prophetic spirit, long antecedent to their occurrence, and consequently the real and the ideal are separated by no line of demarcation, and where the borders meet, the truth itself is as shadowly indistinct as the fiction. The Paranas are written in the form of a dialogue. He who performs the leading part is Lomaharshana, the recorder of political and temporal events, the disciple of Vyasa, whose communications he is merely the medium of conveying. The concluding paragraphs of this historic book of the Parana have intrinsic merits to recommend them, and may appropriately close this chapter, indicating as they do the moral feeling, depth of thought, richness of imagination, and glow of expression characteristic of the orientals.

Lomaharshana is supposed to address his audience or readers:—"I have now given you a summary account of the sovereigns of the earth; to recapitulate the whole would be impossible, even in a hundred lives. These and other kings, who with perishable frames have possessed this ever-during world, and who, blinded with deceptive notions of individual occupation, that indulge the feelings and suggest, 'This earth is mine—it is my son's—it belongs to my dynasty,' have all passed away. So many who reigned before them, many who succeeded them, and many who have yet to come, have ceased, or will cease, to be. Earth laughs as if smiling with autumnal flowers, to behold her kings unable to subjugate themselves. I will repeat the stanzas that were chanted by Earth, and which the Muni Asita communicated to Janaka, whose banner was virtue:—'How great is the folly of princes who are endowed with the faculty of reason, to cherish the confidence of ambition when they themselves are but foam upon the sea. Before they have subdued themselves they seek to reduce their ministers, their servants, their subjects, under their authority, they then endeavour to overcome their foes. Thus, say they, will we conquer the ocean-circled earth; and, intent upon their project, behold not death, which is

* Wilson's *Vishnu Purana*, p. 474, note 64.

not far off. But what matter is the subjugation of the mighty earth to one who can subjugate himself. Emancipation from existence is the fruit of self-control. It is through infatuation that kings desire to possess me, whom their predecessors have been forced to leave, whom their fathers have not retained. Beguiled by the selfish love of sway, fathers contend with sons, and brothers with brothers, for my possession. Foolishness has been the characteristic of every king who has boasted, All this earth is mine—everything is mine; it will be in my house for ever; for he is dead. How is it possible that such vain desires should survive in the heart of his descendants, who have seen their progenitors, absorbed by the thirst of dominion, compelled to relinquish me, whom he called his own, and to tread the path of dissolution? When I hear a king sending word to another by his ambassador, This earth is mine, immediately resign your pretensions to it, I am moved to violent laughter at first, but it soon subsides in pity for the infatuated fool.'

"These were the verses which Earth recited, and by listening to which ambition fades away like snow before the sun. I have now related to you the whole account of the descendants of Menu, among whom have flourished kings endowed with a portion of Vishnu, engaged in the preservation of the earth; whoever shall listen reverently, and with faith to this narrative, proceeding from the posterity of Menu, shall be purified entirely from his sins, and with the perfect possession of his faculties, shall live in unequalled affluence, plenty, and prosperity. He who has heard of the races of the sun and moon, of the great who have perished, and the illustrious whose posterity is no more; of kings of great might, resistless valour, and unbounded wealth, who have been overcome by still more unbounded time, and are now only a tale, he will learn wisdom, and forbear to call either children, or wife, or house, or lands, or wealth, his own. The arduous penances that have been performed by men obstructing fate for countless years, religious rites and sacrifices of great efficacy and virtue, have been made by time the subject only of narration. The valiant Prithu traversed the universe, everywhere triumphant over his foes; yet he was blown away like the light down of the simal-tree, before the blast of time. He who was Kartaviryya subdued innumerable enemies, and conquered the seven zones of the earth, but now he is only the topic of a theme, and a subject for affirmation and contradiction. Fie upon the empire of the sons of Raghu, who triumphed over Dasanana, and extended their sway to the ends of the earth, for was it not consumed in an instant by the frown of the destroyer? Mandhatri, the emperor of the universe, is embodied only in a legend, and what pious man who hears it will ever be so unwise as to cherish the desire of possession in his soul? The most glorious have only appeared and passed away. Is it so? Have they ever really existed? Where are they now? We know not! The powerful kings who now are, or who will be, as I related them to you, or any others who are unspecified, are all subject to the same fate, and the present and the future will perish and be forgotten like their predecessors. Aware of this truth, a wise man will never be influenced by the principle of individual appropriation; and regarding them as only transient and temporal possessions, he will not consider children and posterity, lands and property, or whatever else is personal, to be his own."

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

### CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA FROM ITS INTRODUCTION TO THE TIME OF THE ARRIVAL OF THE ENGLISH.

THE most marvellous chapter in the history of the world is that which records the successful mission of the carpenter of Galilee, and of the humble instruments—for the most part illiterate fishermen—whom he called to promote the promulgation of his gospel. All of humble birth; the disciples of no celebrated school of philosophy; possessing none of the recommendations which ordinarily command respect, distinction, and influence; abnegating the world in which they moved; and entirely devoted to the "kingdom of God;" despised of all men; excommunicated from all social intercourse by the Jews; cursed three times a day publicly in their synagogues; accused of many things, both absurd and detestable—of worshipping the sun, and the head of an ass—of being an idle and unprofitable race; charged with high treason, in conspiring to erect a new monarchy in opposition to that

of Rome; with killing a child and eating the flesh in the celebration of their mysteries; with being guilty of the most shocking incests and beastly intemperance in their feasts of charity;—yet, without other human aid than the purity of their lives, "eating their meat with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God, they grew in favour with all the people," and triumphed over prejudice, calumny, and enmity. Pliny the Younger, who was governor of Bithynia and Pontus between the years 103 and 105, in a letter to the Emperor Trajan, testified that "their whole crime, if they were guilty, consists in this, that on certain days they assembled before sunrise, to sing alternately the praises of Christ, as of a god, and to oblige themselves by the performance of their religious rites, not to be guilty of theft or adultery, to observe inviolably their word, and to be true to their engagements: the superstition of these people is as ridiculous as their attachment to it is astonishing." The Emperor Antoninus, in the year 152, in answer to charges preferred against them by the states of Asia, which had accused them of being the cause of some earthquakes which had happened in that part of the world, said "that they"—the pagans—"pay no regard to religion, and neglect the worship of the Eternal; and because the Christians honour and adore Him, therefore they are jealous of them, and persecute them even to the death." That a people so inoffensive, humble, and unobtrusive, should have provoked the virulent hostility and savage persecutions to which they were repeatedly subjected during the three first centuries, though it surprises, is still capable of easy solution. The purity of the Christian morality was a living reproach to the habitual corruption of the vain-glorious Roman and Pharisaical Israelite. The reiteration of the many calumnies of the Jews subjected them to much public odium, and they were frequently condemned, not for offences perpetrated, but for crimes of which they were suspected. In addition to these was the fact, too, that the worship of the Saviour was in violation of one of the most ancient laws of the Roman commonwealth, which expressly forbade the recognition of any god who had not been approved by the senate. All human opposition was vain; the wise ones of the world were confounded, the work of the Lord prospered, the harvest was ripe for the sickle, and such was the miraculous success of the teaching of the "lowly Jesus," that in the third century, "there were Christians in the camp, in the senate, in the palace, in short everywhere, but in the temples and theatres; they filled the towns, the country, the islands; men and women of all ages and conditions, and even those of the first dignity, embraced the faith; insomuch that the pagan priests complained that their revenues were ruined. So numerous were they in the empire, that, as Tertullian affirms, were they to have retired into another country, they would have left the Romans a solitude for occupation." As early as the apostolic times, devoted missionaries toiled their weary way through arid deserts, burning sands, and icebound realms, seeking the salvation of man and the glory of their heavenly father. That they penetrated to the remote parts of the world—east, west, north, and south—in obedience to the divine injunction, "Go forth into all lands and preach the gospel to every creature," in the first, or early part of the second century, is known to the historical student. Christianity was, at a very early date, carried to the shores of the Euxine. It was established in the far isles of the West. An Irish missionary, Abennus, under the British prince Lucius, A.D. 201, founded the abbey of Abingdon, called after his name.* It had taken root in Ceylon, and the apostle Thomas had propagated it from the gates of Antioch to India; and even in China it was preached with success.

Though much of what is recorded concerning the planting of the primitive churches is involved in fable, arising in no small degree from the ambition of attributing their establishment to an apostle, or some one deriving his mission immediately from him, and no means exist of separating the false from what may be true, there is very strong and presumptive evidence that the Christian churches in India were planted by the apostle Thomas. There is an ancient tradition, preserved by Eusebius, that that apostle had Parthia assigned to him, in order that he should preach the gospel there: Fabricius, Hieronymous, Nicetas, Origen, Rufinus, Socrates, Gregory Nazianzen, Hippolytus, and Sophronius, agree in assigning him Parthia; but all the martyrologists, together with all the Christians who have lived in the Indian peninsula, concur in stating that he had in addition preached to the Indians, Persians, Hyrcanians, Bactrians, Carmanians, Ethiopians, and Indians. The following

* See *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon.* Edited by the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, M.A. Published by the authority of the Lords Commissioners of her Majesty's Treasury. Just issued. The larger portion of Berkshire was granted for the support of the monastery at Abingdon:—"Obtenuit autem memoratus Abbenus a rege Brittonum, ad precum suarum instantiam. Maximam partem Berroccensis provincie, in qua de consensu regis et concilio regni monasterium feliciter fundavit, cui nomen Abbendoniam, vel a nomine suo vel a loci vocabulo, alludenter imposuit" (p. 2.)

verse from St. Paulinus Natali confirms this latter statement :—

"Parthia Matheum complectitur, India Thomas."

The eminent oriental scholar, Des Guignes, says, "a crowd of authors, both Greek and Syrian, are unanimous in stating that St. Thomas penetrated India to preach the word."

Sojourning at Antioch, where the followers of Christ first adopted the name of "Christian," and being made acquainted with the extent, population, and gross superstitions of the Indians, the inspired apostle was filled with holy zeal to rescue them from the fables and impure worship of the Brahmins, and to bring them from their state of darkness to the light of the gospel. It is related that on his way to India, he first visited the Island of Socotra, in the Arabian Gulf, the inhabitants of which he converted. Hence, he proceeded to Cranganore, where many were also won to the faith; he next reached Colanus, and there preached and converted many; he then crossed the intervening mountain range, and after a fatiguing journey arrived at the eastern coast, preaching Christ wherever he visited, and converting multitudes—particularly on the coast of Coromandel: he extended his journey to the Sinæ,* a people whose name and power were then greatly celebrated. Here his labours were crowned with success; and many temples were erected to the honour and glory of God. The apostle having given instructions for the regulation of the churches, returned back to Coromandel, to revisit and strengthen in the faith his recent converts. Meliapore was then the chief city of Coromandel, and the residence of the king. Here the apostle, proposing to erect an edifice to the Lord, was obstructed by the pagan priests, supported by their king Sagamas. The early Christian martyrologists relate, that, by the aid of a miracle, he conquered the obstinacy of the prince. The difficulty which demanded his special interference is one which might even, at that time, be overcome by ordinary human appliances; but as it is characteristic of the simplicity and credulity of the early Christians, and accepted by the Syrian Nestorians and other Christian churches in the East, and gravely related by Maffei and other Roman Catholic writers of authority, it may not be considered out of place in this notice of Christianity. The sea had cast the gigantic trunk of a tree upon the shore, then a distance of forty miles from the city of Meliapore. The king, for whom just then a palace was in course of erection, was most anxious to appropriate it to that purpose. The difficulty was to transport so unwieldy and weighty a mass such a distance. The stoutest of his subjects, with the aid of their machines, were unable to move it. The elephants were tried with equal results. The apostle then assured the king that if the trunk were surrendered to him for the construction of a temple to the true God, that he would undertake, without any human aid, to bring it to the city. Supposing that this was the proposal of a mad man, the king in sportive mood acceded to his terms. The holy apostle—the girdle which he wore being made fast to one of the branches, and having made the sign of the cross—in the presence of all the citizens who had rushed out to witness the extraordinary performance, with the greatest ease drew it to its destination, and there erected a stone cross, and then uttered this remarkable prophecy, "That when the waters of the ocean washed that stone, white men from lands remote, by the will of God, would come to perfect the work which he had then commenced."* The Jesuit Bohours, in his life of St. Francis Xavier, says, that the apostle had left this prediction graven on a stone pillar for the memory of future ages; that the pillar was not far distant from the walls of Meliapore, and it was to be read in the characters of the country when the Portuguese arrived there: "That when the sea, which was forty miles distant from the pillar should come up to the foot of it, there should arrive in the Indies white men and foreigners who should there restore the true religion." "The infidels," he adds, "had laughed at this prediction for a long time, not believing that it would ever be accomplished; and, indeed, looking upon it as a kind of impossibility that it should. Yet it was accomplished, and that so justly, that when Don Vasco da Gama set foot on the Indus, the sea which sometimes usurps upon the continent, and gains by little and little on the dry land, was by that time risen to the pillar, so as to bathe its base."† The biographer of Xavier then proceeds to show that the prophecy of St. Thomas was fulfilled in the coming of his hero. The Jesuits pressed a more singular prophecy than this into their service, to designate that their order was predestinated to the conversion of the Indians. "That holy

* Des Guignes' *Acad. des Inscript.*, lib. v. p. 23.

* Maffei's *History of India*, Col. Aq., 1590, p. 85.

† Bohours's *Life of Xavier*. This was translated by no less a man than Dryden the poet. It is worthy of remark, how credulous converts generally are. There are no more ardent or credulous believers in alleged miracles, than are the late Puseyite accessions to Rome. Dryden did not believe more than do Dr. Newman and Father Manning.

man, Peter de Conillan, a religious of the Trinity, who accompanied Vasco da Gama in quality of his confessor, was martyred by the Indians, on the 7th July, 1497, forty-three years before the beginning of the Society of Jesus; being pierced through with arrows, while shedding his blood for Christ, he distinctly pronounced the following words: —'In a few years there shall be born in the church of God, a new religious order of clergymen, which shall bear the name of Jesus, and one of its first fathers, conducted by the spirit of God, shall pass into the more remote countries of the East Indies, the greatest part of which shall embrace the orthodox faith, through the ministry of the evangelical preacher.' This is related by Juan de Figueras Carpi, in his history of the order of the redemption of captives, from the manuscripts of the Trinity Convent in Lisbon, and the Memoirs of the King of Portugal's Library." The wonderful success of the apostle of the Indies roused against him the bitterest enmity of the Brahmins, and every effort was made to thwart his exertions. One of that caste is reported to have had recourse to a most unnatural expedient to ensure his destruction. He put to death his son, and charged St. Thomas with the crime. Being summoned before the royal tribunal, and impeached for the murder, in the absence of all evidence, there were no proofs by which he could establish his innocence. In this extremity, with the predominating influence of the whole class of the Brahmins opposed to him, he is said to have vindicated himself by an appeal to his apostolic power of performing miracles. He requested that the corpse of the murdered boy should be brought into court, and when interrogated by him, he revealed the motive and the unnatural perpetrator of the murder, to the utter confusion and exposure of his enemies.* The king Sagamas, at length, convinced that Thomas was commissioned from on high, confessed his errors, and embraced the faith of Christ. Several of his courtiers and subjects followed his example, and the parricide was driven into exile. The manner of the apostle's death is thus related:—The Brahmins, enraged by the rapid spread of the Christian religion, and the general desertion of their temples, conspired against him and his followers. During the persecution that ensued, the apostle retired not far from the walls of Meliapore to a hillock which is called the "little mount," in which is a cave, where he was wont to perform his devotions. At the entry there was a cross cut in the rock, and at the base a spring gushed forth, the waters of which are reputed to be possessed of great virtue. From this small ascent there is a passage to a much larger hill, formed by nature for a lonely and contemplative life. On one side it commands a view of the sea, and on the other is covered with trees always green, forming a cool and agreeable retreat. Here, while with his faithful disciples absorbed in prayer, he was assaulted by the armed Brahmins, and slain with the thrust of a spear.

When the Portuguese first settled here, they erected a church over the cave and well on the little mount, and another on the spot where the apostle suffered martyrdom. The Portuguese pretend to have in their possession the very lance that killed St. Thomas, and the stone tinctured with the apostle's blood, that cannot be washed out. Captain Hamilton declares that he has often seen both the mounts and the relics of antiquity here mentioned, and also a cleft in the rock which the saint made with his hand, and from which he caused a stream of water to issue, and that ever since there has been clear and sweet water in it: when he visited it, he says it contained about three gallons. He also observes, with the Portuguese, that when St. Thomas was pursued by the Brahmins, he left a print of his foot on a hard stone near the little mount, to serve for a perpetual memorial of his having been there. The impression, which remains to this day, is sixteen inches long and in proportion narrower at the heel, and broader at the toes, than the impression of a human foot would be at this time.*

Christianity had made great progress in the peninsula even at a very early period.† The venerable Pantonus of Alexandria visited India about the year A.D. 189, and there found Christians who had a copy of the gospel of St. Matthew, in Hebrew, which he carried to Alexandria, where it existed in the time of

* "Tum ad examinem puerum Thomas placido et sereno vultu conversus. Agedum inquit, per Christum, quem ego prædico, palam et sine ambagibus, puer, prome, quisnam cujusque tanti sceleris autor exstiterit. Mirum dictu, ad Christi nomen frigido et exsangui corpusculo vitales confestim rediere spiritus et clara voce ut omnes exaudirent; Thomas certum Summi Dei, legatum; et ipsius odio, ad struendam illi calumniam, nefarias a parente sibi manus illatas esse confirmat."—MAFFEI, p. 86.

* It is not a little strange, the gravity with which two Protestant gentleman, Hamilton and Wilford, relate the miracles ascribed, not only to Thomas the apostle, but to the reputed relics preserved at St. Thomas. Anxious to record all the particulars which it was possible to glean, that this chapter might serve as a reference to the inquirer into the history of ancient Christianity in India, some matters have been included which otherwise would not have been noticed.

† We are indebted to the research of Wilford for some of the facts about to be adduced, furnished by him in an elaborate essay on the "Origin and Decline of the Christian Religion in India," *Asiatic Researches*, vol. x.

Jerome. Frumentius, the apostle of Abyssinia, who had resided a long time in India and spoke the language remarkably well, preached the gospel in the southern parts, where he had great influence and was highly respected, having been for many years prime-minister and regent of one of the kings during his minority. There he converted many Hindoos and built many churches, and then went to Abyssinia. He had come to India with his brother Adesius, along with their paternal uncle, a native of Tyre, who was a Christian and a very learned man. He travelled into the interior parts of India as a philosopher; and having satisfied his curiosity, he re-embarked on his way back with his two nephews; but happening to put into a certain harbour, in order to get a supply of water, they were, at their landing, suddenly attacked by the natives. Many of his crew perished, the rest were carried into captivity. Among the former was the uncle, but his two nephews were presented to the king, who took particular notice of them. They were afterwards raised by him to the first dignities of the state. They obtained leave to visit their native country, when Frumentius was ordained a bishop, and in that character sent back to India. At the council of Nice, in the year 325, "the primate" of India was present, and subscribed his name. In the year following, Frumentius was consecrated "primate of India" by Athanasius, at Alexandria. He resided in the peninsula, and the Christians had always a bishop, called the Primate of India.

In 345 Mar Thomas, a foreign bishop, was appointed to the charge of the Syrian Christians. He had been a merchant. Under his pastoral care Christianity made great progress in India, and its professors obtained important privileges from the native princes. The original plates, on which are engraved these grants to the Christians, were lost in the time of the Portuguese, but recovered in 1808 by Colonel Macauley, and are now in the college of Cottayam. The inscription on one of them, supposed to be the most ancient, is in the nail-headed or Persepolitan character, with four signatures in an old Hebrew character, resembling the alphabet usually called Palmyrene; and that on another is thought to have no affinity with any character now known in Hindostan.*

The Christian religion made also some progress in the north of India. Musdus, Bishop of Aduli, on the Abyssinian shore, visited the northern parts of India in the latter end of the fourth century, in company with the famous Palladius, a Goth from Galatia. When they arrived at the borders of India they were both disgusted with the climate; Palladius went back, but Musdus proceeded to the lesser Bokhara, where it seems he was more successful. Yet there was at Sirhind, or Serinda, a seminary for Christians in the sixth century; for in the year 636 two monks who had long resided there, returned to their native country, and being at Constantinople, the Emperor Justinian sent for them, to inquire into the nature and origin of silk. He prevailed on them to go back to Sirhind, in order to bring thence the eggs of the real silkworm. Theophilus—the famous Arian bishop—was a native of Divus, now Diu, in Gujerat, who, as he was remarkably black, was surnamed the Blackamoor. His Indian name was probably Deo Pal, perfectly synonymous with Theophilus in the Greek. He flourished in the times of the great Constantine and his sons, and had been sent to Constantinople with other hostages. There was a great trade carried on at that time to India by the Romans. There was an annual fair held at Batne for the sale of Indian and Chinese commodities, and a great concourse of merchants attended it, many of whom were settled there. It was situated at some distance from the eastern banks of the Euphrates, and nearly in the same latitude with Antioch. Theophilus was young when he was sent to Constantinople, where he studied and became a Christian, and embraced a monastic life. He was afterwards ordained a bishop, and sent to Arabia by Constantius, in order to promote the interests of the Christian religion. He met with great opposition from the Jews, who were very numerous in that country; but succeeded at last, and built three churches for the benefit chiefly of the Roman traders: one was at Taphar, or Tapharon, now Dafar, and the metropolis of that country; the second was at Aden, near the Straits of Babelmandel; and the third near the entrance of the Persian Gulf. Thence he went by sea to Diu, his native country; visited several parts of India, comforting the Christians, introducing wholesome regulations, and spreading the tenets of Arius. Thence he returned to Antioch, according to Suidas, where he lived a long time, highly respected. He accompanied, afterwards, Constantius Gallus into Germany, as far as Patavium, now Pettaw, in Styria, A.D. 354.

Marutha, a Hindoo, and Bishop of Suphara, now Sufferdam, assisted at the Synod of

* Swanston, in a memoir of the primitive church of Malabar, read before the Asiatic Society, and noticed in the *Asiatic Journal* of 1833, asserts that Mar Thomas was the first foreign bishop who took charge of the Syrian Christians; that this is not correct will be seen from his foreign predecessors already named.

Sides, in Pamphylia, in the year 383. He was afterwards translated to the bishopric of Meyaferkin, on the borders of Mesopotamia, when Yezdejird I., King of Persia, charmed with his piety, was very near becoming a Christian. Chrysostom speaks highly of him. According to the *Notitia* of Nilus, Doxopatrius, the Greek patriarch of Antioch, ordained a certain Ramogyres, "metropolitan" of India, and from his name there is every reason to believe that he was a native of India, where the appellation of Rama-gir is by no means uncommon. Jerome, who died in the year 420, speaks of the mission of St. Thomas to India, as a fact universally acknowledged in his time.

Cosmas Indocopleustes, who visited India about the year 522, says that there were churches and a liturgy in Ceylon, also on the Malabar coast, and in the north-west of India. "In those countries," says he, "there are a vast number of churches." *

In the sixth century Gregory of Tours, the father of French history, became acquainted with a respectable man called Theodorus, who had visited the tomb of St. Thomas in India.

In the year 825 two pastors were sent from Syria, and were succeeded by others for a long period of time. The Christians became then sufficiently influential to be able to elect their own sovereigns, but gradually declined till about the advent of the Portuguese.

In the ninth century, as is recorded in William of Malmesbury's† *Chronicle of the Kings of England*, "Alfred (ever intent on almsgiving), Huntington and Alured of Beverley say, in discharge of a vow, sent many presents to Rome, and to St. Thomas in India. Sighelm, Bishop of Sherborne, was sent as ambassador for this purpose. He penetrated successfully into India, a matter of astonishment even at the present time. Returning thence he brought back many brilliant exotic gems and aromatic juices, in which that country abounds, and a present more precious than the finest gold,—part of our Saviour's cross, sent by Pope Marinus to the king."‡

Alfred's embassy to India to the shrine of St. Thomas, Turnour observes, "is as expressive of his mind and public spirit as any other action of his life. No other potentate in Europe could in that day have conceived it, because no other had acquired that knowledge which would have interested them in a country so remote and unknown. The embassy displays not alone the extent of Alfred's information, but that searching curiosity which characterized his understanding."

This journey is noticed by several chroniclers: the Saxon Chronicle,* Florence of Worcester,† Radulph,‡ Brompton,§ Huntington,‖ and Alured of Beverley,¶ but by none of them so fully as by the chronicler quoted. In a subsequent passage Malmesbury states that in his day some of these oriental presents were to be seen in the monuments of the church. That St. Thomas' conversion of Indians on the Malabar coast was in full credit in the twelfth century is evident, for Odericus makes it a part of his ecclesiastical history. That there were Christians flourishing during these early ages of Christianity in Hindostan, is confirmed by most satisfactory authority. The learned Assemannus, in his elaborate *Bibliotheca Orientalis*,—a collection peculiarly valuable for its introducing to European scholars many interesting Syrian authors, from whose works he translates copious extracts out of the Syrian into Latin,—asserts of the Syrians that they affirm that Thomas preached to the Indians;** and again, that not only the Indian Christians, but the Nestorians of Assyria and Mesopotamia, mention that he was the apostle of the Indians and Sinensians. He gives a Syriac letter from Jesujabus Abjabenus, the Nestorian patriarch, to Simeon, the metropolitan of the Persians, written in the seventh century, in which he calls to the metropolitan's recollection that he had "shut the doors of the episcopal imposition of hands before multitudes of the people of India," and that the sacerdotal succession was interrupted by the Indians; and that not only India, which extended over a space of more than twelve hundred parasangs, from the maritime confines of Persia to Colon (Ceylon), was buried in darkness, but also his own region of Persia shares a like fate.

There has been preserved a very valuable and interesting work of the ninth century, in the Arabic, containing the travels of two Moslems, who visited both India and China, and had been some time on the coast of Malabar, and in the town of Meliapore, soon after Sighelm. A translation of it in the French language, by the Abbé Renaudot,

* Cosmas has been edited by Montfaçon in his collection *Patrum Græcorum*, tome ii.

† Malmesbury was born about 1095 or 1096.

‡ Malmesbury's *Chronicle*, b. II. c. iv.

* *History of the Anglo Saxons*, vol. ii. p. 145.

† *Saxon Chronicle*, p. 86.

‡ "Assero Scireburnensi episcopo defuncto succedit Siuthelmus qui regis Alfredi elemosynam as S. Thomam, Indian detulit, indeque prospere retulit."—*Flor. Wig.* 320.

§ Rad. Dic. 451; he dates it 887.

‖ Brompton, 812.

¶ Huntington, 350.

** Lib. vii. p. 106.

was published in 1718, under the following title, *Ancient Relations of India and China*, by two Mohammedan travellers, who in the ninth century of the Christian era visited these countries, translated from the Arabic, &c. The translator having omitted to indicate the manuscript from which the translation was made, it was alleged that it was a forgery. But M. Des Guignes having found the original in the Colbert collection, No. 597, and proved the accuracy of the translation in the *Journal des Savans* of November, 1764, St. Martin attempted to show that it was only a fragment of a work by Masoudi, entitled *Mour-roudj-Eddheheb*. In 1811 M. Langles undertook to have it printed, with a new translation. On his death, in 1824, he left it without preface or notes. M. Renaud, celebrated as an oriental scholar, was repeatedly solicited to complete it. He declined, because there did not then exist adequate geographical knowledge to enable him to test the author's statements. The important additions subsequently made to that science, induced him to take it up. He revised both the text and translation, added a preface and copious notes, and has thus given to the literary world a really valuable work. These early travellers arrived at Meliapore soon after Alfred's ambassador, Sighelm, had left. They declare that there were many Christians, Manicheans, Jews, and Mussulmen in India and Ceylon; that the king encouraged their meetings, and the learned Hindoos used to attend them; that secretaries were kept at the royal expense to write down their respective histories, and the exposition of their doctrines and laws. That Manicheans existed in India at a very early period, is affirmed by La Croze in his *History of Christianity*.

Marco Polo, who reached India about the year 1292, long before the Portuguese had found their way thither, states that the Christians and Mohammedans were both very numerous at that time in the peninsula.

In the year 1504 four monks of the order of St. James the Cenobite, in Mesopotamia, consecrated bishops of the Indies, whose names were Thomas, Jaballah, James, and Denham, gave to the patriarch of the Nestorians a document in Syriac, in which was given a census of the number of Christians of that sect in the vast regions of Hindostan, and an intimation of the arrival of the Portuguese on the coast of Malabar. Prefixed to this was the following short history of the last Indian bishops, dating from the year 1490:—In the year of Alexander 1801*—

* The Syrians and other Asiatics dated their era from the time of Alexander.

1490 of the Christian era—three faithful Christian men came from the remote parts of India to Mar Simeon Catholicus, patriarch of the East, to obtain bishops for their provinces, and to conduct them thither. One of them, by the decree of the Creator, died on his way, the others arrived safely to Mar Catholicus, who was then in the city of Guzartæ. They were gladly received by him. Their names were George and Joseph. They were both ordained by the venerable patriarch in the Church of St. George, in Guzartæ, when they had been sufficiently instructed. They were afterwards sent to the monastery of the holy and blessed Eugenius. Here two monks bearing one name, Raban Joseph, were associated with them, whom Mar Catholicus likewise consecrated bishops in the holy Church of St. George; the one he called Thomas, the other John, and gave them their credentials signed and duly sealed with his ring, and dismissed them with prayers and benedictions; and he ordered them with the Indians to repair to the Indian regions. They reached in safety, by the protection of their divine Redeemer, their destination, and were received by the faithful with transports of joy; and they with equal satisfaction presented to them the gospels, cross, thurible, and fasces. These they introduced with great ceremony, and chanting of psalms and hymns. They consecrated altars, and ordained as many priests as they could, having been a long time without any. Mar John remained a bishop in India, but Mar Thomas and his companion returned after a short time to Catholicus, carrying with them first offerings, oblations, and one servant.

It happened before Mar Thomas returned to India, Mar Simeon Catholicus departed this brief and transitory life, A. D. 1502, and was buried in the monastery of St. Eugenius. Elias Catholicus succeeded to the patriarchate. He selected three, the most worthy of the monks of the convent of St. Eugenius. The first of these was Ruban David, surnamed the Long, whom he appointed metropolitan, and called Mar Jaballaham; the second was called Ruban Georgius, him he consecrated bishop, and ordered to be called Mar Denham; the last, Ruban Masudus, he also consecrated a bishop, and called Mar Jacobus. All these he consecrated in the monastery of St. John, of Egypt, brother of St. Achæas, in the territory of Guzartæ (Zebedee), 1503. Shortly after he dispatched these four into India, and the islands situated between Dabag, and Sin, and Masin. They arrived safely, and there found Mar John, the bishop of India, still living, who, together with his flock, were greatly delighted by their arrival. The fol-

lowing year the fathers wrote to Mar Elias Catholicus, but he did not receive their letter, having been gathered to his fathers, and was buried in the Church of Meschintas, in the city of Mossoul. His successor was Mar Simeon Catholicus. In this letter was given an account of the state in which they found the churches of India, and the following very interesting historical details. There were then thirty thousand families of the same faith with themselves, residing in the same district. They were about erecting some churches, and had ample means for the purpose; the houses of St. Thomas the apostle were occupied by Christians, who also were about repairing them. Meliapore was a distance of twenty-five days' journey from their residence, and situated in the province of Silan, and in a region called Malabar. This region contained twenty cities, three of them celebrated and powerful—Carangol, Palor, and Colom. There were other cities in their neighbourhood, all inhabited by Christians, having churches established among them, and a very great and wealthy city not far distant called Calecutum (Calicut), inhabited by idolatrous infidels; our brothers the Franks, they write, have sent hither from the west large vessels. The voyage occupies a year. They first sailed to the south, and passing by Chus, that is Æthiopia, arrived in India. They trade in pepper and other articles of commerce. The letter then proceeds to state that six large vessels had arrived, and that the Christian Franks were at Calecutum; that several Israelites dwelt there, who, inflamed with their usual animosity to Christians, had stirred up the jealousy of the native ruler, by telling him that the foreigners were greatly taken with the beauty and fertility of the country; and on their return home they would so report to their king that a powerful fleet would be sent by him, a fierce war be waged, and the kingdom be laid waste. That the Indian king, impelled by these insinuations, put to the sword all of them who had landed, to the amount of seventy men, and among these five priests. Those who were on board had hoisted sails and come to Cocen, to the native Christians, as if they were their kindred. An infidel prince ruled also in Cocen, who, moved by the injuries inflicted on the Franks, swore that he would protect them. The King of Calecutum, hearing of their safety, marched against them,—but in the meantime several vessels had arrived from their country; they gave the Indians battle, routed them with the loss of three thousand men, took the city of Calecutum, having attacked it by sea, destroyed the vessels they found there, and put to death about one hundred Jews, who were employed by the natives as pilots. They then proceed to describe the friendly reception they met with from the Franks, the presents of vestments and gold they received, the performance of their religious rites, and conclude by stating that they were about four hundred in number, natives of Portugal, and subjects of King Emanuel.

The arrival of the Portuguese on the coast of Malabar was an event which not only affected the pious, simple-minded, and prosperous Christians of India, but it produced a sensation in Europe not less profound than the previous discovery of America. Both events, nearly contemporary, roused mankind from the lethargy by which they had been torpified for ages, and opened new fields of enterprise to the startled energies of Europeans, gave a wholesome impulse to their mental faculties, and were the precursors of those revolutions, religious and political, which fiercely agitated Christendom, and which, whatever were their immediate attendant irregularities, opened a fairer, more exhilarating, and ennobling vista of the future.

Though the authorities quoted by Assemannus imply the existence of a community of feeling between the Syrian Christians and the new arrivals from Portugal, there is no evidence that they had previously any intercourse whatever with the western churches. The discoveries of Vasco da Gama, as shown in a previous chapter, encouraged several Portuguese adventurers to visit India. Of these Pedro Alvares Cabral was the first who conveyed to Europe intelligence of the Christian churches on the coast of Malabar. He spent some time among the native Christians, and on his return to Europe was accompanied by two brothers anxious to visit Europe, and from Portugal to prosecute their journey to Mossoul, to visit the Syrian patriarch, the acknowledged head of their church. Soon after their arrival at Lisbon the elder, Mathias, died, and the younger brother, Joseph, at the instigation, it would appear, of the Portuguese priests, proceeded to Rome, and thence to Venice. Whether he reached Mossoul is not recorded. During his stay in Venice a Latin version of his travels, and an account of his co-religionists in India, was published under the title of the *Voyages of Joseph the Indian*. He returned to Portugal, and thence sailed for his native land, and there closed his career.

On the 20th of May, 1492, the inhabitants of Calicut were surprised by the entrance of four strange vessels into their harbour. These were commanded by Vasco da Gama. Fortunately for the Portuguese they found here

a Moor, who understood the Spanish language. The question which he first put to them, as well as their answer, was characteristic: — "What the devil brought you here?" the Moor pertly asked. "We have come," said the Portuguese, "in search of Christians and spices."

In 1502 Da Gama made a second voyage to India. While he remained, executing the commands of his royal master, a deputation from the native Christians who dwelt in the neighbouring town of Cranganore waited upon him. These the Portuguese manifestly, on the information supplied by themselves, describe as "descendants from the very old stock of those whom the apostle Thomas had converted to sound religion and the faith, from fables and impure superstition." They complained of the oppression and exactions to which they were subjected by the king and the rajahs, and besought the protection of the King of Portugal. They presented to Da Gama a staff of vermillion wood mounted with silver, and ornamented with three bells, which they assured him was the staff of the last of their princes, who had recently died, as a token of their submission, and a tender of their allegiance to his sovereign. This the admiral courteously received, and gave them every assurance that protection should be extended to them, and that such were the instructions he had received from his royal master.

At this time the south-western coast of the peninsula was divided between three powerful princes, who had under them several influential rajahs: these were the Zamorin of Calicut in the centre, the Colastrian rajah to the north, and the rajah of Cochin to the south. Previous to the arrival of the Portuguese the Mohammedans were the chief traders on the coast, had consequently had great influence, and were much courted by the several rivals, and more especially by the zamorin, to whom they paid a duty of ten per cent. on their commercial transactions. The jealousies of trade soon embroiled them with the Portuguese.

In those days the Spaniards and Portuguese were the most enterprising people in the world, and on no theatre did the latter play a more prominent or more successful part than on the coasts of Hindostan. In the course of a few years the shore of Malabar was studded with their factories; in 1510 Calicut, besieged by them, fell into their hands, and in rapid succession they became masters of Diu, Choul, Salsette, Bombay, Bassein, and Damaun. Their factories were established at Dabul, Onore, Barcelore, Mangalore, Cannanore, Calicut, Cranganore, Cochin, and Quilon; their rivals were overpowered; their flags commanded the ocean. All the native vessels were compelled to take Christian passes for their safety on the waters; and the Mohammedans, acknowledging their superiority, submitted implicitly to their government. On the opposite shores of Coromandel, they also established a flourishing trade. Though the Portuguese came avowedly for the purposes of cultivating religion and commerce, it does not appear that the first in the order of expression was their primary consideration, very little results of their missionary zeal is apparent in the first forty years of their Indian occupation. This, it must be admitted, was not the fault of the home government. The kings of Portugal were most sincere in their anxiety for the propagation of their faith. There is on record a letter from John III. of Portugal, which clearly proves that the work of conversion was not left entirely to spiritual influences and missionary zeal. His majesty lays down the principle that "pagans may be brought over to his religion, not only by the hopes of eternal salvation, but also by temporal interest and preferment;" and in conformity with his views, he directs that the proselytes, on professing Christianity, be provided with places in the customs, and exempted from impressment in the navy, and sustained by the distribution of rice out of the public revenue. Sir Emerson Tennant remarks, "that those acquainted with the national character of those with whom the Jesuits were so successful, and their obsequiousness to power, and the pliancy with which they can accommodate themselves to the wishes and opinions of those whom it may be their interest to conciliate, will have no difficulty in comprehending the ease with which the Roman Catholic clergy, under such auspices and with such facilities, succeeded, in an incredibly short space of time, in effecting multitudinous conversions; and although the peculiar religion of the Hindoos in the northern provinces necessarily presented obstacles more formidable than those opposed by the genius of Buddhism in the south, the missionaries engaged in the task were not devoid of expedients by which to overcome both. In the instance of the Cingalese, the miracle was accomplished with ease—the mountain submissively came over to Mohammed; and in the other and more obstinate one of the Tamils, Mohammed was equally prepared to succeed by making his own approach to the mountain." The apathy of the Portuguese colonists in advancing the interests of the church in their newly-acquired territories became the subject of remark at home, and was soon echoed through Europe. The power of

the papal court was at that time in the ascendant in the exclusively Roman Catholic courts of Spain and Portugal. No wave of the Reformation had approached their shores. Their fidelity to Rome was hereditary and unshaken. The papal remonstrances soon stimulated the activity of its agency, and the results were manifested. The devotees of the West were aroused by the miraculous intelligence from the East with which every home-bound vessel was freighted.

To the men of the present day, even of the Roman Catholic persuasion, no idea can be conveyed of the electric influence the publication of a miracle produced in the middle ages, and the credulity with which every reported miracle, however apocryphal, was received. The multitudes of those published served but to whet the appetite for more. In the year 1544, a great discovery was announced—the cross and reliques of St. Thomas were found in Meliapore. The Portuguese, as they were pulling down the old chapel, in order to erect a new one, met with a large-sized stone several feet under ground. Having lifted this with miraculous ease, they found all the earth beneath saturated with blood that appeared quite fresh, and thereon was a cross exquisitely executed, after that of the military order of Aviz in Portugal, and over it a dove or peacock—the learned were not agreed which—and above that a blood-stained dagger. On the stone was an inscription in characters not known to any one. There was also a cross with this inscription found, "at the time when Thomas founded this temple, the King of Meliapore made him a grant of the customs of all the merchandizes that were brought into that port, which duty was the tenth part of the goods;" with this cross were also found the bones of St. Thomas, though several writers maintain they had been translated centuries before to Odessa. There was also found an old record of the conversion of the King of Meliapore. This miracle was soon followed by another. The bones of three kings were found in the same grave with those of the apostle, and identified by an ancient manuscript, which gave the following account of them:—The King of Nubia and Arabia was Melchior; Balthasar was King of Goli; and Saba Gaspar was King of Tursi, Insula, and Grisola, or Malabar, where the body of St. Thomas lieth, by whom they were all three consecrated bishops, and were afterwards martyred with him.

A new impulse was now to be given to the Christian missions. Ignatius Loyola had laid the foundation of one of the most remarkable of the many orders of the Roman Church. Recruiting its executive from all peoples and all classes, and recognising, as the passports to favour and distinction, ability, an apparent propriety of demeanour, an unquestioning devotion to its interests—disassociating its priests from all mundane concerns, and those social relations calculated to divide their allegiance, by binding them to a life of celibacy and implicit submission—that church commands an organization prepared for any exigency. The Reformation was making gigantic strides. The most energetic, as well as some of the most able, men of their day, threatened to overthrow its long-established supremacy in all the northern kingdoms of Europe. The Teutonic nations were declaring in favour of national and independent churches, and would in all probability have succeeded, were it not for the new clerical order, the Jesuits, instituted for the repression of the movement. These men combined abilities of the highest cast, zeal never surpassed, activity that never paused, resolution defiant of every difficulty, an absolute submission to the will of the Roman pontiff, and a pliability to adapt every or any means to the accomplishment of their end.

One of the first as well as one of the ablest and most successful of these—the early friend of the founder—was Francis Xavier, better known as the Apostle of the Indies, as his co-religionists love to call him. In his college days, associated with some of the master-minds who had embraced the views of the reformers, he inclined, as did those "who had the greatest reputation for wit," to the doctrines of Luther, and in a letter to his brother declares that were it not for the ascendancy which Ignatius obtained over him, "he could not have defended himself from those young men." The means adopted by Ignatius to mould this youthful enthusiast to his purpose, shows his keen insight into human character. Having one day found Xavier more than ordinarily attentive, he repeated to him these words in a very impressive tone—"What will it profit a man to gain the whole world, and to lose his own soul?" He then added that "a mind so noble and so great as his ought not to confine itself to the vain honours of this world; that celestial glory was the only object worthy of his ambition; and that right reason would require him to prefer that which was eternally to last before what would vanish like a dream." On a mind so sensitive and unsophisticated these laudatory exhortations left a deep impression. After many serious thoughts, and a hard struggling, his biographer states that he took up a solid resolution of treading in the footsteps, and resigning himself unreservedly to the conduct of Ignatius. In reply

to an appeal made to him by John III. of Portugal, for some missionaries for India, Pope Paul III. remitted the whole business to Ignatius, who had lately presented to the pontiff the model of his order, by which he proposed to himself no less a design than the amelioration of the whole world, and the extirpation of the doctrines of the Reformation, which he called heresies. Ignatius recognised in the docility, entire submission, and zeal of his disciple Xavier an agent best adapted to his purpose, and in communicating to him his selection, he omitted nothing that would serve to fix his attention and inspire full confidence. There is in this address an assumption of authority and divine delegation which cannot fail to exhibit the character of Jesuitism at this very early period of its history, when that body consisted of only ten members. "Xavier," said he, "the Almighty has nominated you this day for the Indies. I declare it to you from the Vicar of Jesus Christ. Receive an employment committed to your charge by his holiness, and delivered by my mouth, as if it were conferred on you by our blessed Saviour in person, and rejoice for your finding an opportunity to satisfy that fervent desire which we all have for carrying the faith into remote countries. An entire world is reserved for your endeavours, and nothing but so large a field is worthy of your courage and zeal. Go, my brother, where the voice of God has called you, where the holy see has sent you, and kindle those unknown nations with the flame that burns within you." His naturally susceptible temperament, thus ingeniously worked upon, was kindled into the most fervid zeal. His imagination, so highly wrought upon, assured him that he was the predestined instrument for the conversion of the East, and in this state of ecstatic excitement he was soon fully persuaded that he had special visions and revelations from heaven. Thus prepared, he went to take his leave of Pope Paul, who assured him that heaven had employed him in the mission of St. Thomas, the Apostle of the Indies, for the conquest of souls; that it became him to labour generously in reviving the faith in those countries where it had been planted by that great apostle; and that if it were necessary for him to shed his blood for the glory of Jesus Christ, he should account it his happiness to die a martyr.* On the 15th of March, 1540, as apostolic nuncio, he took his departure from Rome to Portugal, on his way to the East; and on the 7th of April, 1541, he sailed under Don Martin Alphonso di Sosa, viceroy of the Indies, and arrived at Goa, the capital of the Portuguese possessions in India, on the 6th of May, 1542.

The town of Goa is situated on this side of the Ganges, in an island bearing the same name, the seat of the bishop and viceroy, and under the Portuguese the most considerable place in the East for commerce. It had been built by the Moors forty years before the Europeans had passed into the Indies, and wrested from them in 1510, by Don Alphonso d'Albuquerque.

The Portuguese, as has been already remarked, did but very little in the interests of religion. Their zeal soon cooled, and in a very short time they were wholly absorbed by their ambition and avarice. Instead of extending the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and of gaining souls to Him, they thought, as their own historians and the biographers of Xavier confess, of nothing more than enlarging their dominion and enriching themselves; and many of the Indians who had been converted to the faith, being neither cultivated by wholesome instructions, nor edified by good examples, forgot insensibly their baptism, and returned to their ancient superstitions. The proselytes who dwelt on the coast, and faithfully persevered in the profession of the faith, were persecuted with great cruelty by the Mohammedans, who were uppermost in many localities, and very wealthy; while the Portuguese authorities were indifferent spectators of the cruelties thus inflicted on them. This cruel usage deterred thousands from professing Jesus Christ, and was the reason that, amongst the infidels, all thoughts of conversion were laid aside. But what appears more wonderful, the Portuguese themselves lived more like idolaters than Christians. In a report which was sent to King John III., by a man of high rank and authority, and worthy of all belief, some months before the arrival of Xavier, it is recorded that "every man kept as many mistresses as he pleased, and maintained them openly in his own house, even in quality of lawful wives. They bought women or took them away by force, either for their service or to make money of them. Their masters taxed them at a certain sum per day; and for default of payment, inflicted on them all sorts of punishment, to such an extent, that those unhappy creatures, not being able sometimes to work out the daily rate imposed on them, were forced upon the infamous traffic of their bodies, and to become public prostitutes, to satisfy the avarice of their sordid masters. Justice was sold at the tribunals, and the most enormous crimes escaped from punishment when the criminals were affluent enough to corrupt the judges. All methods for accu-

* *Life of Xavier*, p. 39.

mulating wealth were considered lawful, however opposed to honesty and justice, and extortion was openly advocated. Murder was reckoned but a venial trespass, and was frequently boasted of as a proof of bravery."

The Bishop of Goa, to little purpose, threatened them with the wrath of heaven and the thunders of excommunication. No dam was sufficient for such a deluge; their hearts were hardened against spiritual threatenings and anathemas; the deprivation of the sacraments was no punishment to such wicked wretches, who were glad to be rid of them. "The use of confessions and communions —observances of the greatest religious obligation among Roman Catholics—were, in a manner, abolished; and if any one by chance was struck with remorse of conscience, and desired to reconcile himself to God, *at the foot of a priest* he was constrained to steal by night to his devotions, to avoid the scandal to his neighbour." *

There were not four preachers in all the Indies, nor one priest without the walls of Goa. In many fortified places whole years were passed without hearing a sermon or a mass.

If this were the degraded and sickening aspect of affairs presented in a professing Christian community, what estimate may be formed of the condition of native society? Indeed, the Indians are represented as leading the life of beasts rather than of men. "Uncleanness had risen to the last excess among them, and the least corrupt were those who had no religion."

The author of the *History of Christianity in India*, after stating that Xavier had waited on the Bishop of Goa with his credentials, and was received with all the kindness and confidence due to one so accredited, makes the following pertinent and interesting preliminary observations:—"The bishop promised to support him in his mission, for which he was no doubt thankful, but he sought the protection of a higher Power, without which he knew that all human aid would be of no avail. For this purpose he shut himself up in one of the churches, and spent the whole of the first night in India in prayer—an example worthy the imitation of missionaries of a purer creed. His first attention was given to the Portuguese. Xavier must have felt that it would be in vain to endeavour to convert the heathen to a religion, the moral character of whose professors was so inferior to their own. He, therefore, set himself vigorously to work to reform this state of things; and although there was much puerile superstition in the means he used, yet they were such as the Portuguese were accustomed to; and in a short time, it is said, he had the satisfaction of observing a general improvement in their conduct. There were several circumstances which would tend to conciliate them, and insure their attention: the novelty of his appearance and zeal, the eloquence and boldness with which he rebuked their vices, the great humility and self-denial of one whom they knew to be of such noble origin, and, above all, the countenance of the viceroy, who was known to have the King of Portugal's commands to afford him every protection, gave him an influence which could not be resisted, and induced many to lay aside the sins against which he so ardently and so steadily inveighed. But must all the honour be given to these means and motives? Notwithstanding the defect of his own knowledge, and the absence of all proof that he preached the unadulterated gospel of reconciliation, yet may we not hope that the Holy Ghost was vouchsafed, in answer to his midnight prayer, to produce these convictions in the hearts of some, whose sins he vehemently denounced, and before whom he placed the awful consequences of their lives in the future world? And may there not have been enough of the Saviour in his preaching to encourage the humble penitent to hope for pardon and peace through the atonement of the cross? Such a hope is too cheering, amid all this darkness, not to be gladly entertained." *

Xavier was convinced that the best course for him to pursue was to instruct the Portuguese youth in the principles of religion, and that by those means Christianity would be seen to revive in Goa. He had crowds of them constantly about him, whom he led to the churches, and there expounded to them the apostle's creed and the commandments of God. Thus they soon became attentive and modest, and a silent censure of that debauchery which appeared in their seniors. The unerring evidences of a thorough reformation soon manifested themselves. They cancelled their unlawful bonds and covenants of extortion; they set their slaves at liberty; made restitution of their ill-gotten goods; and, lastly, turned away their concubines, whom they were unwilling to possess by a lawful marriage.

While at Goa Xavier was invited to take charge of a seminary, established there for the education of the native heathen youth.

* See the Jesuit father Bohour's *Life of Xavier*. All these particulars are taken from works by Roman Catholic priests—not one from Protestant writers.

* The Rev. James Hough's *History of Christianity in India*, vol. i. p. 173.

The students had come from all the adjacent countries, and spoke nine or ten different languages. The superior importance of his missionary duties impelled him to decline this invitation; but his good sense made him appreciate the advantages to be realized from such an institution properly managed. He had so organized this establishment as to make it subservient to his designs for the conversion of the natives. He called it the College of St. Paul, and obtained its transfer to his own society, and hence it is that the Jesuit missionaries in India are frequently called "the fathers of St. Paul." The sphere of his operations had now so enlarged, that in writing to Rome he said, that "if it had been possible for him to have been at once in ten places he should not have wanted for employment."

This was the promising state of affairs when Michael Vaz, Vicar-general of the Indies, informed Xavier that on the oriental coast which extends from Cape Comorin to the Isle of Manaar, called the coast of Fishery, there dwelt a tribe called *Paravas*, or fishers, who were chiefly occupied in pearl, chank, and other fisheries. These people had nothing more of Christianity than baptism and the name, through want of pastors to instruct them. On this mission he embarked about the midst of October, 1542, in a galliot, which carried the new captain of Comorin, accompanied by two young ecclesiastics of Goa, who were tolerably acquainted with the language of Malabar. Having ascertained that the two churchmen who accompanied him as interpreters were not equal to the task they had undertaken, he ceased to address the natives through them, and had recourse to another expedient. He managed to engage in his service some of the people of the country who understood Portuguese. These and the priests he consulted for many days together, and by persevering labour he translated into the tongue of the Paravas the words of the sign of the cross, the apostle's creed, the commandments, the Lord's prayer, the angelic salutation, the *confiteor*, the *Salve Regina*, and, in fine, the whole catechism. Having finished his task, he committed to memory as much as he could of them, and made the circuit of the villages, thirty in number, about half of which were baptized, the rest being idolaters. "I went about," he himself records, "with my bell in my hand, and gathering together all I met, both men and children, I instructed them in the Christian doctrine. The children learnt it easily by heart in the compass of a month; and when they understood it I charged them to teach it to their parents, to all of their own family, and even to their neighbours. On Sunday I assembled the men and women, the little boys and girls, in the chapel. All came to my appointment with an incredible joy and most ardent desire to hear the word of God. I began with confessing God to be one in nature and triune in person. I afterwards repeated distinctly and with an audible voice the Lord's prayer, the angelic salutation, and the apostle's creed. All of them together repeated after me, and it is hardly to be imagined what pleasure they took in it. This being done, I repeated the creed singly, and, insisting on every particular article, asked if they certainly believed it. They all protested to me, with loud cries, and their hands across their breasts, that they firmly believed it. My practice is to make them repeat the creed oftener than the other prayers, and I declare to them, at the same time, that they who believe the contents of it are true Christians. From the creed I pass to the ten commandments, and give them to understand that the Christian law is comprised in these precepts; that he who keeps them all, according to his duty, is a good Christian, and that eternal life is decreed to him; that, on the contrary, whoever violates one of these commandments, is a bad Christian, and that he shall be damned eternally in case he repents not of his sins. Both the new Christians and the pagans admire our law as holy and reasonable, and consistent with itself. Having done as I told you, my custom is to repeat with them the Lord's prayer and the angelic salutation; once again we recite the creed, and at every article, besides the *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria*, we intermingle some short prayer; for having pronounced aloud the first article, I begin thus, and they say after me, 'Jesus, thou Son of the living God, give me grace to believe firmly this first article of thy faith, and with this intention we offer unto thee that prayer of which thou thyself art the Author.' . . . . The same method is observed in all the other articles, and almost in the same manner we run over the ten commandments."

This is a fair specimen of Xavier's usual mode of proceeding with the natives, whether heathens or nominal Christians. From what is here stated, on his own authority, it is manifest that he did not possess the miraculous and apostolic gift of tongues so boldly claimed for him in after years. But it appears also that after this laborious exercise he both thoroughly understood and spoke the Malabar language. It is generally believed that in a very little time he learnt the most difficult languages, and, by the report of many persons, he spoke them so well and naturally, that he

could not have been taken for a foreigner. Such was his success, that, as he testifies in one of his letters, he wanted words to tell it; and the multitude of those who had received baptism was so vast, that with the labour of continual christenings he was not able to lift up his arms, and his voice often failed him in saying so many times over and over the apostle's creed and ten commandments, with a short instruction, which he always made, concerning the duties of a true Christian, before he baptized those who were of age. He spent fifteen months among these people; he appointed catechists for their instruction; he built churches in most of the villages, and was enabled to provide funds for the mission out of the public treasury. His efforts among the Brahmins had so little success, that he desisted, and confined himself to the Paravas. When he departed for Goa he selected some of the most promising of their youths to accompany him, and these he had educated for the ministry in the College of St. Paul. This establishment is another singular instance of the shrewd appreciation of circumstances and provisional caution blended with the enthusiasm of the members of the Jesuit Society, which should not be overlooked by the preachers of the gospel. It having been observed that previously to Xavier's missionary labours Christianity had made no progress, it was concluded that the causes of the failure were chiefly these: the difficulty the Europeans had in mastering the Indian languages, and overcoming local prejudices, so strong that if an Indian happened to be converted his kindred exercised no charity towards him; and the children of the faithful who died poor were left destitute of succour in their need. To remedy these growing evils the College of St. Paul was founded, and so amply endowed, that all the idolatrous children who turned "Christians, of whatever country, were received into it."* How humiliatingly does the apathy of the Protestant clergy in India, in the beginning of this century, contrast with this zeal. Dr. Claudius Buchanan, in his *Christian Researches*, draws a picture in striking colours of the shameful neglect of the Protestant churches—and not neglect merely, but the studied hostility to the preaching of the word of God; writing from Ceylon in 1808, he says, "the Dutch ministers who formerly officiated here (in the Protestant vineyard of Jaffnapatam), some of whom had congregations of two thousand, have gone to Europe. The whole district is left in the hands of the Romish priests, who, perceiving the indifference of the English nation to their own religion, have assumed quiet and undisturbed possession of the land." "'What wonder,' said a Romish priest to me, 'that your nation should be so little interested about the conversion of pagans to Christianity, when it does not even give teachers to its own subjects who are already Christians.' I was not surprised to hear that great numbers of Protestants every year go back to idolatry. It is perhaps true that the religion of Christ has never been so disgraced in any age of the church as it has been lately by official neglect of the Protestant church in Ceylon." Ceylon had then a population of half a million Christians, and not one complete copy of the Scriptures in the vernacular. The reverend doctor elsewhere remarks—"Perhaps it is not generally known in England that our Bengal and Madras governments do not patronise the native Christians. They give official patronage to Mohammedans and Hindoos generally in preference to natives professing Christianity. The chief argument for the retention of this system is precedent: it was the practice of the first settlers. It is certain that this system confirms prejudice, exposes our religion to contempt in the eyes of the natives, and precludes every ray of hope of the future prevalence of Christianity at the seats of government."*

The policy here stigmatised differs widely from that which is now likely to prevail in the councils of the Indian government.

Enough for the present purpose has been said of the labours of Xavier. The results may be summed in a sentence. The inhabitants of whole districts professed Christianity; such was the number of catechumens who presented themselves for baptism, that it is affirmed that the arms of the priests fell down from fatigue. Many episcopal sees were created: in 1547 and 1611 the archbishoprics of Goa and Cranganore, and 1557 and 1606 the bishoprics of Cochin and Malacca and St. Thome de Meliapore. After the example of the Jesuits the other principal orders founded missions in different parts. From the frontiers of Thibet to Cape Comorin there was nearly a million, nominally, in spiritual subjection to Rome; and the missionaries assured an over-credulous world that this was merely the seed of an over-abundant harvest. Though the reputed number of his proselytes was so considerable as to obtain for Xavier the honour of canonization after his death, it must be confessed that the present condition of the descendants of those poor converts who crowded to hear him, and listened with such ardent devotion to his discourses, testifies neither to their increase of human or divine knowledge,

* *Life of Xavier*, p. 135.

* *Christian Researches in India*, p. 93.

and afford but small corroboration of the preternatural gifts claimed for this great man; indeed, the annals of the Portuguese church in the East, during and immediately after his ministration, are as frequently disgraced by credulity and bigotry as they were in the parent state.*

In the quotations previously given from Assemannus, it has been seen with what gratification the resident Christians of the coast of Malabar had hailed the arrival of the Portuguese. The expectations they so sanguinely entertained of sympathy, protection, and community, from the assurances made to them, were never realized; indeed, very little mention is made of them in the proceedings of the European papal missionaries for several years. The cause of this was, that though the Portuguese were agreeably surprised to find, on their arrival, upwards of a hundred Christian churches on the coast of Malabar, after a short time they ascertained that they repudiated many of the doctrines and observances which in the West were considered orthodox. "These churches," said the Europeans, "belong to the pope."—"Who is the pope?" said the natives; "we never heard of him." The priests were yet more alarmed when they found that these Christians maintained order and discipline distinct from the Roman,† that they were all Jacobites or Nestorians, and acknowledged the authority of a bishop, sent sometimes by the Jacobite patriarch of Nineveh, and sometimes by the Nestorian patriarch of Babylon, who assumed the title of Bishop of Angamale. So little were they acquainted with the subtleties, subsequent to the apostolic period, that the Roman Catholic writers state, in a tone of reproach, "they could not distinguish between the conflicting creeds of Eutychus and Nestorius. The bishops, not less indifferent than the clergy and people, were satisfied with possessing, exteriorly, the doctrines of the patriarch from whom they received their mission."‡ "We," said they, "are of the true faith, whatever you from the West may be, for we come from the place§ where the followers of Christ were first called Christians." When the power of the Portuguese became sufficient for their purpose, they invaded these tranquil and independent churches, established in the mountains and along the coast, seized some of the clergy, and doomed them to the death of heretics. Then for the first time was heard among these congregations, that Christianity pressed into its service such instruments as the Inquisition, and that for their conversion it had been imported into the neighbouring town of Goa. The terrors of such agencies did not here, as they did not elsewhere, contribute to change the convictions of their victims. On the contrary, as might be expected, the people more resolutely adhered to their ancient tenets, and forced their persecutors, for conscience' sake, to have recourse to other means of a conciliatory character. They seized the Syrian bishop, Mar Joseph, and sent him prisoner to Lisbon. They shortly after this aggression convened a synod at one of the Syrian churches, at a town called Diamper, near Cochin, on the 20th of June, in the year 1599, at which the Roman Catholic archbishop Menezes presided. At this compulsory synod a hundred and fifty of the Syrian clergy appeared. The objects which the archbishop had in contemplation are revealed by himself in the circular with which he summoned the synod:—"Pope Clement the Eighth, our Lord Bishop of Rome, and Vicar of our Lord Jesus Christ, by virtue of his pastoral office, and that universal power bequeathed to the supreme, holy, and apostolical chair of St. Peter over all the churches in the world by Jesus Christ, the Son of God, our Lord and Redeemer, he commanded us, upon the death of the Archbishop Mar Abraham, to take possession of this church and bishopric, so as not to suffer any bishop or prelate coming from Babylon to enter therein, as has been hitherto the custom, all that come from thence being schismatics, heretics, and Nestorians, out of the obedience of the holy Roman church, and subject to the patriarch of Babylon, the head of the said heresy."

The proceedings of the synod of Diamper are of great significance. They supply an historic record, from the most unquestionable authorities, of the faith and practice both of the Roman and Syrian churches at the time of their publication.

The following are the three leading doctrines of Christianity which appear always to have been held by the Christians in India:—1st. Salvation by faith in the atonement of Jesus Christ for the sins of mankind. 2nd. The necessity of the new birth, or regeneration by the Holy Ghost, before any can believe and be saved. 3rd. The Trinity in Unity and Unity in Trinity, as defined in the Athanasian Creed, but without its damnatory clauses. In these fundamental tenets the Syrian church agreed with every orthodox church in Christendom. From the summary subjoined, and drawn from authentic sources, it will appear how far she agreed with the

* See Tennant's *Indian Recreations*, vol. i. p. 206.

† Buchanan's *Christian Researches in India*, p. 107.

‡ Memoir addressed by Dr. St. Anne, Bishop of Amala, and Vicar Apostolic. *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, 1839-40.

§ Antioch.

reformed churches of England, Scotland, and other nations, and in what respects she differed from the church of Rome.

The Syrian church rejected the papal supremacy, denied the doctrine of transubstantiation, condemned the adoration of images as idolatrous, but respected the figure of the cross, which was venerated, and placed in all their churches. She maintained that the church of Rome had corrupted the true faith, and had set up many human inventions. The Syrian church knew nothing of the intercession of saints—of purgatory—of masses and prayers for the dead—of the use of holy oil in the administration of baptism—of extreme unction—of auricular confession, nor of the celibacy of the clergy. The wives of the ministers were called *cataniaries*, and took precedence of other women at church, and every where else. They were distinguished with a gold cross, or one of inferior metal, suspended from the neck. This primitive church denied matrimony to be a sacrament; recognised but two orders amongst her ministers, *kasheeshas* and *shumshanas* (pastors and deacons); no bishops, in the sense Episcopalians apply this title to the minister of greatest authority in their churches.* She celebrated the communion with cakes, mixing the meal with a little oil and salt: Mar Joseph was the first who introduced the wafer and wine of Portugal at this sacrament. The elements were consecrated with prayer, and administered in both kinds to all communicants; the members of all the churches were admitted to communion; nothing was known of the papal doctrine, that regards as heretics all that are not members of their own church, believing that every faithful disciple of the Lord Jesus Christ would be saved to whatever communion he belonged. In all questions of doctrine an appeal was made to the authority of the sacred Scriptures as decisive, and not to the traditions of the fathers, or decisions of the church, or interpretations of their ministers. She is said to have held three sacraments—baptism, the eucharist, and holy orders; it is doubtful, however, whether she admitted more than the first two of these ordinances under that designation.

To correct all these "errors" and "abuses," as the Roman authorities have thought well to stigmatize them, and to subject the native Christians in all things to the see of Rome, was the design and business of the council of Diamper. How precious was the boon thus intended to be bestowed, may be inferred from the following description, furnished by a Carmelite missionary, of the Portuguese Christians with whom it was proposed to associate them in religious worship:—"The Christians who live in the Portuguese colonies in India are composed of three classes: the first are the soldiers, who come from Portugal, and are called *regnicoles*; the second are called *metifs*, the descendants of the former; the third are the slaves that have been converted to the faith. The first class—the nobility among them excepted—are the dregs of Portugal, for the most part a seditious people, covered with crimes, and banished from their country. The second class are ill-educated, extremely effeminate, and abandoned to all kinds of sensual indulgence. The third are a wild race, totally incapable of instruction, and ferocious in the extreme. In a climate so warm as that which these people inhabit, their natural propensity to evil is always on the increase—indeed, many of them actually believe vice to be necessary. It is incredible with what envy and thorough malevolence they persecute one another, and that for the most trivial offence. Such is their immodesty that we cannot venture to describe it. The men and women live in continual idleness, passing all their days together perfectly naked, without the least respect for each other, or any regard to the difference of sexes. They are incessantly chewing betel, cardamons, and areca, which are heating and intoxicating drugs. They are also perpetually smoking tobacco. This mode of living is enough to set their bowels in a flame, which are already almost burnt up by the heat of the climate which they inhabit. From these general causes one may easily comprehend what must be the conduct of this people; but I will gladly omit a more particular detail in order to spare the reader's feelings."*

The benefits which the native Christians derived from the benevolent intentions of the council of Diamper will be best appreciated by a brief consideration of their condition and status previously, and the changes which resulted. The Christian communities, some time previous to the arrival of the Portuguese, were independent, and ruled by a king of their own creed and lineage; and when they came to be governed, on the decline of their former consequence, by Hindoo princes, they were almost on a par with their sovereigns. They were allowed to have a military force of their own, which was composed principally of Shenars—the caste that culti-

* Buchanan's *Christian Researches in India*, p. 109, note. Hough's *History of Christianity in India*, vol. ii. p. 13.

* Vincenzo-Maria, lib. II. c. xviii. pp. 202, 203. To the testimony of the missionary here quoted might be added that of Linschot, Tavernier, and other travellers, all Portuguese or Italians. See Hough, vol. ii. p. 331.

vates the palm-tree. Beside the Brahmins, they were the only people permitted to have inclosures before their houses. They possessed the right of mounting and travelling on elephants, a distinction which they and the heir-apparent exclusively shared. They were allowed to sit even on a carpet in presence of the rajah and his ministers of state, an honour conceded to foreign ambassadors. During the sixteenth century the Rajah of Paru proposed to extend this last-named privilege to the nadis of his dominions, but the Christians immediately declared war against him if he persevered, and he was compelled by that threat to relinquish his design. These immunities and honours rendered the dignity of their recognised chief, spiritual or political, so considerable, that, as the Italian missionary, Vincenzo-Maria, has testified, he was as highly esteemed as a king.

To obliterate all evidences of the former independence of their churches, the council decreed that all the Syrian books on ecclesiastical subjects that could be found should be burned, in order, as they averred, that no *pretended* apostolical monuments should remain. The reconciliation effected by the decrees of the council was partial, conditional, and short-lived. The churches on the sea-coast alone submitted to the supremacy of the pope; the churches in the interior would not yield to Rome. The Latin rite was accepted, but they insisted on the retention of the liturgy and language of the Chaldean church. They were not long submissive to the yoke imposed upon them. After a show of obedience, for a little time, they strenuously protested against the Inquisition, and in the year 1653 repudiated the authority of the Roman bishop who then governed them, the pope, and the Roman church. They returned to their primitive mode of worship, and placed at their head a superior of their own rite. Four hundred families alone of the nation, and the Latin parishes to the number of eleven, remained faithful to papal authority.* Such was the hatred engendered against the missionaries, especially the Jesuits, a very numerous body, and influential, that Pope Alexander VII., in 1656, sent four Italian religious from Rome of the Carmelite order, who commenced a mission in Malabar, which exists to the present day.

To a person carefully recapitulating the efforts of the Jesuits in India, and the means which were employed for the conversion of the natives, it does not at all appear strange, that with the apparent success which attended the labours of Xavier, no permanent good was effected. His personal character had done much towards securing his success. "It appears," says the reverend historian so often referred to, "to have been unexceptionable; and this, as well as his standard of Christian morals for his disciples, may be fairly attributed to the instructions and impressions he had received in early life through his Protestant associates at Paris. His missionary character, also, in many respects, is worthy of admiration. For grandeur of design, and diligence in the execution, for disinterested love to man, for bold fidelity to persons of the highest, and engaging condescension to men of the lowest estate, for unwearied devotion, self-denial, renunciation of the world, intrepidity in dangers, and many other estimable qualities, he has left behind him an example which has never been surpassed since the apostles' days. Could all this pure metal have been detached from the dross with which it was mixed, and cast into the mould of God's word, he would have formed one of the brightest and best instruments ever used to deliver mankind from the bondage of Satan, and restore them to their rightful Lord. . . . Let us pray that every future missionary of a purer creed may have grace to live as much to the Redeemer's glory, and to the extension of his kingdom in this world, as Francis Xavier lived for the reputation of his order, and for the interests of the Roman church." *

The religious influence and high perception of moral duty which regulated the conduct of Xavier, found no reflex in the conduct of his associates and successors. The sketch drawn of their operations by a friendly and sacerdotal hand, even in its mellowed tints, is a revolting picture of what sophistication is capable. The following is from the pages of the *Annales de Propagation de la Foi*:—

"After St. Francis Xavier had departed from the Indian peninsula, other missionary Jesuits arrived from all the Catholic countries of Europe to labour for the conversion of the natives, so gloriously begun by that great man. He had confined his preaching to the coast; they penetrated to the interior. Having studied the genius and character of the people, they believed that in order to command attention, gain their confidence, conciliate their esteem, and induce them to listen to them, it became them to respect their prejudices, and even to conform to their habits, and to adopt their manners and costumes."

The better to promote their designs, they publicly proclaimed that they were European Brahmins, and had come from a country five

* *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, 1839-40, p. 149.

* Hough's *History of Christianity in India*, vol. i. p. 211.

thousand leagues distant, to acquire the learning of the Indians and to communicate their own. The knowledge which a great number of the missionaries had of astronomy and medicine, contributed to win for them the respect and confidence of men of every rank and condition. Having announced themselves as Brahmins, they studiously began to assimilate themselves to that caste in their social intercourse, manner of dress, frequent ablutions, and in their abstinence; they absolutely refrained from eating flesh meat, desiring as the Apostle Paul, "to make themselves all things to all men," the more easily to gain people to Jesus Christ. It was by such contrivances and privations, scarcely credible, that the Jesuits introduced themselves to the Hindoos, and won their confidence. Reared on such an unstable foundation, it is no matter of surprise if the edifice which they erected soon crumbled into dust, and left barely the remembrance of its temporary existence.

This short sketch of the religious history of India, from the days of St. Thomas to the arrival of the Dutch, may be appropriately followed by a summary of the present condition of Roman Catholicism in India, and a statement of the papal ecclesiastical divisions into which it is now partitioned. Too little attention is paid in this country to the comprehensive and well-arranged schemes, and persevering labours of the emissaries of Rome, to make proselytes in the East. The zeal manifested by them to propagate their tenets, is calculated to put to the blush the Protestantism of Great Britain, and other Bible-reading nations.

The archdiocess of Goa, created in 1567, comprises the territory of that city, Gujerat, and perhaps the Deccan, and Nagpore. San Pedro is the archiepiscopal residence, it is near the Villa Nova de Goa, where the population of the ancient capital, now depopulated, is concentrated. This see has been vacant for some years, but it is provisionally filled by an administrator named by the Portuguese government, in opposition, the papal advocates say, to the laws of the church. This diocess is distracted by schisms.

The French settlements, which are subject to the colonial administration, are placed under the jurisdiction of a prefect-apostolic, who resides at Pondicherry; the other four districts are entrusted to the priests of the Seminary of the Holy Ghost, in Paris; there is, however, but one at Chandernagore. Kankal is under the spiritual government of the Society of Foreign Missions. The rest of India forms seven vicariates-apostolic:—

1. The vicariate-apostolic of Thibet and Hindostan comprises the north of India from near the tropics, Nepaul and perhaps Bhotan, which may be considered provinces of Thibet, a part of the country of the Mahrattas, and that of the Rajpoots; the Sikhs, and Affghans, as far as Persia, are also within its circumscription, but do not contain any Roman Catholics.

2. The vicariate-apostolic of Bengal comprises the missions which the Jesuits possessed in that country. Calcutta contains about ten thousand Roman Catholics, and possesses three churches; there may be the same number at Dacca, and in other parts of Bengal. In 1840 the mission and college were attended by six Jesuits, assisted by six Portuguese priests who have submitted to the new jurisdiction, and three who have been educated at the Propaganda.

3. It is not easy to determine with precision the circumscription of the vicariate-apostolic of Madras. The bull of 1838 assigns it to the ancient dependencies of the diocess of San Thome de Meliapore, which had not previously been disposed of. It is supposed that it comprises the coast of the Carnatic to the south, the cities of Gondalore and Porto Novo to the north, the shore as far as Masulipatam or the mouth of the Kistna, as far as Bengal; it would even seem that the interior of India, to the north of that river, is to be added as far as Nidzam and Nagpore, for the vicar of Madras sends missionaries there. The ancient episcopal city of Meliapore, near Madras, is included in this vicariate. Madras is the episcopal residence; there were three churches in the city in 1840, and four others in the suburbs and vicinity; the number of Roman Catholics was then computed at twenty thousand, ministered to by an Irish vicar, assisted by seven of his countrymen.

4. The vicariate-apostolic of Bombay extends along the coast from Surat in the north to Rajpore in the south. The priests here are numerous, the most of them Italian Carmelites, with a few natives. The Christian population, though not ascertained, is said to be considerable.

5. The vicariate-apostolic of Verapolio is formed of the archdiocesses of Cranganore and the diocess of Cochin. It comprises Malabar and Travancore; that is to say, the whole coast from Cape Comorin to within a short distance of Goa. The chain of the Ghauts forms its limits towards the interior. Five missionaries and a considerable number of native priests, who follow the Chaldean rite, exercise the ministry. There were, at the date above given, seventy-eight churches or chapels, and near two hundred thousand Christians.

6. The vicariate-apostolic of Pondicherry was erected in 1777, in favour of the Society of Foreign Missions, who for a long time had supported many priests there. The bull of 1838, by enlarging its jurisdiction, has added to it the south of India, from Cape Comorin to the Kistna, with the exception of those parts of the coast reserved to Madras; all that part of the vicariate of Pondicherry to the south of the river Cavery, with the exception of Tanjore and its provinces, and the port of Nagapatam, is entrusted to the administration of the Jesuits, who, however, are subject to the jurisdiction of the bishop, and receive their faculties from him. This part, which comprises Madura and Marava, is divided into three districts, that of Trichnopoly to the north, that of Madura in the centre, and that of Tinnevelly. Six Jesuits, assisted by some native priests, are charged with a Christian population of a hundred and fifty thousand souls. This is the classic soil of their boasted ancient triumphs, and of the conquests of Francis Xavier. The territory which has remained under the exclusive administration of the Society of Foreign Missions is divided into twelve districts, including Tanjore; twenty-two missionaries and three native priests were charged with the spiritual instruction of eighty thousand Christians; the episcopal residence is Pondicherry. The Maldive Islands have been attached to this mission.

7. The vicariate-apostolic of Ceylon was erected in 1836. This island, the entire population of which amounts to over one million and a half, contains no less than two hundred thousand professing Christians. The Roman Catholic clergy boast of the possession of two hundred and fifty-six churches.

The details here given are collected from the *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, and are to be received with the reserve due to an *ex parte* statement. Further particulars respecting this interesting island will be found in a previous chapter.

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

### THE MOHAMMEDANS IN INDIA.

THE year 622 is the first of the Hegira, or the Mohammedan era—an epoch, one of the most remarkable in the history of the human race, distinguished by the introduction of a new religion, an important revolution, and a personage whose achievements and power have left a lasting impression.

Arabia is a peninsula separated from Persia by the Persian Gulf, from Egypt by the Arabian Gulf and Red Sea. The inhabitants claim descent from Joktan, the son of Heber, who they allege laid the foundation of the Arabian empire, shortly after the dispersion of Babel, and the confusion of language. A long list of kings from Joktan to Mohammed is preserved by the Arabs; but there is very little doubt that many of those who swell it are purely imaginary, and, indeed, like the early chronology of all countries, it is not within the power of man to verify that of Arabia.

Interesting and instructive would be an inquiry to ascertain,—by what means the Arabs preserved themselves independent of the ancient Egyptians; what enabled them to treat so contemptuously the power of Alexander the Great, that when he threatened their destruction, they disdained to send ambassadors to deprecate his displeasure; the forces which they opposed to the armies of Antigonus and Demetrius; the incursions they repeatedly made into Syria, even when that kingdom was subject to the Romans; why Pompey refrained from conquering them, and rested satisfied with some annual tribute; what obstacles arrested the expedition organized against them by Augustus Cæsar; to what extent the Roman historian exaggerated the successes of Trajan and Severus in that country, and what coerced both these emperors to abandon it; whence came the Saracens; at what period they allied themselves to the Arabs; the extent of their ravages in Egypt, in Palestine, in Phœnicia, before the Mohammedan era. All that is accurately known is, that Arabia was free, independent, and peaceable; that the Jews and Christians, persecuted elsewhere, here found refuge, and, forgetting their mutual animosities, were united in amity amongst themselves and with the heathen,—conflicting tenets no longer estranged them. To an artful master-mind, imbued with no fixed opinions, prepared to adopt every expedient to ensure success, was presented an opportunity of uniting in one mass, on the basis of common objects, men who had become indifferent to creed. In 569 was born at Mecca a man whose destiny it was to accomplish such a feat, and to produce a radical change in the aspect of the East. Ignorant, ambitious, and originally of ardent temperament, he became a fanatic, and soon after an impostor. He pretended to special

communications with the angel Gabriel, and claimed the power of working miracles. He was a man of strong feeling, cruel and enthusiastic, and in every way qualified to exercise the greatest influence over his countrymen. Having elsewhere given an elaborate portrait of this singular man, enough has been said of him for the present purpose. The tenets of his religion were few and easily remembered. "There is no god but God, and Mohammed is his prophet." The rewards promised to his followers were calculated to develop to its fullest extent the warlike propensities of his race. "The sword is the key of heaven and of hell; a drop of blood shed in the cause of God, or a night spent under arms, is of more avail than two months of fasting and prayer. Whoever falls in battle, his sins are forgiven at the day of judgment; his wounds shall be resplendent as vermillion and odoriferous as musk; the loss of his limbs shall be supplied by the wings of angels and cherubims."* The alternative left to the foe was "the Koran, tribute, or the sword."

The results of such a system, with such a people, responded to the sanguine expectations of the prophet chief. He soon conquered Arabia, laid waste the fertile plains of Syria, set at defiance the Eastern empire, founded a new one, and converted millions to his creed. At his death, like Alexander the Great, he left no son to occupy the throne; his empire lay exposed, the prize of the most enterprising of his followers. Though Ali was not only his cousin and son-in-law, but also—a claim of far greater weight with his fanatical followers—the first of his converts, Abubekir, the father of one of his many wives, succeeded to his temporal and spiritual power. In a campaign in Palestine Abubekir achieved many victories, and with equal success he propagated the pretended revelations of Mohammed. He reigned only two years. Although the followers of the Prophet were thus early severed into two sects—the Shites, the followers of Ali, and the Sonnites—the brilliant career of Omar, who succeeded to the supreme power, under the imposing title of "Commander of the Faithful," magnified the dignity and power of the caliph, or vicar of the Prophet. Wherever this intrepid prince directed the tide of war, conquests crowned his arms. On the banks of the Yermuk forty thousand Greeks paled before the Crescent, and Palestine was wrested from the feeble hold of the Christians. The capture of Damascus, the fall of Jerusalem, the rout of the Persians, the conquest of Egypt, and the acquisition of all the northern parts of Africa to the waters of the Atlantic from the Romans, were some of the achievements of Omar. To him is ascribed the destruction by fire of the library of Alexandria in 641. In the midst of triumph he fell in 644, in the tenth year of his reign, by the hand of an assassin, and was succeeded by Othman, who, during the twelve years of his reign, was a zealous propagator of the doctrines of the Koran, and a successful prosecutor of the Eastern conquests commenced by his predecessors. He was the victim of a conspiracy, and perished in the thirty-fifth year of the Hegira, and 656 of the Christian era. Ali at length was proclaimed caliph, though strenuously opposed by Ayesha, the widow of Mohammed, and mother of the faithful. He overcame Zobeir and Talher, who took up arms in her defence, and eventually got possession of herself, and had her conveyed with every mark of respect to Medina. In an insurrection he was slain, and was succeeded by his son Hassan, who was forced to abdicate, in A.D. 661, after a short reign of six months, in favour of Mauwiyah, who was the first caliph of the race of the Ommiades.

At the death of the second Caliph Omar, the kingdom of Persia, as far east as Herat, lately in possession of English troops, was overrun by the Arabs, and in A.D. 650 the Arab frontier had been extended to the river Oxus, including Balk and all of the country to the north of the Hindoo Koosh. The Indus became its eastern boundary.

Ferishta relates that in the year 664, the third of the reign, the Caliph Mauwiyah, an Arab ameer of distinction, marched from Meru to Cabul, where he made converts of upwards of twelve thousand persons, and that a detachment from thence penetrated, in the direction of India, as far as Mooltan, and having plundered the country, returned to head-quarters at Khorassan, bringing with them many prisoners, who were compelled to become converts.

Cabul about this time was reduced to subjection, as the Persian historian records that Yezeed, having learned that the prince of that country had thrown off his allegiance, marched against him with a force to recover the province, but was defeated in a pitched battle.* In revenge for this disgrace, Tilla, governor of Siestan, having collected a large force, subdued Cabul, and appointed an Arab governor over it. Eighteen years after this Abdurehman, governor of Khorassan, led in person a large army against Cabul, and having taken every precaution to escape further surprise, he entered it, and soon reduced it to entire submission. A singular circumstance induced Abdurehman to forfeit his allegiance.

* The Koran, *passim*.

* Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 5

At this time Hejaj was governor of Basra, and to him all the generals in Persia were subordinate. Hejaj was a man of the most violent and sanguinary character. He is said to have remarked after an interview with Abdurehman that he was very handsome, but that he never looked upon him without feeling an unaccountable inclination to cut his throat. Apprehending serious results from this antipathy, he immediately contracted an alliance with the lately chastised Rajah of Cabul, and assembling a numerous army, waged open war not alone on his enemy Hejaj, but on the caliph himself, whom he defeated, and seized on Basra, and thence marched to Cufa, lately the capital of the empire, and took possession of it. However, he was eventually defeated, after a struggle protracted through two years, and obliged to fly to his old government, and was on the point of being made prisoner at Siestan, when the prince of Cabul arrived to his relief. He now a second time renewed his preparations with similar results, and to escape falling into the hands of his enemies he put an end to his life.*

Ferishta relates that during all this time the Affghans were Moslems, and, according to their own traditions, were converted in the time of the Prophet. He further adds that in the year 63 of the Hegira (A.D. 684–5) they issued from their mountains, and invaded and laid waste the inhabited countries,—as Kirman, Sheownran, and Peshawur,—and with their allies, the Gukkurs, defeated the Rajah of Lahore, and compelled him to cede in perpetuity a portion of his territories. In return it was secretly provided by treaty that they should protect the Indian frontier from Mohammedan invasion.

The first appearance of the Mohammedans in India was in A.D. 664. Mohalib, a chief who had distinguished himself in Persia and Arabia, was detached on that occasion from the invading army, and penetrated to Mooltan; but it is a fact, and not accounted for, that no further attempt was made on the north of India during the continuance of the Arab rule.†

The next invasion is described as of a more permanent character, and is said to have proceeded from the south-eastern point of Persia into the country stretching from the mouth of the Indus, then ruled by a Hindoo prince called Dahir by the Mussulmen, whose capital was at Alor, near Bakkar, and whose territories included Mooltan and all Scinde, with probably the adjoining plain of the Indus, extending to the mountains at Calabagh.

Arab incursions are alleged to have been made in the reign of the Caliph Omar, and Ferishta states that the Affghans gave an asylum to the surviving Arabs, who were driven out of Scinde in the second century of the Hegira. If they took place so early as the days of the second caliph, they were in all probability piratical expeditions for the purpose of abducting the women of that district, who, according to the tastes of the Arabs, were supposed to possess considerable attractions, and were greatly prized in the seraglios of that country.

At length, in the reign of Caliph Walid, the Moslem government was provoked to more strenuous exertion. An Arab ship having been seized at Dival, or Dewal, a seaport connected with Scinde, restitution was demanded of Rajah Dahir. He refused compliance, and pleaded in his justification that that port belonged not to his dominions. The Mussulmen sent a body composed of one thousand infantry and three hundred horse to enforce their claim. These were cut off by the natives. Hejaj, the governor of Basra, raised a regular army of six thousand men at Shiraz, and placed his nephew, Mohammed Casim, then not more than twenty years of age, in command, and he successfully conducted it to the walls of Dewal. Casim was supplied with catapultas and the other machines requisite for a siege. He commenced his operations by an attack on a temple a short distance from the town. This was a pagoda greatly celebrated, in high veneration among the people. It was strongly fortified, being surrounded with a high enclosure of hewn stone, defended by a large garrison of Rajpoots, in addition to numerous inhabitants of the Brahminical caste. A flag was displayed on the lofty tower of the temple, and to this was attached a superstitious legend that, as long as it retained its position, the pagoda might bid defiance to all the art and power of its assailants. This prophecy soon reached the ears of Casim. He directed the engines against the sacred standard. It was brought to the ground, and those whose hopes rested on its safety, losing all confidence, abandoned their post in despair, and the place fell without a struggle into the hands of the invaders. Casim recommended to the inhabitants the rite of circumcision; this they rejected. Incensed by their contumacy, he ordered all the males above the age of seventeen to be put to death, and the rest, with the women, to be reduced to slavery. The fall of the temple seems to have led to the speedy submission of the town. A rich booty fell into the hands of the Arabs, a fifth was reserved for Hejaj, and the rest divided among the troops. A son of Dahir's, who was in

* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 501.
† Ibid., p. 503.

Dewal either as governor or as an ally, retreated to Brahminabad, to which place, according to Ferishta, he was pursued by the conqueror, and compelled to surrender on terms. Casim then advanced on Neerun (now Hyderabad), and thence upon Sehwan, to which he laid siege. This place, though strongly fortified, was evacuated at the end of seven days, the garrison flying to a fortress called Salem, which also surrendered. The Rajah Dahir was not an inattentive spectator of passing events, nor of the progress made by Casim. His son, with a large force, was dispatched to oppose him. He soon after joined him with a body of troops, thus forming an army of fifty thousand men. The Arab force did not exceed six thousand. The Indians had penetrated the ranks of their enemy, and were on the point of achieving the victory, when one of the Arab firemen threw a naptha ball on the white elephant on which Dahir was mounted. The terrifying effect of the liquid flame so alarmed the animal, that he fled to the river, and plunged into the stream, in spite of all the efforts made by his rider. The Indians, perceiving the speed with which their prince was hastening from the conflict, and unconscious of the cause, were panic-stricken, and instantly followed, abandoning the field to their fortunate adversaries. The elephant having emerged from the water, Dahir presented himself again to his flying troops, arrested their flight, and vigorously renewed the contest on the banks of the Indus. Fortune again was unfriendly; struck with an arrow, he fell from his seat. He nevertheless insisted on being placed on horseback; and although the wound was very severe, he gallantly charged into the thick of the Arabian cavalry, and there found the death of a hero. The loss of their brave prince disheartened his army, they fled in confusion from the field. A great amount of booty was obtained by this victory. The widow of Dahir, with a heroism worthy of her valiant spouse, assembled an army of fifteen thousand Rajpoots, and prepared to meet the invaders of her country. Though she offered the enemy battle they declined it, and she sought shelter within the defences of Adjur, which was closely invested. Being reduced to the last extremity, the garrison sacrificed their wives and children on a burning pile, and, headed by the widow of Dahir, attacked the Mohammedans in their camp, and all lost their lives fighting to the last.

One more desperate stand was made at Ashcandra, after which Mooltan seems to have fallen without a struggle, and the Arabs pursued their success till all the territories of Dahir came into their possession.

On the first invasion each city was summoned to embrace the creed of the conquerors or pay tribute. Those who did not accept either alternative, if they did not make an absolute surrender, were put to the sword, and their families sold into slavery. Four cities rejected these terms, and in two of them, the soldiers, to the amount of six thousand, were butchered. A strange exception was made in these cases. The merchants and artizans were not included, and to those who agreed to pay tribute all their privileges were restored, and also the exercise of their religion. When a sovereign consented to pay tribute, he retained his territory, and only became subject to the usual relations of a tributary prince.

Casim himself, though young, was prudent and conciliatory. Several of the Hindoo princes were won to his side during the war; and when it had been terminated he nominated the prime minister of Dahir to the same office under him, on the express grounds that he was best qualified to protect old rights and maintain established institutions.

It is said on the authority of contemporary historians, that he was contemplating a march to Kanouj, on the Ganges, and had reached Odeypore, when his career was arrested by a very singular and romantic incident. When the Arabs had obtained possession of Adjur, they found in that town some who had escaped the immolation. Among them were the two daughters of Dahir. They were women of great personal attractions, and considered to be a present worthy the acceptance of the caliph; they were consequently sent to Hejaj to be forwarded to the seraglio of Walid, the commander of the faithful. When these beauties reached the court the caliph became enamoured of the elder, and wished her to submit to his embraces. She assured him that she was entirely unworthy of such a high honour, having been the victim of Casim's licentious passions. The enraged caliph, whose will was law, in the first paroxysm of his anger, wrote with his own hand an order to him that he should be sewed up in a raw hide, and his body forwarded to Delhi. Upon its arrival Walid invited the vindictive Hindoo to his presence, and thus addressed her:—"Behold Mohammed Casim in his shroud! it is thus I punish the sins of those servants who presume to insult the deputy of the Prophet of God." She replied, with a smile full of triumph and sarcasm, "Know, caliph, that Mohammed Casim paid me the most delicate respect. He, however, put to death my father, my mother, my brother, and my countrymen, and in his death, indifferent to my own fate, I have gratified that revenge which has so long been

consuming me." The gratification of revenge in Indians, where their honour is concerned, is so strong, the fortitude of Hindoo females so great, and the devotion of the servants of the caliph so pure and disinterested, that the translator of Ferishta says the story may be allowed to hold its place among other romantic tales, not less remarkable, in the annals of the world.

On the death of Mohammed Casim a tribe who traced their origin from the Ansaries established a government; after which the zemindars usurped the power, and held independent rule for the space of five hundred years, but neither the names nor the histories of these princes are extant. In the course of years—the number unknown—this dynasty subjected the country of another dynasty called Soomuna. During their reigns the Mohammedan kings of India proper—such as those of Ghizni, Ghoor, and Delhi—invaded Scinde, and, seizing many of the towns, appointed Mohammedan governors over them. Among these rulers Nasir-ood-Deen Kubbacha asserted his independence.

With the death of Casim ceased the progress of the Mohammedan arms. His conquests devolved on his successor Temim, in whose family they continued for about thirty-six years—that is, to the downfall of the Ommiades, A.D. 750—when, by an insurrection, of which the particulars have not survived, the Mussulmen were expelled by the Rajpoots, and all their conquests restored to the Hindoos, who retained possession for nearly five hundred years.

In the history of Bahawalpur, by Shahamet Ali, a statement at variance with the above, quoted from Elphinstone, is given.* According to this Indian authority governors were sent out by the Abassides to Scinde and the Punjaub, of which they took possession without much resistance, and this dynasty continued in the possession of their Indian possession without molestation until the caliphate of Kadir-Billah, being a period of two hundred and eighty-six lunar years, when the hostile advance of Sultan Mahmood of Ghizni, at the head of a large army, laid waste the intermediate country between Ghizni and Mooltan.†

Elphinstone, judiciously remarks, that it is extraordinary that the Arabs, who had reached to Mooltan during their first ardour for conquest and conversion, should not have overran India as easily as they did Persia, and should now allow themselves to be beaten out of a province where they had a firm footing.* This result he endeavours to account for by the existence of a powerful priesthood, closely connected with the government, and deeply revered by their countrymen; by a religion interwoven with the laws and manners of the people, which exercised an invisible influence over their very thoughts; and by a horror of change, and a sort of passive courage, which is perhaps the best suited to allow time for an impetuous attack to spend its force. Even the divisions of the Hindoos were in their favour; the downfall of one rajah only removed a rival from the prince who was next behind, and the invader diminished his number, and got further from his resources, without being able to strike a blow which might bring his undertaking to a conclusion. However these considerations may have weighed with the early invaders, they deserve the greatest attention from the inquirer, for it is principally to them must be ascribed the slow progress of Mohammedanism in India, and the comparatively mild and tolerant form it assumed in that country.

At this period the power of the followers of the Arabian reformer had culminated to its height. The fertile regions of Northern Africa, the seats of Egyptian grandeur, and of the commercial greatness of the proudest of the Tyrian colonies, the rich and extensive plains of Spain, the Eastern continent, the luxuriant parent of the great primitive empires, where towered from time immemorial Nineveh, Babylon, Tyre, Persepolis, Mecca, and Jerusalem, and the awe-inspiring, mountain-excavated, cave-structured city of Petrea, all capitals of successive empires, had submitted to the crescent, but already the seeds of dissension were broadcast over their empire. Even in the first half century of the Hegira the murder of Othman with his Koran on his knee, and the imbecility of Ali, led to a successful revolt, and the establishment of a caliphate beyond the confines of the birthland of the Prophet. The Ommiades, who were elevated to the newly-established dignity for ninety years, were harassed with the repeated assertion of the supposed rights of the posterity of the Prophet, through his daughter Fatima, whose claims furnished a respectable pretext for revolt and rebellion, and eventuated in the uprising of the powerful province of Khorassan, which humbled the power of the reigning house, and placed upon the throne in 750 the descendants of Abbas, the uncle of Mohammed. Spain adhered to the fortunes of the old dynasty, and the integrity of the Moslem empire was broken for ever.

* *History of Bahawalpur*, p. 5.

† Ghizni consisted of the tract which composed the kingdom of Bactria after the division of Alexander's empire—namely, the countries lying between Parthia and the Indus, and south of the Oxus.

* *History of India*, vol. i. p. 512.

When the caliphate of Bagdad was thus rapidly on the decline, a tribe of Tartars from the Altai Mountains, and since known by the name of Turks, had gradually and steadily risen to great power. By a series of vigorous incursions they had subjected to their rule all the neighbouring tribes. In the degeneracy of the Arab troops contingents from these warriors were largely incorporated with them. Their chiefs soon, by deeds of personal valour and strategic ability, rose to the command of armies and the government of provinces, and on them was soon conferred the distinguished honour of selecting from their ranks the body-guard of the "commander of the faithful."

As soon as the power of the caliphs began to decline, and the energies, devotion, and enthusiasm of the Arabs began to wane, the results which invariably accompany such symptoms of course manifested themselves through the Mohammedan empire. The standard of rebellion was raised by the governors of remote provinces.

An obstinate revolt in Transoxiana, called Haroun-al-Reschid, the well-known caliph of Arabian history and romance, and the fifth of the house of Abbas, from the seat of government. His death was accelerated by the circumstance. It was quelled by his son Mahmoon, who took up his residence in this disaffected province, and was thus the means of preserving it to the empire. It was by means of an insurrection here that he was enabled to wrest the sceptre from his brother Amir. He had scarcely taken possession of his capital, and formed his court, when Tahir, to whose attachment he owed his successes, began to lay the foundation of his own independence. His territories included Transoxania and Khorassan, the latter extended from the Caspian to the Oxus, and were never after united to the caliphate. The commanders of the faithful, reduced to a state of abject dependence on the Turkish guards, were a mere symbol in their hands, and from that period may be dated the complete downfall of the Arab empire.

Tahir and his posterity, under the title of Tahirites, enjoyed sovereignty in that province from the year A.D. 813 to the year 872, a period of fifty-nine years. They were dispossessed by the son of a brazier, called in the Arabic Soffar, who, forcing his way upwards through the various grades of military adventure to be the chief of an army, was enabled to place on the throne his family, known in history as the dynasty of the Soffarides. This house was supplanted by a similar adventurer after a period variously stated to be thirty-four and fifty-seven years, who established the house of the Samanides. The princes of this race are celebrated by the Persian historians as lovers of justice, and liberal and enlightened patrons of learning, and are said to have despoiled the legitimate commanders of the faithful of some of their most valuable territories, and to have exercised kingly authority over Bokhara, Khorassan, a great part of the Persian empire, Candahar, Zabulistan, Cabul, and the mountains of the Affghans.

The Samanides ruled for (from A.D. 892 to 1004) one hundred and fourteen years; and though not invaders of India, they had more connection than any of their predecessors with the history of that country. They had originally come from Balk.

In the reign of Abd-el-Melek, the fifth prince of this dynasty, Aluptugeen, a Turkish slave, acquired distinction, and was appointed governor of the vast province of Khorassan. On the death of his sovereign he made an attempt to snatch the sceptre from the feeble hold of Mansour, the infant son of the late prince, but the emirs of the country rallied round the throne, and Aluptugeen quitted the royal city of Bokhara. The ambitious governor retired with the adherents of his fortunes and the admirers of his courage to the town of Ghizni, situated on the westernmost part of the Cowmul, one of the numerous rivers tributary to the Indus. Every effort was made to crush his growing power, but in vain; and during a period of sixteen years he added both to dominions and to his reputation. The forces by which he was enabled to preserve his independence were composed of a body of three thousand disciplined slaves, or Mamelukes, Turks of his own original condition, who accompanied him to his retreat. Doubtless he was joined in after time by soldiers who had served under him when governor, but it is highly probable that his chief strength consisted in the resources supplied by the country of his adoption.

Sebektegin, at one time his slave, who by successive steps became his general counsellor and son-in-law, became also his successor. Although master in Ghizni, he was for some time regarded by the Samanides only as the governor of a province. He endeared himself to his officers and soldiers by his liberality and military qualities, and by his affability secured the love and admiration of his subjects. Peace during his government smiled on the land. His arms and his faith were successful in India. He destroyed the monuments of paganism, laid waste the Punjaub, built the towns of Bost and Kosdar near the Indus. Noah, the successor of Mansour, treated him rather as an ally than a subject.

DOST MOHAMED KHAN.

*From a Drawing by an Indian Artist*

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LONDON JAMES R.VIRTUE.

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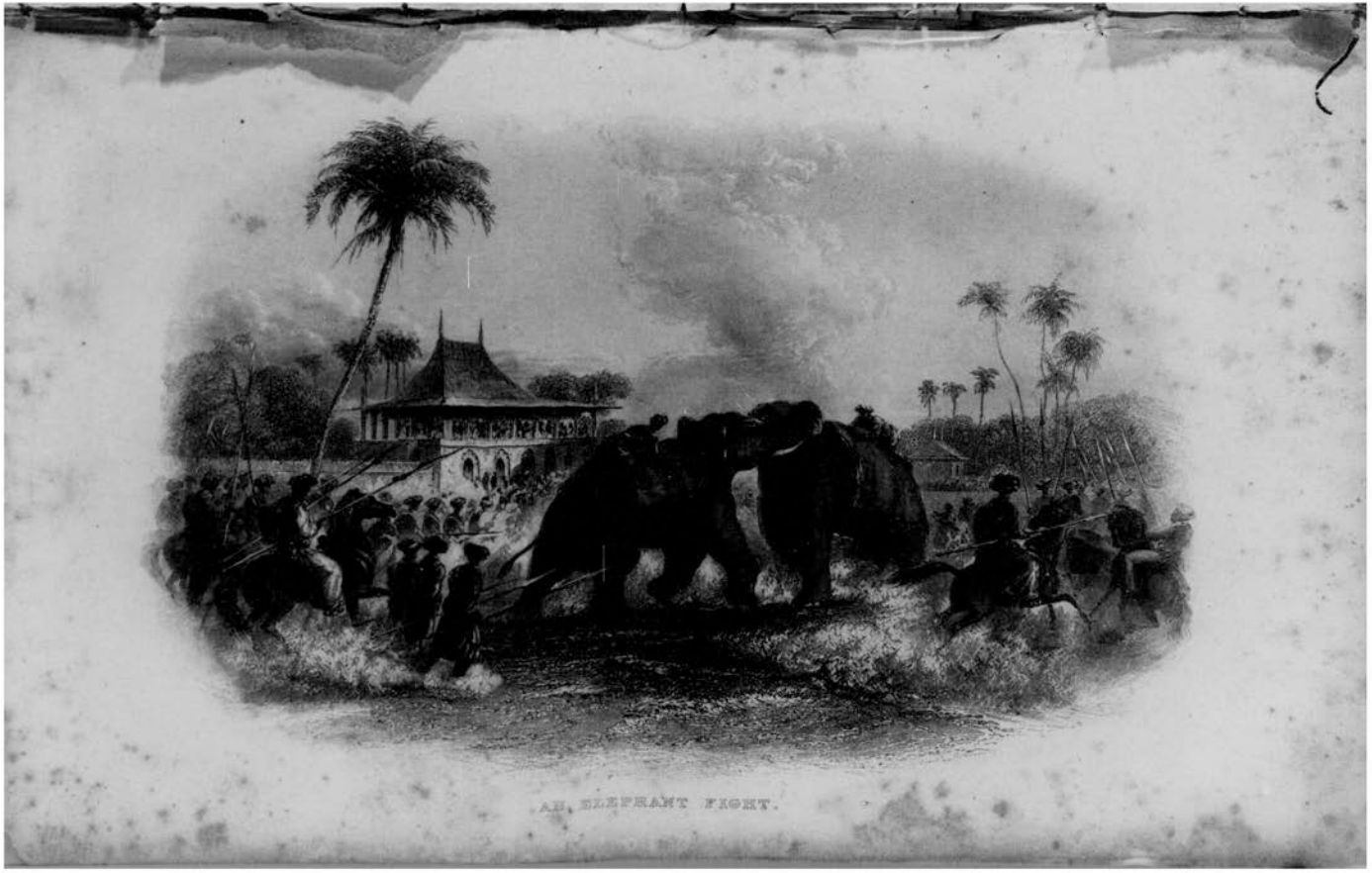
SIR JAMES BROOKE.

(RAJAH OF SARAWAK)

*From a Photograph taken expressly for the Work by Herbert Watkins*

LONDON: JAMES S. VIRTUE.



AN ELEPHANT FIGHT.

RIGHT HON. LORD STANLEY.

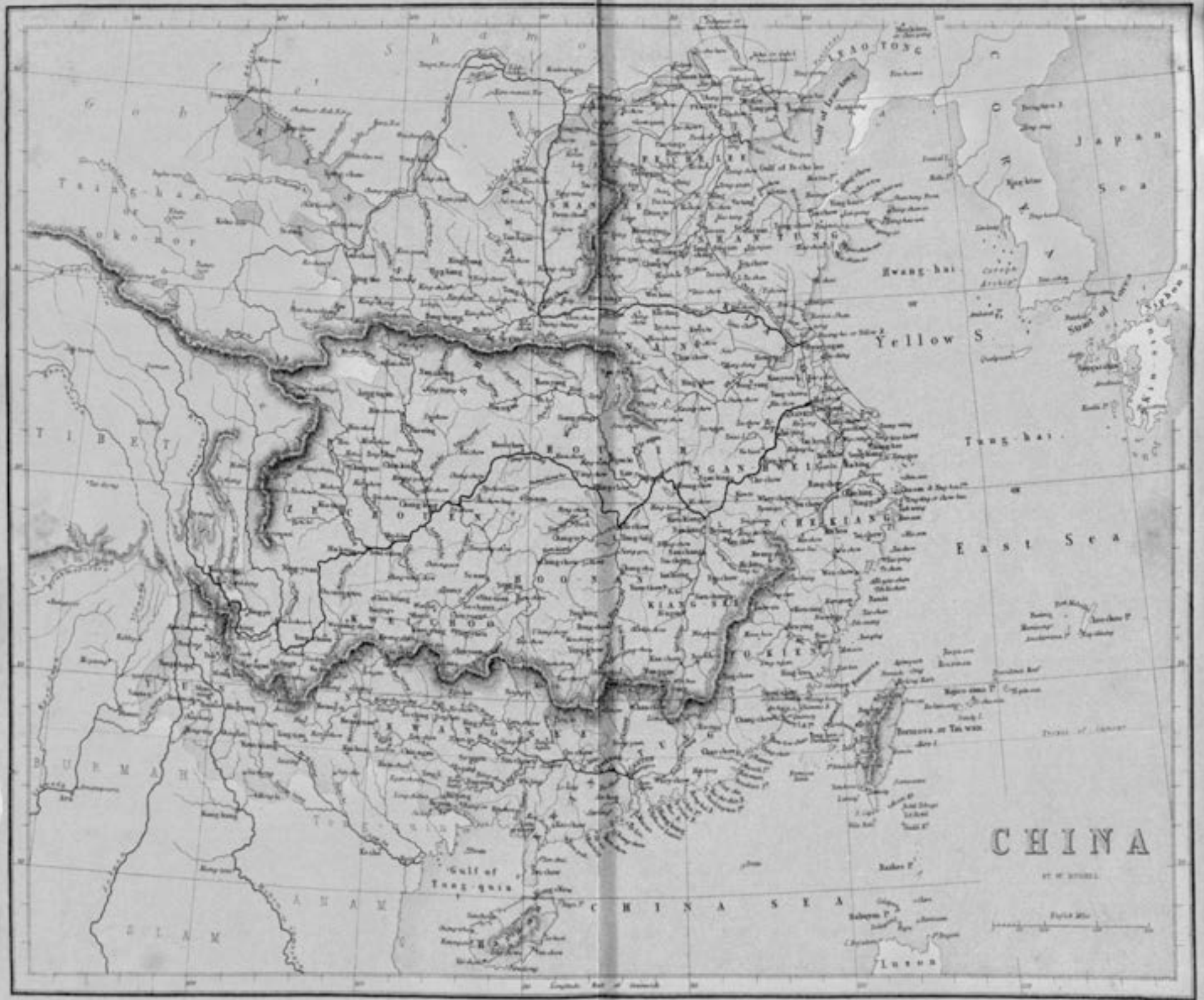
PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF INDIA.

*From a Photograph by Mayall*

LONDON JAMES S VIRTUE

Singleton, R.A. Walker

LAST EFFORT AND FALL OF TIPPOO SULTAN.


CHINA
Japan Sea
Yellow S.
East Sea
Hwang-hai
Tung-hai
Gulf of Tong-quin
CHINA SEA
Luzon
Gulf of Leao-tong
Gulf of Pe-che-lee
Tsing-hae
Kokonor
TIBET
BURMAH
ANAM
SIAM
Tong-quin
Formosa or Tai-wan
Strait of Corea
Niphon
Corea
Kiang-kiang
Kiang-sai
Fokien
Kwei-chou
Hoo-nan
Ze-chouen
Hou-tsin
Ngan-hwei
Tche-kiang
Shan-tung
Shan-tse
Pe-che-lee
Leao-tong
Corea

The King of Turkistan threatened the destruction of the caliphate, but by the courage and skill of his troops the caliph supported the throne, and the defeated Turks were successfully expelled the invaded provinces A.D. 997.

On the demise of this prince his son Ishmael was raised to the throne, in obedience to his father's injunctions; but Mahmood, who had already gained great military renown while assisting in the war with the King of Turkistan, took up arms against his brother, and effectually asserted his rights as the elder born.

The occasional glimpses which history affords of the presence of the followers of the Arab prophet in India are meagre and unsatisfactory, furnishing few materials for narrative or the higher historical attributes. With the reign of Mahmood commences the eleventh century, and the opening chapter of what can be properly called the Mohammedan history of India. On the foundation which had been so recently laid by his active predecessors, whose newly-constructed empire had not yet had time for consolidation, he erected a superstructure which has survived many fierce agitations, and did not crumble by those fierce perturbations, the effects of the terrible convulsions which have agitated, destroyed, and modelled many of the institutions of Hindostan. The kingdom of the Samanides was abolished, and public prayers for his safety were substituted in the services of the mosques for those previously offered for the family of the royal masters of his progenitors. Irak Persia submitted to his yoke, and from the Caspian to the Ganges, from Transoxiana to the neighbourhood of Ispahan, he was the only ruler.

His first expedition towards India was made in the autumn of the year A.D. 1000, having just previously proceeded from Balk to Herat, and thence to Siestan, where he defeated the governor of that province, and returned to Ghizni. The result of the Indian expedition was that he captured many forts and provinces, in which he placed garrisons, and then returned to his capital, and directed all his attention to the internal arrangement of his dominions, the organization of its civil and criminal jurisprudence, and the development of its resources. He then entered into an alliance with Elik Khan, the ruler of Turkistan, who had recently acquired possession of the territory of Bokhara. Having completed those arrangements at home, he again turned his thoughts to India, and twelve months from the date of his first approach to that country he proceeded with ten thousand chosen horse to Peshawur, and was there encountered by the Rajah of Lahore, at the head of an army composed of forty-two thousand horse and foot, supported by three hundred elephants. Though the armies were so disproportionate, victory declared in favour of Mahmood. The rajah, with fifteen of his principal chiefs—his sons and brethren—was taken prisoner, and five thousand of his troops were left on the field of battle. Mahmood in this action acquired a rich booty. Among the spoils were sixteen necklaces, one of which was valued at £81,000. The following spring he released his prisoners on payment of a large ransom, and submitting to become tributary to him. In compliance with a custom then prevalent among the Hindoos, that whatever rajah was twice defeated by strangers should abdicate, the unfortunate chief of Lahore surrendered his crown to his son; and having ordered the erection of a funeral pile, he set fire to it with his own hand, and voluntarily expired in the flames.

In the year 1004 he marched into Hindostan to enforce the tributes previously imposed, and which had not been paid. Passing through the province of Mooltan, he arrived at a city which Ferishta calls Bhateca, but which his English translator, Briggs, confesses his inability to identify. The Hindoos fought with great bravery, and frequently repulsed their assailants with great slaughter. The latter, however, as repeatedly renewed the assault till the close of the day, when Mahmood, turning his face towards the city of the Prophet, implored his aid. "Forward! forward!" cried the enthusiastic chief, "our prayers have found favour with God." The troops caught the inspiration, and with a loud shout manifested their resolution and promptitude, and with impetuous ardour breasted the foe, impinged their ranks, broke their lines, forced them to flight, and pursued them to the gates of the city. The Hindoos evacuated the town, leaving a small garrison in the fortress, and retired to a wood on the banks of the Indus, where, being attacked, the rajah on the point of being made prisoner, fell on his sword, and most of his adherents shared his fate in endeavouring to avenge his fall. Two hundred and eighty elephants were among the spoil.

The following year the King of Mooltan revolted, and was supported by Anundpaul, the successor of the Rajah of Lahore, who detached the greater part of his force to Peshawur, where it suffered a signal defeat, and was pursued to Wuzeerabad, on the left bank of the Chenab. Anundpaul was forced to fly for refuge to Cashmere. The Rajah of Mooltan, his ally, thus defeated, submitted, and agreed to the payment of a large annual tribute, and to yield implicit obedience

in future. This speedy termination of the campaign was an agreeable circumstance to Mahmood, for he had then learned from the governor of Herat that Elik Khan, the King of Kashgar, had invaded his northern provinces. Having left Zab Sais—a Hindoo who had embraced the Mohammedan religion—his lieutenant or governor in India, he marched to repel the invaders.

A short period had passed since Mahmood had formed an alliance with Elik Khan, and cemented it by marrying his daughter. The result of the invasion was that a decisive battle was fought, in which the Tartar invaders were signally defeated; and one of the interesting incidents of which was that the elephant on which Mahmood was mounted, being led by his royal master to a personal encounter with Elik Khan, the well-trained animal, seizing the standard-bearer of the enemy in his trunk, tossed him aloft in the air. The Ghizny troops bravely supported their king, rushing in with headlong impetuosity, and driving the enemy with great slaughter before them. Elik Khan, defeated on all sides, crossed the river with a few of his surviving attendants, and never afterwards appeared in the field during Mahmood's reign. Though the weather was inclement, Mahmood, eager to crush for ever the discomfited and dispirited refugee, decided, in spite of the earnest remonstrances of his best trusted officers, to pursue him in his flight. It was the depth of winter, and the soldiers were unable to endure the fatigues of the march, aggravated by the severity of the season. On the third night of the pursuit a storm of wind and snow overtook them in the unsheltered wilds. The royal tents with great difficulty were pitched and made secure, while the army was unprotected. A number of stoves were brought into the king's tents, and became so heated, that many of the courtiers began to throw off their upper garments, when a facetious chief came in shivering with cold, the king, observing him, and addressing him by name, exclaimed, "Dilchuck, go out, and tell Winter that he may burst his cheeks with blustering, for here we defy his power." Dilchuck went out as ordered, and returning in a short time, thus addressed his master: "I have delivered the king's message to Winter, but the surly fellow replies that if his hands cannot reach the skirts of royalty, nor hurt his suite, yet will this night prove to the army the mighty power he possesses, and in the morning Mahmood may be necessitated to saddle his own horse." This courtier-like rebuke produced a salutary effect. The king reflected seriously on the condition of his troops, the risks to which they were being exposed, and he resolved to proceed no farther; and, indeed, in the morning some hundreds of men and horses were found to have perished from the cold.

About this time Mahmood had information that the Hindoo renegade whom he had left in care of his Indian possessions had returned to his early superstitions, and had expelled the officers appointed by the king. To punish this revolt in the bud, he marched with the greatest expedition towards India, and sent on before him a body of cavalry, who came unexpectedly on Zab Sais, defeated him, and made him prisoner. The rebel was compelled to pay the sum of four hundred thousand dirhems, and was kept in confinement during the remainder of his life.

He had not been many months returned to Ghizni, when he determined to proceed to India, in order to chastise the Rajah of Lahore for the opposition he encountered from him in a previous Indian campaign to suppress the defection of Mooltan. Having heard of his intended approach, Anundpaul sent ambassadors on all sides, inviting the assistance of the other princes of Hindostan, the expulsion of the Mohammedans being now considered a sacred duty. Accordingly the Rajahs of Oojein, Gwalior, Kalunjur, Kanouj, Delhi, and Ajmeer, entered into a confederacy, and uniting their forces, advanced towards the Punjaub with the greatest army that had yet taken the field. The belligerents met on a plain convenient to Peshawur, where they remained encamped during the space of forty days without coming to action. The Hindoos had daily accessions of strength. Such was the enthusiasm which animated the entire nation, that the Hindoo women sold their jewels, and melted down their golden ornaments, to supply the sinews of war, and these patriotic contributions were forwarded from the remotest parts of the peninsula. The Gukkurs and other warlike tribes joined the confederates, and the Mohammedans, overpowered by numbers, were obliged to fortify their camp. These defences did not protect them against the impetuous Gukkurs. No less than thirty thousand, with their heads and feet bare, armed with various arms, penetrated the Mohammedan lines, and in a few minutes put six thousand of them to the sword. Though thus successful in the first onset, the fortune of the day declared against them. The prince who had the command of the confederates was mounted, as was usual with them, on a conspicuous elephant, which, being startled by a discharge of flaming naptha balls, became ungovernable, turned, and fled. The disappearance of their general disheart-

ened his forces; they were thrown into irremediable confusion, and sought safety in flight. In the pursuit twenty thousand of them fell.

Mahmood now determined on using all the means in his power to establish a permanent empire in India, and to impose the laws of the Koran upon the conquered Hindoos. He waged unsparing war upon their idols, and in his progress remorselessly persecuted the Brahmins, and razed their temples. In order to preserve what they valued infinitely more than their private property, the precious utensils dedicated to the service of their temples, they had them secretly conveyed to a fort of great strength erected on the top of a steep mountain. The sacred treasures of all the neighbouring kingdoms were thither conveyed. The Persian historian supposes that in this fort were accumulated a larger quantity of gold, silver, precious stones, and pearls, than was ever stored in the royal treasury of any other prince. Mahmood surprised this place before any precautions could be taken for its defence. The only persons left in charge were a few helpless and timid priests. It fell into his hands without a blow. The booty, without any exaggeration, was immense. Estimating the mun, the standard of weight, at its lowest value—for it varies considerably, being in Arabia only about two pounds, and reaching to eleven pounds in Tabreez—Ferishta sets it down at fourteen hundred pounds of gold and silver plate, four hundred pounds of golden ingots, four thousand pounds of silver bullion, and forty pounds weight of pearls, corals, diamonds, and rubies, and the specie at £313,333. With this vast prize he returned to Ghizni A.D. 1009. To celebrate his success he prepared a magnificent festival, and on that occasion ostentatiously displayed his rich stores of golden thrones and other valuables, and every guest was a recipient of a splendid gift.

Such results as these were calculated to whet the appetite for further conquests; and such was the effect. In the following year Mahmood marched towards Ghoor, a country possessed by a tribe of the warlike Affghans, who shrunk not from the defence of their fatherland. Their success in the earlier period of the campaign responded to their independent spirit and resolution. Mahmood was repulsed in reiterated assaults. At length he succeeded by stratagem in defeating his gallant enemy. Mohammed their king was made prisoner. His proud spirit disdaining to survive defeat and independence, he shared the fate, having taken similar precautions, of the great Carthaginian, Hannibal, by swallowing poison, concealed in his ring for such an exigency.

It is very probable that it was after this reverse that Mohammedanism was imposed on the Affghans, although some authors affirm that they were converted many years before, as already stated—even so early as the time of Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet. The Affghans were noted for their bravery. During the reigns of the Sumany kings they formed a barrier between the kingdom of Mooltan and Lahore; and this resistance is the cause why the Sumany troops always limited their predatory excursions to Scinde and Tatta. It has been observed, when the government of Ghizni devolved on Aluptugeen, his general, Sebektegin, made repeated excursions into Mooltan and Lumghan, and met with fierce opposition from the Affghans; and they were also found leagued with the brave Rajah of Lahore, Jupal, who fought bravely, though unsuccessfully, and would not survive his defeats. From that period the Affghans became military chiefs. Sebektegin, from motives of policy, courted their alliance against the Arabs, and during his reign refrained from attacking; and though his son Mahmood triumphed over them, the sequel will show how they eventually succeeded in subverting the ruling dynasty, and in placing one of their chiefs upon the throne. From Ghoor the Ghiznites marched to the reduction of Mooltan, which had again risen in arms. Having quieted the revolters, he proceeded to the subjugation of Tahnesur, within thirty miles of Delhi. This city was held in as high veneration by the Hindoos as were Mecca by the Moslems and Jerusalem by the Christians. The most sacred of their idols were located there, and its origin dated in their traditions from the creation. Anundpaul, the Rajah of the Punjaub, a tributary of Mahmood, importuned him to alter his resolution respecting Tahnesur, guaranteeing that the amount of the revenues of that district should be paid to reimburse for the expense of his expedition; besides which he undertook to present him with fifty elephants, and jewels to a considerable amount. The reply of the invader marks the stern character of the man, and the all-sacrificing devotion to his creed: "The religion of the faithful inculcates the following tenet: 'that in proportion as the tenets of the Prophet are diffused, and his followers exert themselves in the subversion of idolatry, so shall be their reward in heaven;' and therefore that it was his mission, with the divine aid, to root out the worship of idols from the length and breadth of India. How, then, could he spare Tahnesur?" This haughty reply left but one of two alternatives — absolute submission, at the sacrifice of what is dearest to

man, his religious convictions or prejudices, or to peril all in defence of their altars and their homes. However gross may be the superstitions which form the bases of a national creed, they are entitled to respect in proportion to the number of votaries and the moral influences they exercise; and though they may be revolting, nothing justifies the mission of the sword and the fagot. The spirit of the Hindoo principalities was thoroughly roused; but before a junction of their forces could be made, the sacred city was in the power of the enemy. It was given up to the plunder of the army; the temples were stripped of their ornaments, the idols broken, and some of those more special objects of worship were transported to the seat of government. On this occasion the Mohammedan army is said to have carried home with it two hundred thousand captives, and such a mass of Indian spoils, that the capital of Ghizni appeared like an Indian city. Not a soldier of the army was without wealth or without many slaves.

In A.D. 1013 Mahmood penetrated into Cashmere in pursuit of Jupal, second rajah of Lahore, who had fled thither for shelter. He plundered that province, imposed the Mohammedan yoke on the inhabitants, and reduced the chiefs to nominal subjection. In two years after, A.D. 1015, he revisited it, to punish some revolted chiefs, and besieged some forts not previously reduced. This proved a disastrous campaign. The summer was spent in an attempt to besiege Lokoti, a fortress remarkable for the strength of its artificial and natural defences. The approach of winter compelled him to abandon his enterprise. On his return he was misled into extensive morasses, in which he lost a great portion of his force.

In the spring of 1017, with an army consisting of a hundred thousand chosen horse, and twenty thousand foot, Mahmood undertook an expedition against Kanouj. The journey was one of three months, and the intervening district was intersected with seven formidable rivers. He directed his course through Cashmere, and was there supplied with provisions and reinforcements by the prince whom he had recently there established. The march was not only long, but tedious, till he entered the plains of Hindostan, and, driving all opposition before him, he advanced to Kanouj. This city, situated on the Ganges, about a hundred miles south-east from Delhi, was then the capital of a kingdom. From the reign of Gustab, the father of Darab (Darius, King of Persia), says Ferishta,* this city had not been visited by any foreign enemy.

* *The Mohammedan Power in India*, vol. i. pp. 51, 57.

This city, the Persian describes, in the gorgeous imagery of the East, as "raising its head to the skies, and which in strength and beauty is unrivalled," not being prepared for an attack it had no reason to apprehend, threw itself on the mercy of the invader; and the rajah is represented, in his humiliation, to have embraced the religion of the Prophet. He delayed here three days, and then marched against Meerut, the rajah of which retreated with his army, leaving a very inefficient garrison for its defence. It was soon captured, and a large ransom paid for it. In rapid succession he took the cities of Mavin and Mutra—the latter, then a place of great wealth and consequence, is still of considerable extent, and not far from Agra. It was reputed to be four thousand years old, and rich in temples and idols loaded and glistening with diamonds. There are here, said the sultan, "a thousand edifices, as firm as the faith of the faithful, most of them of marble, besides innumerable temples. Its present condition must have been attained at the expense of many millions, nor could such another be constructed under a period of two centuries." * He broke down or burned all the idols, and, as is said of his preceding expedition into Hindostan, he amassed a vast quantity of gold, silver, and diamonds. Though the city suffered much from fire and pillage, the temples escaped demolition. Whether he was influenced to abstain from destroying them by the labour it demanded, or by the admiration their extent, durability, and magnificence, inspired, is a conjecture to his historians. Several other forts being stormed or surrendered, and many rajahs reduced to submission, he returned, loaded with the spoils of victories, to his native

* Professor Wilson says that the whole story of Mahmood's destruction of Somnauth is a curious specimen of the manner in which a story is embellished by repetition. According to earlier Mohammedan writers, the idol Somnauth was a straight solid block of stone three cubits long, which, upon the temple being pillaged, was broken to pieces. They say nothing of the mutilation of its features, for, in fact, it had none; nothing of the treasures it contained, which, as it was solid, could not have been within it; nor do they speak of the sums offered for its redemption. Rozet-as-Safa, Tabkat Aeberi, nor even Ferishta, says nothing of any definite sum being offered for it. His words are, the Brahmins went to the servants of Mahmood, and said, if the king will let the image alone we will give as much gold—meaning, probably, an equal weight—to the public treasury. The crores and millions are due to Dow and Gibbon. Ferishta, however, invents the hidden treasures of rubies and pearls with quite as little warrant. Somnauth was, in fact, a *Linga*, a *Nath* or deity ascribed to Soma, the moon, as having been erected by him in honour of Siva. It was one of the twelve principal types of that deity which were celebrated in India at the time of the first Mohammedan invasion.—MILL'S *History of India*, note by Wilson, vol. ii. p. 251.

dominions, there to recruit fresh strength and determination for further conquests. The pages of his historians are encumbered with the enumeration of the spoils, and their aggregate value, taken at each successive visit from the Indians.

To commemorate the success of this, and probably the preceding campaigns, he ordered a magnificent mosque to be built in Ghizni. The materials were marble and granite. Such was its transcendental splendour, it was called the Celestial Bride. It was furnished with carpets marvellously wrought, of the most exquisite and costly materials. The candelabra and other ornaments were of silver and gold. He also added an endowment of more sterling value—a university, which he supplied with a large and valuable collection of curious books in various languages, and a museum of natural curiosities. To its maintenance he appropriated a large sum of money, besides funds amply sufficient for the support of the students and professors, duly qualified to instruct the former in the arts and sciences.

The refined taste thus manifested by the sultan produced its effects among a people who had been proportionally participators with him in the plunder of the infidels; they endeavoured to vie with each other in the architectural style and decorations of their residences. Palatial mansions rose on every side; the public buildings surpassed in magnificence and effect; and in a very short time Ghizni was embellished with mosques, porches, fountains, reservoirs, aqueducts, and cisterns, beyond any city in the East.

The services which Mahmood had rendered to Islam were re-echoed through all the countries in which the Koran had been propagated. The glorious deeds he had done were written out, and presented to the caliph. He ordered the book containing them to be read publicly to the faithful at Bagdad, and exhibited his gratification by commemorating such distinguished success by the solemnization of a great festival.

Mahmood having been called upon to repress the outrages of some desert tribes, who, in the weakness of the caliphate, had ventured to interrupt the communication with Mecca, soon cleared that road of all who had dared to molest the pilgrims.

The accidental success of Mahmood in his last mentioned incursion into India, the submission of the Rajah of Kanouj, and his desertion of the creed of his race, had not destroyed among the Hindoos their assurance of a better future. No sooner had the Ghiznites retired from the peninsula than a confederacy was formed to crush the renegade, and before his new master could come to his aid the traitor met the death he merited. On his arrival on the banks of the Jumna, hastening to succour his tributary, Mahmood was surprised to find the Rajah of Lahore, who had so often fled before his troops, drawn up in order of battle on the opposite bank, prepared to dispute his passage. Assaulted by an insignificant body of the invaders, the natives fled in the greatest disorder. He pursued the fugitive prince to his capital, entered it without opposition, and surrendered it to the indiscriminate pillage of his army. The prince of Lahore sought refuge in Ajmeer, and Mahmood returned to Ghizni, having appointed governors to various districts in Hindostan. This is the first time it is recorded—and after the lapse of twenty-three years—that Moslem governors were left in India east of the Indus. Thus was permanent possession taken by the Ghiznites of the Punjaub, and the first foundation laid in Hindostan of a Mohammedan empire, in A.D. 1022, by the annexation of the principality of Lahore.

Whether the repletion of wealth or the advance of years had produced its sedative influences upon the predatory disposition of the sultan his historians have not deigned to record. The plunder of Kanouj was the last in his eleventh Indian campaign.

The twelfth Indian campaign is celebrated wherever there is a Mohammedan as the model of a religious invasion. On this ever-memorable undertaking all Mahmood's energies seem to have been reinvigorated and brought into action. To bequeath a name as a wise and beneficent sovereign, an irresistible conqueror, a benefactor to his country, a patron of the liberal arts and sciences, did not satisfy his expansive ambition: to rank amongst the faithful followers of the Prophet was his master passion. This characteristic is manifested in every page of his life. From youth, whatever may have been his religious observances, he scarcely ever omitted an opportunity of manifesting his bitter and unrelenting hostility to everything bordering on idolatry, and now, in mature age, when successes justified repose, he made a final effort, which was to transmit his name to posterity as one of the severest scourges of idolatry, if not the greatest promoter of Islam.

In the year A.D. 1024 he assembled an army consisting of fifty-four thousand chosen horse, and thirteen hundred elephants, trained for foreign service. These gigantic preparations were made against the Temple of Somnauth, situated near the southern extremity of the peninsula of Gujerat, near the city of Diu, approachable on one side by land, on the

other accessible by the sea, which chafed against its other sides. The importance of this place, and the very high estimation in which it was held, may be appreciated from the facts recorded. It is said that from two to three hundred thousand votaries used to attend this temple during eclipses — two thousand villages had been granted by different princes to maintain its establishments — there were two thousand priests, five hundred dancing women, and three hundred musicians attached to it. A chain supporting a bell, which worshippers struck during prayers, weighed two hundred muns of gold; the idol was washed daily with water brought from the Ganges, a distance of a thousand miles.* Mahmood had heard of the great riches and supposed sanctity of the celebrated temple, and was further incited by the arrogance of the priests, who had foolishly boasted that other strongholds had yielded to Mahmood by reason of their impiety, but that should he have the temerity to approach Somnauth, he would there meet the fate his wickedness merited. The veneration in which it was held, and the mysterious legends long circulated about it, perhaps generated a confidence in its impregnability. The Hindoos believed, as Ferishta states,† that the souls of the dead congregated before Somnauth,‡ and were there transformed into other bodies, in proportion to their merits in their former state. They also asserted that the ebb and flow of the tides—an extraordinary spectacle to people unaccustomed to such phenomena—represented the obedience paid by the ocean to this shrine. They also affirmed that the idol had stood there since the time of Krishnu, about four thousand years before, according to their computation.

The Mohammedan army had reached the city of Mooltan, and, as a large desert lay before them, the sultan gave orders to them to provide themselves with water and other essentials. They passed the desert, and arrived at Ajmeer. The city was abandoned at his advance, and given up to plunder; also the adjacent country. Neglecting no precaution on his march, he at length reached Somnauth without opposition. Here he encountered the most serious resistance he had yet met with. The priests and guardians defended it with all the determination which the noblest incentives—altars and homes—could inflame. Besides, there were assembled to their support the young and old enthusiasts of all the neighbouring kingdoms identified with them in creed. The soldiers of Mahmood were many of them veterans, the victors in hard-contested fields, with unfaltering faith in the capabilities and good fortune of their leader and the succour of their Prophet. They repeatedly advanced to the charge, and were as often repelled from their ground. The Hindoos made so spirited a resistance, that as often as the Mohammedans, to the inspiriting cry of Allah Akbar, applied their scaling-ladders to the walls, and endeavoured to ascend, they were hurled from their position. In an engagement outside the walls the struggle was maintained with equal resolution. At length, by a daring personal exploit of their zealot chief, the Mohammedans were victorious, and the triumphant sultan entered the temple.

A magnificent view here met his enraptured gaze. The lofty roof of this temple was supported by thirty-six pillars, overlaid with plates of gold, and encrusted at intervals with clusters of rubies, emeralds, and other precious stones. One pendant lamp alone illumined the spacious edifice, whose light, reflected by a thousand jewels, shed a strong and refulgent lustre through the temple. In the midst stood Somnauth himself, an idol composed of one entire block, fifty cubits in height, forty-seven of which were buried in the ground, and on that spot, according to Brahminical tradition, he had been adored between four and five thousand years. Around the dome were suspended some thousand images in gold and silver, of various shapes and dimensions. In this sacred place, as in a pantheon, seemed to be assembled all the deities worshipped in the peninsula. Filled with indignation at sight of the gigantic idol the monarch aimed a blow at its head with his iron mace. The nose was struck from its face. A treasure of money equal to ten millions sterling was offered by the Brahmins for its preservation. The Omrahs, dazzled with the ransom, counselled its acceptance. Mahmood, exclaiming that he valued the title of breaker, not seller of idols, gave orders to proceed with the work of destruction. The image was shattered by repeated blows, and from its hollow womb poured forth a hidden horde of diamonds and other jewels, that amply repaid him for the sacrifice of the ransom. Two pieces of this idol were transmitted to Mecca and Medina, and two to Ghizni, where one was to be seen at the palace, and one at the public mosque as late as the seventeenth century, when Ferishta wrote his history.*

* The value of the chain, if in Tubrizi muns, would be above £100,000.

† Ferishta, vol. i. p. 250.

‡ D'Herbelot, misled by some of the Persian historians, makes Somnauth the same as the city of Vesiapore, in the Deccan.—*Biblioth. Orient. ad verbum*, Soumenat.

* Maurice's *History of Hindostan*, vol. i. p. 295.

The treasures which, on this occasion, fell into the hands of the conquerors, exceeded all preceding captures. After this Mahmood, having chastised the princes who had assisted in defence of the temple, reduced all Gujerat to obedience. It is said that he was so captivated with the beauty of the country, the richness of the soil, and the salubrity of the climate, that he conceived the design of fixing his court there, and of resigning Ghizni to one of his sons. This proposal was strongly opposed by his advisers; he appointed to the government of it a Hindoo, and then returned to Ghizni after an absence of two years and a half.

With this campaign it may be said closed the career of Mahmood, so far as the history of India is concerned, with the exception of the comparatively unimportant incidents of the punishment of the Jats (Juts or Jaats), a people who inhabited a country on the Indus, southward from Mooltan, who had given him some unrecorded annoyance on his return from Gujerat. He expired at Ghizni, on the 29th of April, 1030, in the sixty-third year of his age.

Of the entire series of Mohammedan rulers there is none who, among the followers of the Prophet, is held in higher estimation for his warlike achievements, and fidelity to the injunctions of the Koran, so far as the imposition of Islam is concerned.

The education of this prince had prepared him for the brilliant part which he subsequently played. From his boyhood, like the son of Hamilcar, he was the camp attendant of his warlike father, and had at a very early age manifested a decided military capacity. Thus qualified, and with his mind matured, he found himself, at the age of thirty, in a remote province, when the intelligence was conveyed to him of the death of his father, and the ascension of his brother to the throne. Whether his exclusion was owing to his absence or to his illegitimacy, is not known; but whatever might be the cause, it was not his want of seniority, as it is asserted that Ishmael, the chosen of his father, was a youth in comparison to him. Mahmood did not accept the arrangements of his father. He laid claim to the succession, and enforced his right, still protesting the strongest attachment for his brother; to whom, after defeat and in confinement, he prescribed every indulgence consistent with his safe keeping. In addition to those victories and acquisitions, the consequences of his twelve Indian campaigns already related, he, in the commencement of his reign, asserted his independence of the caliphs, and was the first who assumed the title of Sultan, since so generally adopted by the Moslem princes; he humbled the dynasty of the Samanas, and took possession of all Transoxiana. He crushed the power of the formidable Tartars, and that of the not less formidable Affghans; imposed a rajah on Gujerat and exacted tribute; and crowned all these brilliant achievements by the subjugation of Persia. An illustrious instance of his enlightened patronage of literature, and princely endowments of colleges and pensions to men of letters, has been previously furnished; the latter amounted to £10,000 a year. In consequence of this munificence, his capital was said to have exhibited a greater assemblage of literary genius and architectural excellence than any other Mohammedan sovereign has ever been able to produce. Ferdosi, the author of *Shah Namah*, the most celebrated poem of the East, was an honoured guest at his court.

The reader of the foregoing sketch need not be told how sincerely devoted he was to his convictions. In the prosecution of his ambitious projects he always testified his abhorrence of idolatry, and his recognition of one God, and the glorification of his Prophet. Reared up in veneration of the mission of the sword, as a propagator of Mohammedanism, it is not to be wondered at if some cruel, blood-stained, revolting features are blended in his lineaments. His tendencies were humane. With preparations made for a war on Persia, he was disarmed by a letter from the mother of the young prince, who told him that she might have feared him while her warlike husband was alive, but that now she felt secure in the conviction that he was too generous to attack a defenceless woman, and too wise to risk his glory in a conquest where no addition to it could be gained. After that magnanimous sacrifice to fine and generous feeling, how abhorrently does the following contrast with it, Invading Irak, he perfidiously seized on the person of the prince who had chivalrously trusted himself in his camp; he deprived him of his territory, and put remorselessly thousands of his adherents to death, who loyally rose to vindicate the rights of their sovereign; and these crimes were not perpetrated in the impetuosity of youth, but at the close of his life on the verge of the grave.

His ruling passion—if poetic justice, which is very doubtful, were done to him—was avarice. His treatment of the poet Ferdosi is well authenticated, and a striking proof of his complex character.

The poet, who, from time to time, as he progressed, read portions of his great epic to his royal patron, in which are embodied the

achievements of the Persian kings and heroes, received on those occasions royal gifts. When the whole was concluded, after thirty years' labour, as Ferdosi himself relates, the rewards received were disproportioned to the greatness of the work. Ferdosi rejected what was offered, and indignantly withdrew to his native city Tus, and soon composed and published a bitter satire against Mahmood, and held himself prepared to fly from that monarch's dominions, if he found it necessary to shun the effects of his revenge. Mahmood generously forgot the insult, while he remembered the great epic; and sent a remuneration to the poet, sufficiently ample to satisfy his most extravagant expectations. This bounty came too late in a double sense. As the treasures entered the house by one door the poet's bier was borne out of another; and the facts which leave stains on the king's character would have perished from the memory of man, had they not been embalmed and preserved in the immortal verses of the poet.

The daughter of Ferdosi at first rejected the untimely gift. By the persuasion of the sultan she at length accepted it, and expended it on an embankment to afford a supply of water to the city where her father had been born, and to which he had been always much attached.

Ferishta says that it is a well-established fact, that a few days before his death, to gratify his avaricious appetite, Mahmood had commanded all his gold and caskets of precious stones to be strewed before him. When he beheld them he wept, and he ordered them to be restored to their repository.

It is also related, that one day he asked one of the court attendants what quantity of valuable jewels the Samany dynasty had accumulated. He was informed that one of them had seven *ruttuls* weight of precious stones. Mahmood cried out, "Thanks to thee, all-powerful Being, who hast enabled me to collect more than one hundred ruttuls."

He commanded a wealthy citizen to be summoned to his presence, and reproached him for being an idolater and an apostate from the faith. The citizen replied, "O King, I am not an idolater nor an apostate; but I am possessed of wealth; take it, but inflict not on me a two-fold injury by robbing me both of my money and of my good name." The king is said to have confiscated the money, and then presented him with a certificate certifying the orthodoxy of his tenets.

The following well-known story, recorded in most notices of him, is a singular and characteristic exemplification of his rigid notions of military subordination. A petitioner one day complained that Mahmood's nephew, an officer in the army, had conceived a passion for his wife, a beautiful but faithless woman, who had sacrificed her honour and received him to her embraces. That the prince, in his frequent visits to his house, heaped injuries upon, and was in the habit of inflicting personal punishment, and of then ejecting him from the house. The king, deeply effected, reproved the poor man for not having previously made this case known to him. The man assured him he had often endeavoured to do so, but was always repelled. He was then directed to give the king notice when the next visit was made. The injured man having done as ordered, Mahmood, enveloped in the folds of his cloak, attended him to his home, and found his nephew and paramour together. Having extinguished the candle which had been burning on the carpet near their couch, he severed the head of the adulterer from his body, and then commanded the man to bring a light and a draught of water. The poor man fell at the king's feet, and poured forth his gratitude in unmeasured language, and then begged him to say why he had put out the candle, and afterwards called so eagerly for water to drink. The king replied, he had put out the candle that pity might not arrest his hand in the execution of his duty, for that he tenderly loved the youth; and, moreover, that he had registered a vow to God, when he first heard the complaint, that he would neither eat nor drink till he had brought the criminal to justice, which was the cause of his intense thirst.

The predatory nature of his excursions, the little attention paid to the internal organization of his government, the proximate downfall of his dynasty, and the disruption of his dominions, do not impress respect for his administrative ability or enlarged views of policy, or justify the high estimate of his admirers, who claim for him the possession of every royal virtue.

He is represented to have been of middle stature, athletic, and well proportioned, but with a countenance scarred with the smallpox, a source of deep mortification to him; and that the glory of his career might efface the impression of his features, is by some stated to have been the stimulant which first roused into action and sustained to the last his indomitable resolution and warlike enterprises. His disposition was cheerful, and he lived in harmony with all who were attached to his person.

A great social revolution had been gradually and unnoticed in operation. The Arabs—the kindred, first disciples, and fearless

soldiers of the Prophet—had lost much of their early prestige. Their power was divided, their enthusiasm was no longer as of old, their influence had been a long time on the wane, and though many of them were still employed both as soldiers and civil officers, a great portion of the court and army were Turks, and the great mass of the population was Persian. It is to be regretted that the historians of the past disregarded all other materials than those which perpetuated and ministered to the military renown, and explained the foreign relations, of their respective countries. There is now no means of becoming acquainted with the state of society, the progress of the various grades of the people, and of public and domestic manners in the kingdom of Ghizni. Had there existed any sources of such information, it would be an invaluable acquisition in tracing the history of the various succeeding dynasties in India; all of which, it will be seen, trace their origin to the court or neighbourhood of that kingdom.

At the time of Mahmood's death, his sons Mohammed and Musaood were both absent. The former was the favourite of the father, and to him was bequeathed the vacant throne. Mohammed was accordingly put in possession, and inaugurated his reign by opening the well-filled exchequer of which he had obtained possession, and making largesses to his friends, and all whose adherence would be desirable in the crisis which he felt conscious impended. Notwithstanding this profuse liberality, the hearts of the soldiers and the people were devoted to Musaood. When he made his appearance to fight for the crown, hosts crowded to his standard; the contest was soon decided. Mohammed was imprisoned, after a reign of five months, and deprived of his eyesight. After the death of his brother he was restored to the throne. He ruled for one year, but was put to death by his nephew, the son of Musaood.

During the nine years of Musaood's reign, three incursions were made by him into Hindostan. The first was in the year A.D. 1033; his route lay through the hills of Cashmere, in which he met with some opposition, the only incident of the campaign, which was soon overcome.

One of those famines, of such frequent occurrence in the East, occurred this year. Whole provinces of Hindostan were entirely depopulated, and in parts of the kingdom scarcely a single house escaped the plague.

In 1035, the disobedience of an Indian rajah provoked the second incursion, and in the following year he marched in person to reduce Sewalik, a principality lying along the base of the mountain where the Ganges first rolls it waters into the Indian plains. The capital, though strongly fortified and well garrisoned, yielded after six days' attack. The booty which fell into his hands is said to have been immense. Thence he proceeded to take the fort of Sunput, situated within forty miles of Delhi, on the road to Lahore; the garrison vacated it on the approach of the Mohammedans, and sought shelter in the woods. He then designed to proceed against another offending rajah called Ram, but was pacified by the submission and magnificent present made to him to deprecate his wrath. His Indian proceedings were here interrupted by a circumstance fated to initiate a series of operations which proved the ruin of the reigning house, overthrew most of the existing rulers of the Mohammedans, and led to the establishment of a power in India extensive and still abiding—namely, the Turks, who have played a prominent part in subsequent events as professors and soldiers of Islam.

## CHAPTER XXXV.

### THE HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF THE HOUSES OF GHIZNI (*Concluded*).

THE first mention which is met with in history of the Turks, is in the war which the Emperor Heraclius waged in the beginning of the seventh century, against Khosroes Purvees, the son of Ormuz, King of Persia. The Persian owed a great deal of his success to the aid of the Avars, a tribe of Tartars, who when driven out of their country by some Turkish hordes, solicited and obtained, from the weak policy of the Emperor Justinian, leave to feed their flocks within the limits of the empire. To oppose the ravages of these barbarians Heraclius made an alliance with the Turks, by whom they had been expelled, and a tribe of them who bore the name Khozars, issued under their chief, Zubil, from the plains of the Volga, and joined the emperor in Georgia.* In the eleventh century

* Malcolm's *History of Persia*, vol. i. p. 160, note. Other historians ascribe the first appearance of the Turks in the West to the eleventh century. See Mill, &c. Malcolm's authority on this point is superior to theirs.

they present themselves as one of the most numerous and formidable of the pastoral nations. The declining years of Mahmood were disturbed by their reported bravery and the numbers of them that roved over the wastes of Bokhara. In an assumed kindly tone he once inquired of a Turkish envoy what assistance might he expect from them in case of attack:—"Send this," said the Turk, holding forth an arrow, "and fifty thousand horsemen will repair to your standard; add another from my quiver, and the number will be doubled; if you need further aid, dispatch my bow through our tribes, and two hundred thousand mounted warriors will obey the summons." * Mahmood listened to the answer with deep alarm, but the storm which he apprehended from that surcharged and threatening cloud did not burst till after his death. For four centuries their strength had been accumulating. Mahmood imprudently, and contrary to the advice of his more far-seeing counsellors, had granted to their entreaties permission to pass the Oxus with their flocks and herds, and to occupy the uninhabited plains of Khorassan. Three brothers, the sons of a chief named Seljuk, availed themselves of the concession, and their numbers were soon considerably increased by the accessions, which every day brought, from the thickly populated fields they had left behind. During the reign of their benefactor there was no reason to regret their proximity, no complaint against them seems to have been raised.

Though some chiefs of the Turks had risen previously to the highest command under the governments they served,—as the Mamelukes at Bagdad, and Aluptugeen himself, the founder of the existing dynasty,—yet the Seljukians were the first, in modern times, of their race that secured permanent possessions to the south of the Oxus.

Seljuk, from whom this people had their patronymic, was the son of the Emir Vekank, whose influence over the monarch was very considerable. On the death of this minister he was in command of the armies of his sovereign. His anxious curiosity is said to have provoked the indignation of the seraglio; and here again to the agency of woman is attributed a circumstance to which are traceable the rise and fall of empires. Influenced by the promptings of one of the king's wives, Seljuk was disgraced, and with his family and friends fled from the court into the territories adjacent to Samarcand. The Tartars in their southern migrations were soon identified in religion with the people among whom they sojourned. The followers of Seljuk rapidly increased. His residence became the asylum of all the expatriated and adventurous of the neighbouring clans. Their individuality was lost in the common passion for conquest and plunder.

The schemes of aggrandizement which occupied the thoughts of Seljuk did not perish with him. The wars which his grandsons, Togrol Beg and Techeger Beg, waged against the princes of Transoxiana spread their fame far and wide, and filled the King Musaood with well-grounded apprehension. When making preparations for his third expedition into India, the King of Ghizni was strongly advised to turn his attention to repress the encroachments of the Seljuks, who had already appropriated Samarcand and Bokhara. He, unfortunately for himself, rejected this salutary advice, and thus left the two grandsons of Seljuk to establish their power in the newly-acquired territories, and to mature their plans of future aggrandizement. The result was that when, at length, Musaood was obliged to adopt vigorous measures, the enemy were enabled utterly to defeat him, and secured their crowning victory at Zendeean, in Khorassan, under the command of Togrol Beg. This victory was so decisive, and productive of such important consequences, that the colossal empire of the Ghizinites was shivered to atoms.

Togrol Beg thus became the first sultan of the Seljukian Turks. He became master of a very extensive empire, which stretched from Bokhara to Syria, and from the Indus to the Black Sea. He lived to an old age, and, dying in his seventieth year, bequeathed his throne to his nephew, Alp Arslan. This powerful prince reigned without a rival His alliance was eagerly sought by the Caliph of Egypt, and as a symbol of his double empire, as ruler of the East and West, on state occasions he had a scimitar girt to each thigh.

Driven from Ghizni by the victorious Turks, Modood, the son and successor of Musaood, retired to his Indian dominion, and wasted much of his surviving force in wreaking vengeance on his uncle and his sons, who had imprisoned and assassinated his father, after his defeat and humiliation. Having avenged his father's death, he built the town of Futtehabad to his memory. Modood had for his portion of the Indian empire Lahore and its dependencies. These, after his death, fell into his successor's hands, as did all the country east of the Indus, as far as Hansy and Tahnesur.

To recover the latter, and indeed to expel the Mohammedan power out of India, and avenge the outrages on the gods of the Hindoo mythology, the Rajah of Delhi, with

* D'Herbelot. See "Seljook."

the co-operation of other native princes and the Brahmins, preached upa holy war against their invaders, thus anticipating by half a century the first Christian crusade, provoked by kindred outrages on what the Moslems denounced as the idolatry of the followers of Christ. The Indian holy war dates from A.D. 1043, the first crusade from A.D. 1095. The Mohammedans were ejected from their recent acquisitions. Thence the Hindoos marched towards the fort and temple of Nagrakote, whose capture and plunder have been described in a former page. Four months was devoted to its recovery. The garrison having all their supplies cut off, their provisions consumed, and no hope of succour from Lahore, were reduced to an unconditional surrender. The Hindoos, naturally elated by their repeated successes, calculated on the entire restoration of their independence, and the re-establishment of their multifarious creeds in all their pristine splendour and power. The great incentive to a superstitious people, the direct and immediate interposition of providence, on so many occasions, and in so many places, pressed into service, was not wanting. It was authoritatively, publicly, and generally announced that the Rajah of Delhi had a vision, in which the great and venerated idol, so summarily treated by Mahmood some years previous at Nagrakote, had appeared, and asserted that he was now prepared to avenge the sacrilegious contumelies heaped upon him, that he had executed summary punishment at Ghizni, and would meet the rajah at Nagrakote in his former temple. This story was hailed with general credence. Zealots from all quarters soon swelled the ranks of the pious rajah, and he soon saw himself at the head of a numerous force, confident in the assurance of heavenly aid, ready to confront every danger, and dare the most hazardous. With these enthusiasts he besieged Nagrakote. It soon fell into their hands. The following morning, in a garden in the centre of the place, where for centuries it had received the homage of its credulous worshippers, stood identical in size, shape, and features, the cherished idol of their adoration, which had been shattered into fragments by the vigorous assaults of the audacious Mahmood. Great was the exultation of the surprised and delighted votaries. They exclaimed that their god had returned from Ghizni. No artifice was imputed to the rajah and the Brahmins. To their god and his mysterious influence was thankfully given all the credit of this palpable miracle. Its reputation suddenly raised to such a degree the fame of this shrine, that thousands came daily from all parts of Hindostan to perform their devotions, and to consult the oracle upon all important occasions. Ferishta, the Mohammedan historian, avers that in his time—in the seventeenth century—"the offerings of gold, and silver, and jewels, brought and sent by the different princes of India, from far and near, were supposed to have nearly equalled the mass of wealth removed by Mahmood."

The success of the Rajah of Delhi inspired such confidence into the princes of the Punjaub and other places, that, "though before this time," our authority quaintly says, "like foxes they durst hardly creep from their holes, for fear of the Moslems' arms, yet now they put on the aspect of lions, and openly set their masters at defiance."

Three of the allied rajahs, with an army composed of ten thousand horse, and an innumerable host of infantry, advanced on Lahore, and invested it. The siege lasted seven months. The Mohammedans had everything to fight for; they defended the town street by street, for the walls, being bad, were soon reduced to a heap of ruins; despairing of aid, and finding that they must be overpowered, they bound themselves by oath to conquer or die, and with this alternative made a sally. Their temerity was their salvation. The enemy, panic stricken, fled in disorder when they presented themselves, and fearful slaughter was made of the flying host.

The petty but fierce and treacherous conflicts waged by the succeeding princes, till their utter extinction, have no historical interest to command lengthened notice: suffice it to say that attempts, and in some cases attended with temporary success, were made for the recovery of Ghizni. Wars, interrupted by alliances often sacrificed to political interests, were waged with the Turks and the princes of Ghoor, as well as with the rival members of their own house. One of these princes, and not the worst, confirmed to the Turks all the territory which they had wrested from his family. In the reign of Musaood III. it is recorded that his army passed the Ganges, and carried his conquests farther in Hindostan than any Mussulman had previously, except the Emperor Mahmood. The Sultan Beiram is described as possessing a noble and generous spirit, and as a patron of literature. "Several works were by his orders translated from various languages, among which is one particularly mentioned, an Indian book, called the *Kuleel-oo-Dumna*, translated into Persian, and presented with a chess-board to Nowsherwan, surnamed the Just, King of Persia, before the dissolution of the Hindoo empire of India." The present of the chess-board was said to be intended as an experiment to try

the genius of the vizier, and to indicate, that in the great game of state, attention and foresight were of more importance than chance; while the book was calculated to convey the lesson that wisdom is always in the end an overmatch for strength.

Beiram, in the days of his prosperity, made two attempts to chastise a refractory Indian subject. This was his governor of Lahore, whom he succeeded, in his first visit, in reducing to obedience, and then reinstated him in his post, A.D. 1118. Shortly after, this ungrateful subject, whose name was Mohammed Bhyleem, built the fort of Nagore, to which he conveyed his wealth and family. He then raised an army composed of reckless adventurers, and committed great devastations in several Indian principalities, and at length aspired to sovereign power. Sultan Beiram, apprised of his intention, marched a second time to chastise him. Bhyleem, and his ten sons, all governors of provinces, united their respective forces to oppose him. A battle followed; the malcontents were obliged to break ground; in their retreat the eleven, with their attendants, sank into a deep quagmire, and all there ignominiously perished. Having appointed a ruler over the conquered districts, Beiram retired to his capital.

His next important deed was the public execution of his brother-in-law, the prince of Ghoor, whose death was amply avenged, and the sultan was obliged to evacuate Ghizni to the avenger. The triumph of the latter was brief. His new subjects betrayed him into the hands of their late sovereign, who inflicted on him a singular and ignominious death. The captive had his forehead blackened, was then seated on a bullock with his face towards the tail, and thus having been exposed to the entire populace, amid their shouts and insults, he was put to the torture, his head cut off, and sent to the Turkish sultan. This barbarity hastened the downfall of this failing dynasty. The surviving brother of the two murdered chiefs prepared to avenge them. Beiram suffered a signal defeat, and fled for safety towards his Indian realms, but, overwhelmed by his misfortunes, he soon breathed his last after a reign of thirty-five years, A.D. 1152.

Alla-ood-Deen, of Ghoor, the conqueror, entered Ghizni in triumph, and that noble city, the seat of empire, was for seven days committed to the plunder and fury of the victorious and avenging army, while the heir of Beiram found refuge in Lahore. The last scene of this horrid drama was played by Mohammed of Ghoor, a brother also of the three princes who figured in the last acts, and Koshrow Malik, grandson of Beiram, and last of this race, who rather atoned for the offences of his predecessors than his own. His private and public virtues, all of which are claimed for him, did not propitiate his hereditary enemy, who first reduced Ghizni, then marched to India, overrunning the provinces of Peshawur, Affghanistan, Mooltan, and the Indus, at length approached Lahore, and A.D. 1180 invested Khosrow Malik in his palace. It did not then fall, but in four years after the attack was renewed for some alleged violation of treaty, and two years after, A.D. 1186, the empire passed away for ever to the house of Ghoor, whose history shall form the subject of the next chapter.

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

### THE DYNASTIES OF GHOOR AND KHILJI.

MOHAMMED GHOORY, the founder of this dynasty, was, nominally, acting under the orders of his brother, but possessing greater abilities, and being more actively engaged in civil and military affairs, he was in greater favour with men of influence than the sovereign, of whom he was in reality the ruler. As soon as he had restored order in the lately captured province of Lahore he returned to Ghizni, but did not long remain there. In the year A.D. 1191 he proceeded to Hindostan, to encounter a formidable combination of native rajahs. The leaders of this patriotic movement were the princes of Delhi and of Ajmeer. Their army was composed of two hundred thousand horse and three thousand elephants. The hostile forces met within eighty miles of Delhi; and although Mohammed is said to have displayed great personal courage, his army was completely routed, and he, with great difficulty, escaped, severely wounded, having been hotly pursued for a distance of forty miles. After this discomfiture he retired to the court of his brother in Ghoor, and having brought together a force of a hundred and twenty thousand chosen horse, composed principally of Turks and Affghans, he sought the recovery of his dominions, and marching through Peshawur and Mooltan (names immortalized

in English history), he directed his course to Lahore, whence he sent an ambassador to the Indian chiefs, with a declaration of war, should they refuse to embrace Islam. As might be expected from a people so devoted to their vernacular belief, flushed with recent victory, a haughty answer was given, and a formidable host, far more numerous than the former, was prepared to indorse this acceptance of the issue. They met again—rather a strange coincidence—on the banks of the Soorsutty, to decide their fate. The number of Rajpoot princes in the Indian camp amounted to a hundred and fifty, but this number will not be deemed incredible, if, as Briggs states, the title was applied to all the members of a family which enjoyed feudatory estates, and may be compared to the title of baron in Germany. They pledged themselves by the most solemn of their oaths (the sacred Ganges), "that they would conquer their enemies, or die martyrs to their faith," and dispatched a threatening letter—an avowal of their determination—to their invader, in which they averred, in the high-flown phraseology, which can find a faint medium of conveyance in the English language, "that they had sworn, if he had determined to brave his evil destiny, to advance upon him with their rank-breaking elephants, their plain-trampling horses, and blood-thirsting soldiers, early the following morning, to crush the army which his ambition was leading to ruin." To this a modest reply was given, that Mohammed was merely executing the commands of his sovereign, and requesting a truce till he had communicated to him the state of affairs. This message had the intended effect. The Indians, thrown off their guard by the affected semblance of apprehension, spent the following night in riot and revelry. The dawn of the morning revealed to them the true aspect of affairs. As the darkness cleared away the sheen of the splendid mail, glittering with a profusion of jewels and gold, of an army in battle array in possession of their outposts, flashed upon their startled vision. They were surprised in a double sense, but not dismayed. The extent of their lines enabled them to push forward their cavalry, and give a timely check to the advancing Mohammedans until the main body was in order to engage. By this manœuvre they were enabled to commence the fight, which they did in four lines, with great resolution and military organization. The details, though interesting, may be well sacrificed to space and other matter. Enough to say, by a well devised stratagem, the Moslems eventually achieved a victory. Two of the Indian chiefs fell; many of the princes shared the same fate; and, as the historian forcibly phrases it, "this prodigious army, once shaken, like a great building, tottered to its fall, and was lost in its own ruins." The usual consequences of Eastern warfare follow—havoc, plunder, butchery, and slavery. Desolation charred the path of the conqueror. In the following year (1196)—it may be well to mention it, as it is the first notice of the town—Gwalior fell into Mohammed's hands, and, by the death of his brother, he succeeded to the regal name, having long possessed the power. The remainder of his reign was principally occupied in affairs, however important, alien to Indian history. He was assassinated while reposing in his tent, A.D. 1206.

It may not be irrevelant here to say that contemporaneous to these events the caliphate of Egypt was the theatre of one of the most extraordinary incidents in history, and in which the people of England played the most prominent part—namely, the war waged by the "lion-hearted" Plantagenet, Richard I., in the remote realms of Saladin, equally famous in the history of his people. It was during this period the siege of Acre took place, when the Christian chivalry, in the vigour and strength of their steel-clad squadrons, broke through the ranks of the Turkish host, and left twenty emirs and seven thousand of the flower of the sultan's cavalry to "bite the dust" on their native plains; that Jaffa and Cesaræa fell, the way to Jerusalem and its holy places, as they are called, were opened to the Christian pilgrim, an object *then* paramount to all others; and such deeds performed by England's king, that for centuries after the Syrian mother hushed her screaming babe to silence with his awe-inspiring name. This period also witnessed the second crusade, the beginning and end of the fourth, and several other memorable events, not to be noticed further here.

The successor of the last-named prince was Kootb-ood-Deen, who had not any hereditary nor testamentary claim. In the reign of his sovereign he had acquired some distinction for his civil and military capacity, and liberality to men of letters,—a virtue or a policy which secures for him, as for every Mecænas, whatever his transgressions, a distinguished niche in the posthumous gallery of illustrious men. He had been originally a slave, and the development of his qualities and subsequent aggrandizement may, without any depreciation of his personal virtues, be attributed to the accident of having a king for his purchaser. When the death of his master was made known, he proclaimed his own independence, which he maintained till his death, and made Delhi the seat of his government. When a man is praised for his gene-

rosity in India, they say to this day, "He is as liberal as Kootb-ood-Deer. Eibuk." A few slaves succeeded to him on the throne; they are called by historians the Slave Dynasty.

Taj-ood-Deen Yeldooz, his successor, was, like himself, a slave. On him had been conferred by Mohammed Ghoory the honour of carrying the black standard of Ghizni, a privilege confined to the heir-apparent. On the death of his royal master and benefactor, Taj-ood-Deen was proclaimed King of Ghizni. His first act after his accession was the invasion of the Punjaub, and the occupation of Lahore; but in his course of conquest he was checked by his contemporary, Kootb-ood-Deen, and deprived of his kingdom, but soon after recovered it, and conceived the notion of conquering India. For this purpose he raised an army some time after the death of Kootb-ood-Deen. Having reduced a few of the northern districts, he was defeated near Delhi by Shums-ood-Deen Altmish, taken prisoner, and died in confinement, A.D. 1215, having reigned only nine years.

To understand this very intricate passage of Indian history, avoided by many, confused by others,—when the divided empire of their master was contemporaneously ruled over by his four favourite slaves, and his nephew, his legitimate heir,—it is necessary to say a few words of another of them.

Baha-ood-Deen Togrol had raised himself from a servile condition to a position of some repute in the service of Mohammed Ghoory, who, when he was leaving Hindostan, gave the command of a fort to Togrol in the neighbourhood of Gwalior, and assured him if he conquered that district he would confirm him in the government. Unable to storm this stronghold, he environed it with detached forts, and thus effectually blockaded the hills, and calculated on its inevitable surrender. The Rajah of Gwalior was *sensibly* apprised of that disagreeable fact by his pressing necessities; but in order to disappoint the vulture expectations of his foe, he privately communicated to Kootb-ood-Deen that he would surrender it to him. The latter accordingly took possession of the valuable and much-sought-for prize. The consequences might be expected. This arrangement nearly produced a war between the two chiefs. The sudden death of Togrul alone prevented it.

The fourth now remains to be noticed. Shums-ood-Deen Altmish rose rapidly in royal favour, and in the course of time became the son-in-law, and subsequently general-in-chief, of Kootb-ood-Deen. Upon the death of his father-in-law, Altmish was not satisfied to have the son succeeding the father. To that position he himself aspired, and being a favourite with the army, and by marriage a member of the royal family, he had the means to accomplish his ambitious projects. He advanced against Delhi, the capital, and in the year A.D. 1211, expelled his unoffending brother-in-law from the throne, and declared himself king. There were some who viewed this acquisition as its heinous injustice deserved. The greater part of his Turkish horse, the flower of the army, deserted him. They, uniting with other supporters of legitimacy, advanced in great force on Delhi, but were met and defeated by his superior skill and numbers.

After this event the tributary Rajah of Jalwur having refused to discharge his obligations, he compelled him to do so. He proceeded against the reigning prince of Ghizni, his lord paramount, who had occupied the Punjaub, and defeated and imprisoned him; his death soon followed, as some relate, from poison. He also, on the banks of the Chenab, gained, in A.D. 1217, a complete victory over his brother-in-law. In 1221, the famous but unfortunate Julal-ood-Deen, being defeated in the north by Jenghis Khan, retreated towards Lahore, where his hopes of safety were destroyed, and he compelled to retreat towards Scinde Seveistan. In 1225 he led his victorious army towards Bahar, and Lucknow, the capital of Ghoor, and wrested tribute from the Rajah of Bengal. He caused the currency of that kingdom to be struck in his own name, appointed his son to the government of Bahar, and then returned in triumph to his city of Delhi. About this time, his unfortunate brother-in-law having been drowned, he seized on all his kingdom. In 1227 he conquered the province of Malwa. In 1231 he laid siege to Gwalior, which had again fallen into the hands of the Hindoos. He became master of it. This deed was celebrated by a contemporary poet in four verses, which are still to be seen on an inscription cut upon stone over one of the gateways. After the reduction of this town he directed his march towards Malwa, reduced the fort of Bhilsa, and took the city of Oojein. Here he destroyed a magnificent temple, similar to that at Somnauth, already described. This temple is said to have occupied three hundred years in building, and was surrounded by a wall one hundred cubits high. The image of Vicramaditya, so renowned in Hindoo mythology, and the image of Mahakaly, both of stone, with many other statues in brass, were found in the temple. These the pious vandal had conveyed to Delhi, and they were broken at the door of the principal mosque. He was on his march to seize on Delhi, when his

proud and destructive career was stopped by a power more inexorable than himself. He fell sick, returned to his capital, and terminated his life and his conquests on the 30th of April, 1236.

Little survives, with the exception of his cruelty and treachery to the members of his family, his insatiable thirst for conquest, and the ruthless onslaught on his conquered victims, to afford materials for a discriminate estimate of his character.

His vizier, towards the close of his reign, had been in a similar capacity with the Caliph of Bagdad. It may be worthy of remark that the title of Nizam-ool-Moolk, which was so generally adopted after his reign, is first applied to this vizier. This reign lasted twenty-six years.

His son, Rookn-ood-Deen Feroze, who happened to be in Delhi at the demise of his father, ascended the throne without opposition. His reign is pronounced by the Mohammedans themselves to have been a continuous scene of debauchery and cruelty. While his time was entirely resigned to women, comedians, musicians, and dancing-girls, the management of public affairs was left entirely to his mother, a Turk and a slave, whose character is comprised in this short summary—"a monster of cruelty." The feelings of his subjects, who greeted his ascent to the throne with every demonstration of respect, were grossly outraged and estranged; and when his younger brother, the governor of Oude, raised the standard of revolt, crowds flocked to him. The miserable king was deserted by his principal courtiers, and after a profligate reign of seven months the sceptre was placed in the hands of his sister. He was imprisoned, and died in confinement. His mother shared his captivity.

Ruzea Begum, the eldest daughter of Altmish, proved that she possessed qualifications to rule far superior to those of her brothers; indeed, contrary to oriental precedents, during the life of her father she had, by his encouragement, taken a prominent part in public affairs. It is very probable that it was owing to the knowledge of her business habits that she owed her selection in preference to her brother, the governor of Oude, who was at that time in arms. During the expedition against Gwalior she was entrusted with the reins of government.

She proved herself worthy of the preference. She studiously attended to affairs of state, assumed the imperial robes, and every day gave audience publicly from the throne; revised and confirmed the laws of her father, which had been set aside in the last short reign, and dispensed justice with rigid impartiality. A powerful confederation, formed against her, she effectually suppressed, and also a combination of Indian rajahs. She selected the right men for the right place, and would have in every probability ruled with entire satisfaction had she, so prudent in all other matters, not betrayed that she was not impervious to those softer influences, whose witchery lead captive the human heart. The object of her affections was one least calculated to soothe the wounded sensibilities of her native subjects. Her suspected idol was a foreigner—an Abyssinian. Insurrection followed, and he was the first victim. More than one Rizzio has been poinarded to avenge the suspected honour of a royal dame. She was made a captive, and her young brother raised to the throne. The imprisoned queen fascinated one of her nobility, they were married, and the connexion enabled him to raise an army. Many chiefs of distinction among the neighbouring clans proffered their fealty. The newly-levied force marched on the capital. The two armies met near Delhi; an obstinate conflict ensued. The queen was defeated; she fled to Bithunda. Her adherents were again, after some short time rallied, and in a condition to make a bold effort for the crown. Another defeat followed, and the queen and her husband were seized in their flight, and both put to death by the traitors, whose crimes could not be justified. If there be a similarity in the fates of the suspected paramours, can no parallel be drawn between the fates of the royal mistresses? Does the ill-fated Indian husband exhibit anything in common with the Scottish laird? The histories of nations most widely severed abound with pictures drawn from one original. Such is human nature!

While the Sultana Ruzea Begum was confined in the fort of Bithunda, her young brother Beiram ascended the throne, 1240. The year following intelligence reached the court at Delhi, that the danger which had been for some time approaching had at length reached their doors. The Mogul hordes of Jenghis Khan had invested Lahore; the troops had mutinied, the viceroy had fled, in consequence, by night, and was actually on his way to Delhi. Lahore was plundered by the enemy, and thousands of the inhabitants carried away into slavery. A general council of the state was summoned by royal proclamation, and a resolution adopted to send the vizier and the most experienced officers towards Lahore to oppose the Moguls. The unfortunate king was not aware that the vizier was his enemy; although, not long previously, he was implicated in a conspiracy against him. After the army had penetrated the Punjaub, and reached one of

the five celebrated rivers of that country—whose geographical features have been, in recent years, disclosed by the British campaigns, and which, by that aid, are so fully and satisfactorily before the readers of this history, namely, the Beas, where the town of Sultanpore now stands—he began to sow the seeds of discontent in the minds of the officers; and to facilitate his ends he, in the interim, wrote privately to the king, imputing disaffection and sedition to several of the nobility, requesting that he would either come in person to the army or furnish him with ample power to punish the traitors. Though the prince had just grounds for suspecting the fidelity of his vizier, the wily minister had insinuated himself into his confidence, and he unfortunately gave full credence to his misrepresentations. Beiram replied, that the officers merited the punishment the vizier wished to have the authority to inflict; he at the same time recommended to him the exercise of the greatest amount of caution, and to lull them into an imaginary security till such evidence could be supplied as would leave their guilt unquestioned, and punishment could be inflicted with impunity and without apprehension of disagreeable results. This was the procedure which the crafty minister expected would be adopted, and which would best subserve the plans which he entertained. He produced this communication to the parties unsuspectingly implicated; he inflamed their minds with the bitterest animosity against their grossly abused sovereign, and misled them as to the accuser. He expressed to them his fears that he himself was an object of suspicion, and in as imminent danger as the most obnoxious of them. After some deliberation, the body of the implicated officers resolved to unite in support of the vizier against the king.

The news of this confederacy reached the king's ears; but it was now too late, the mischief was done. Instead of proceeding against the enemy, the army retraced their steps, and, influenced by the worst passions, sought the capital. Having arrived before the walls, they laid siege to it. For three months and a half the citizens stood faithfully by their sovereign. At length, when want and rumours had done their worst, disaffection began to pervade them too; and in May, 1241, both the city and the king became the prey of the rebel force. The unfortunate monarch was thrown into a dungeon. In a few days after he suffered death, after a short and troubled reign of two years and two months.

The anarchy and confusion which prevailed throughout the entire kingdom, on the capture of the city and of the king, gave confidence to faction, and an adventurer having forced his way into the palace, caused himself to be proclaimed king. His rule was of very brief duration: the morning ushered in his ascent to the throne—the evening smiled upon his successor, Alla-ood-Deen Musaood, a member of the royal family, but not the heir-apparent. The rebel vizier still maintained his influence, but he soon met the fate historical justice demanded; he was assassinated at the instigation of the nobles, to whom his overbearing pride, insolence, and crimes had rendered him odious.

In this reign, and in the year 1244, an army of Mogul Tartars made an incursion into Bengal, by way of Khutta and Thibet. Musaood sent a force to the aid of Toghan Khan, the governor of Bengal. The Moguls were completely defeated. The following year another army of Moguls, from Candahar and Talikhan, advanced as far as the Indus, and attacked Oocha. The king in person led an army against them, and when he had arrived on the banks of the Beas, they raised the siege, began to retreat, and finally evacuated the country. This prince was deposed after a reign of about four years, having disgusted his subjects by his scandalous debaucheries, and was succeeded by his uncle, Nasir-ood-Deen Mahmood.

This prince, who was the son of the Sultan Altmish, was appointed by his father governor of Bengal; and on his death was imprisoned by the cruel queen, and released on her overthrow. His great military character, acquired in the wars with his Indian neighbours—his justice, sound policy, and the flourishing state of his province, attracted to him the attention of those who were the authors of the recent revolution. The historians aver that while in prison he disdained any support but that which he commanded by the exercise of his pen; and that when in power, he was the friend of the poor, the protector of the common people, and the patron of learning. It is related that when nominating his vizier to his high office, he assured him, that he confided his own honour to his loyalty and good conduct, he impressed upon him to do no act for which he could not answer to God. In 1247, he took the field and marched towards Mooltan, and thence proceeded to inflict punishment on the Gukkurs, for the assistance they had rendered to the Moguls in their incursions. Several thousands of them, without distinction of age or sex, were doomed to captivity. Several of the ancient nobles, who held estates in the Punjaub on a tenure similar to the feudal, who had not furnished the prescribed quotas

to the army, were deprived of their titles and carried prisoners to Delhi, and their fiefs conferred on their sons or relations on the former military tenure. The countries of the Punjaub and Mooltan were, by these wise and decisive precautions, reduced to entire subjection, and the king's authority firmly restored. In 1247, he led his army into the Doab, between the Ganges and the Jumna, and after an obstinate siege, captured the fort of Bithunda, now Bulundshehr; continuing his progress, he was met at Kurra by two rajahs with their combined forces. These he defeated, plundered their territories, and made prisoners of many of their families. They had previously overrun and pillaged all the country south of the Jumna, a portion of the dominions of Delhi, and had destroyed the king's garrisons from Malwa to Kurra. This exploit concluded this campaign. In 1249, at the head of a well-appointed force, he marched on Mooltan. The only result of this campaign worth record is, that he placed a governor in Nagore and Oocha, who, in the following year, attempted to throw off his allegiance, but was defeated, and obliged to sue for mercy. He was not only pardoned, but reinstated. His attention was then challenged to the hostile demonstrations of one of the Hindoo princes, Jahir Dew, who had recently fortified the strong fort of Nurwur, and prepared to defend it to the last extremity. On the approach of the Mohammedans he boldly marched out to oppose them, at the head of five thousand horse and two hundred thousand foot. He was defeated, and the fort, after a short siege, surrendered. He then subjugated Chundery and Malwa, established his authority there, and appointed a governor. In another quarter, at the same time, his viceroy of Lahore and Mooltan had repelled one of those frequently recurring attacks of the Moguls. Towards the latter end of 1257, a Mogul army crossed the Indus, but retired at the king's approach. In 1259, a confederation was formed of the rajahs and Rajpoots of Mewat, who, having collected a large force, plundered and devastated the surrounding country. On the approach of the Delhians they retired into the strong forts in the mountains of Sewalik, and also towards Runtunbhore, to which they laid siege. The Rajpoots, soon after descending in large force from their mountain fastnesses, made a violent and terrible attack upon their invaders; they were, however, at length repelled back to their hills with great slaughter. The captive chiefs were put to death, and the rest were confined to perpetual slavery.

One of those glimpses at other public affairs than military, which unfortunately so seldom present themselves in the histories of nations, is had in an embassy which arrived at the close of this reign in Delhi, from the court of Persia. The vizier went out to meet it in state, with a train of fifty thousand foreign horse then in the service, two thousand elephants, and three thousand carriages of fireworks. The ambassador was conducted, amid some feats of horsemanship in sham fights and a magnificent display, through the city, direct to the palace. There, the court was arranged in the most gorgeous style; all the nobles and public officers of state, the judges, the mullahs, and the great men of the city were present, besides twenty-five princes of Irak-Ajum, Khorassan, &c., with their retinues. Many tributary Indian princes also were there, and stood next to the throne.

This prince, whose memory is still cherished, died 1266, after a brilliant reign of twenty years. Contrary to the custom of other Indian princes, he had no concubines, and but one wife, whom he obliged to attend to the humblest part of domestic duties; and after his accession to the throne, he continued to purchase his food by the fruits of his pen.

Among the leading incidents in the reign of his successor, Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun—a prince who was worthy of the throne, though also a slave—are the following:—None but men of merit and family were admitted to any public office; his justice and wisdom were themes of general approbation; he used to affirm that one of the greatest sources of the pride of his reign was, that upwards of fifteen unfortunate sovereigns—who had been driven from their respective realms by Jenghis Khan—had found an honourable asylum at his court, which was esteemed the most polite and magnificent in the world, and was the resort of all the distinguished wits and *litterati* of Asia, a society of whom met frequently, as did also another of musicians, dancers, actors, and story-tellers; and various other societies were established and patronised. The use and manufacture of fermented liquors was prohibited under the severest penalties. His political foresight was clearly shown when, on being advised to undertake an expedition to reduce Gujerat and Malwa once more to the Mohammedan yoke, which they had thrown off in a previous reign, he replied, he would not assent to such measures, when the Mogul Tartars were become so powerful in the north, having conquered all the Mussulman princes; that he thought it wiser to secure what he possessed than leave his country exposed to foreign invasion. When the exigences of the empire rendered unavoidable an appeal to arms, he proved

himself as accomplished in the pursuits of war as of peace. The revolt of the Mewatties—the inhabitants of mountains eighty miles to the north of Delhi—was met with terrible retribution—a hundred thousand of them were put to the sword; their forests were cut down, and soon converted into arable land. The Moguls suffered severely from his arms; and Togrol Khan, the rebellious ruler of Bengal, though he had destroyed two armies sent against him, was at length slain, the king having, in person, led an army against him. He died in the eightieth year of his age, 1286, after a reign of twenty-one years: the Indian Mohammedans designate it glorious.

The closing scene of the dynasty was reached in the reign of the successor of the late king, who, though not the immediate heir, was by birth the heir in reversion. In the absence of his father—governor of Bengal—Kerkobar was placed on the throne. During his reign the Moguls, who for some time have been playing no inconsiderable part in the northern provinces of India, had risen to such power and influence in the court of Delhi, that they were enabled to carry matters with a very high hand, yet professing great attachment to the royal family. The reigning sovereign having been paralysed, the Mogul omrahs contrived to secure the person of the young prince, an infant, three years of age. At this time there was no man in Delhi who had greater influence than Ferose, of the family of Khilji, who was the leader of the native party. A proclamation was issued proscribing, by name, the principal men of the Kiljies; but they escaped the danger, and soon after rescued the young prince from them, had his helpless father assassinated, and raised to the throne their chief Ferose. The young prince was also soon murdered, and thus ended the Slave Dynasty, and the rise of the royal house of Khilji.

The Khiljies were of Tartar origin, as well as their predecessors, the Ghoorians. Ferose was in the seventieth year of his age when he waded through the blood of his sovereign and infant son to the throne. His moderation and general conduct, having once secured his position, stand in strange contrast with the means he employed. He professed the deepest regret for his conduct, and great respect for his predecessors; and when a member of the fallen house had made an unsuccessful effort to restore its prostrate fortunes, he was not only pardoned, but had an estate conferred upon him. He became a patron of men of letters, and acquired a character for humanity and benevolence. Early in his reign, a hundred thousand Moguls invaded Hindostan; he led an army in person to oppose them. The Moguls, after an obstinate conflict, were defeated. He did not avail himself of the opportunity presented of inflicting punishment upon them; on the contrary, he granted them peace and permission to withdraw from his dominions. In consequence of this lenity, and with the ambition of all adventurers who dream of acquiring on a strange arena those distinctions which they despair of ever receiving at home, Oghloo Khan, grandson of Jenghis Khan, entered into his service with three thousand followers, and had conferred upon him, shortly after, the hand of the daughter of his new sovereign. The Moguls all embraced Islam, and erected a city called Mogulpore.

The principal event of this reign was the extension, for the first time, of the arms of the Mohammedans into the Deccan, 1294. Alla-ood-Deen, the king's nephew, who had been appointed governor of Kurra—the capital of which, of the same name, stood on the Ganges, on the route from Allahabad to Cawnpore, about forty miles north-west from the former—requested permission to attack the Hindoos of Bhilsa, who infested his province. This was conceded. He, without delay, marched against them, subdued them, and returned with a large booty, collected in the pillage of the country, a part of which he sent as a present to the king. The latter was very much pleased both by the success and conduct of his relative, and in return annexed Oude to his government. On his preferment, he informed the king that not far from his territories there were some rajahs of immense wealth, whom, if he were permitted, he would in a very short time reduce to subjection. The bait was too tempting for the old king; he gave his consent. Accordingly, 1294, he commenced his preparations for future conquests, probably with the hope of establishing a new empire in the central provinces of the peninsula. He conciliated many chiefs of high distinction, the adherents of the fallen dynasty. With a body of eight thousand chosen horse, he proceeded by the shortest road against the rajah of the Deccan, who possessed the wealth of a long line of kings. Though he was opposed with great gallantry, he was successful. The probability is, that the unsuspecting and inoffensive Hindoo king was taken by surprise, and had no resources but those which he improvised to meet the danger. He pillaged the capital, seized on the merchants, Brahmins, and principal citizens, and put them to the torture to coerce them to disclose their hidden treasures. Having received from the

unfortunate prince between twelve and fifteen thousand pound weight of gold, besides a large quantity of pearls and jewels, and retained the elephants which he had taken in the royal stables, he released his prisoners, and agreed to quit the country on the fifteenth day from his first entry. The unprincipled adventurer found pretexts for violating the terms of his treaty; he exacted a far larger amount, and obtained a permanent footing, by the cession of Elichpore and its dependencies, in which he placed a garrison. The Mohammedan historian observes, "that there is scarcely anything on record to be compared with this exploit, whether regard is paid to the resolution in devising the plan, boldness in its execution, or the great good fortune attending its execution." Frenzied with wealth and success, his passions were inflamed; and one of the objects which he contemplated was the destruction of his indulgent uncle; who, notwithstanding the remonstrances and warnings of his nearest and dearest friends, placed himself defencelessly in his power, and suffered death in his presence for his temerity. And thus was avenged, by a blow from him who was among the nearest and dearest to him, the royal blood that had been shed for the possession of a crown.

An abortive effort was made to place the son of the deceased on the throne. The reputation acquired for military skill and enormous wealth, opened the way for the unnatural assassin, Alla-ood-Deen. The young king and dowager queen sought safety in flight, and the usurper entered Delhi in triumph. The people were for days sumptuously feasted; largesses were liberally bestowed; and, as is the case with usurpers in every age and in every clime, men of the highest reputation and greatest popularity for the exercise of the nobler virtues, were called to his councils, and a degree of moderation assumed to mollify the aversion which crime invariably generates even in the breasts of the degraded. Though fortune smiled on the earlier days of his reign, his horizon was soon darkened by lowering clouds, massing from all points. He again crimsoned his hands in the blood of the male members of the late king's family. Scarcely had this series of murders been perpetrated, when an invasion of India by the Moguls was announced, and they soon made their appearance in Lahore. They were defeated with great loss. This invasion was the prelude to several others—six in all—which were a continuous source of trouble and anxiety through this reign, though they were defeated in each attempt. His dearest friends deserted him. The assassin's knife, from which on one occasion he barely escaped with his life, was a constant cause of terror. His subjects were smitten with famine; his sons became objects of suspicion; to blunt the pricks of conscience, he indulged in intemperance and excess, and ruined his constitution. When reduced to a bed of sickness, his wife and son abandoned him; and to crown all, the flames of insurrection, long smouldering, at the close of his days began to burst forth. The first manifestation was in Gujerat, which he had subdued in the earlier part of his reign. His general, sent to suppress the outbreak, was taken prisoner and suffered a cruel death; in another quarter, the Rajpoots of Chittoor threw the Mohammedan officers over their walls, and asserted their independence. While the Deccan, which he had likewise subdued, rose in arms and drove the Mohammedans from several of the garrisons. This retributive accumulation of providential visitations excited him to the extreme paroxysm of fury; he frantically bit his own flesh; his grief and rage intensified his disorders, and baffled all medical experience. In this terrible state of mental and bodily anguish, he was sent before his Maker and his Judge, —not without the suspicion of having been poisoned by a villain whom he had raised from the dust to power,—in the year 1316, and twenty-first year of his reign.

A spurious will was produced by the courtier who was suspected of hastening his end, in which his youngest son was named his successor, and the wretch himself guardian and regent. The two eldest sons he had deprived of sight, and a third was in prison awaiting a like fate. The protector had, in the meantime, married the mother of the young king. These events were crowded into a very short space; for on the thirty-fifth day after the death of Alla-ood-Deen, the regent was dispatched by the indignant foot-guards, who, to prevent further crimes contemplated by him, entered his apartment and struck him down in the presence of some of his confederates. The young prince, his tool, Omar Khan, made way for his elder brother and legitimate heir to the father.

Mobarik Khilji ascended the throne in 1317. The officers of the guards who, with their swords, had cut his way to the throne, met with an unexpected requital; they were put to death on no better pretence than that they had presumed too much on their services. The first acts of his reign were to incapacitate his infant brother from aspiring to the sovereignty, by depriving him of his sight; and, as if to atone for this unnatural but customary barbarity of Indian princes, he liberated seventeen thousand

prisoners, recalled the exiles, gave free access to all suitors, restored the confiscated lands, and gradually abolished all the obnoxious restrictions by which commerce had been restricted, as also the heavy taxes and tributes exacted by his father. In the first year of his reign an insurrection was spiritedly suppressed in Gujerat, and in the second he led an army into the Deccan, to chastise Harpul, who there had raised the standard of independence, and, having been unsuccessful, was put to death with severities worthy of the son of Alla-ood-Deen. The elevation of his low minions to power did more perhaps than the excesses in which he shamelessly indulged, and his outrages of all decency, to alienate the respect and attachment of his subjects. His especial favourite was Mullik Khosrow, a Hindoo renegade of the lowest caste, whom he even honoured with the ensigns of royalty, and had raised to the government of Gujerat. In fact, Khosrow had become the source of all honours and promotions, and, from his many acts of cruelty, an object of universal abhorrence. From the date of his elevation he was a traitor at heart; and though reports were made of his treason to his master, such was his influence, that no attention was paid to them, and he enjoyed unbounded confidence, and even slept in the king's apartment. The palace was filled with his creatures, and every facility was thus, imprudently, afforded for the execution of his design. The king and his palace being in the hands of the conspirators, his projected fate was a subject of common conversation in the city, but, knowing the influence of the favourite, none dared to communicate the danger but one, and that was Kazi, his tutor when a youth. He gained access, honestly and plainly revealed the plot, assured him of its notoriety, and recommended immediate measures for the apprehension of the traitor. At this identical moment Khosrow, who had been a listener to the conversation, entered in female apparel, with all the assumed airs of a coquettish girl. The infatuated prince, yielding to his affection, stood up and embraced him, and dismissed the warning from his mind. The following night Kazi, still apprehensive of the danger, could not rest. He went out at midnight to see whether the guards were on the alert. In his rounds, he met with Khosrow's uncle, who engaged him in conversation; with a sabre cut from behind he was brought to the ground, leaving him only strength enough to cry out, "Treason! Treason! Murder and treason are on foot!" His attendants fled and gave the alarm, proclaiming the assassination of their master. The guards started up in confusion, but before they could act, were attacked by the conspirators and massacred. The king, alarmed by the tumult, asked Khosrow, who lay in his apartment, the cause. The villain arose as if to inquire. By some feigned explanation he diverted his attention till the conspirators approached the royal apartment, and slew the chamber attendants. Hearing the clash of armour and the groans of dying men, Mobarik sprang up in great alarm, and ran towards the harem by a private passage. At this moment Khosrow, fearing he might escape, pursued him, seized him by the hair, and the deed of blood was completed by the other conspirators; with a stroke of a scimitar, his head was severed from his body, and flung ignominiously into the courtyard; and thus says Ferishta, "the vengeance of God overtook and exterminated the race of Alla-ood-Deen, for his ingratitude to his uncle Feroze, and for the streams of innocent blood which flowed from his hands."

Khosrow seized the sceptre, and endeavoured by promotions and promises to win over the chief men to his side; with some he succeeded, while others fled to enrol themselves under the command of Ghazi Beg Toghluk, governor of Lahore, Depalpore, and the Punjaub, who marched to Delhi, and after having defeated the usurper, who was dragged from a tomb in which he had sought an asylum and put to death, was proclaimed king, A.D. 1321.

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

### THE DYNASTY OF TOGHLUK.—INVASION OF TAMERLANE.—THE DYNASTIES OF SYUD AND LODI.

THE ancestry of the Toghluk dynasty has not been recorded, but Ferishta states when he was at Lahore, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, there was a tradition that the father of the first of this line was the son of a Turkish slave. When Gheias-ood-Deen Toghluk had succeeded in dethroning Khosrow, he assured the people that he would support the object of their selection. As might be expected, apparent moderation was an additional stimulant to bestow on him the vacant throne, to which, by his services, he was best entitled, as the last monster had extirpated every member of the royal family, old and young. Toghluk's administrative capacity soon restored to order the anarchy and confusion which were prevalent. He repaired the neglected fortifications, encouraged commerce, invited men of learning to his court. A code of laws was instituted, founded upon the Koran, and, his historians say, conformable to the ancient usages of the Delhi monarchy. His immediate relatives, as a safeguard to the yet new and infirm government, were entrusted with the highest offices of the state. The next measures were ones of defence. Troops were stationed along the frontiers of Cabul, and forts erected, and strongly garrisoned, to repel the incursions of the Moguls. Such was the wisdom with which these measures were conceived, planned, and executed, that during the whole of his reign he was released from those incursions, the constant irritants of many of his predecessors, and the total ruin of a successor.

Hoping for impunity in the first unstable stages of an upstart house, the Hindoos—who always loathed the intrusive stranger, however long located, and detested the Mussulman and his sword-taught creed—thought this a favourable opportunity to strike again for independence. The rajahs of Wurrungole and Dewgur had refused to send tribute, having become disaffected. Sudder Dew, the Rajah of Wurrungole, opposed the Moslems with spirit, but was at length driven under shelter of his walls. The siege, conducted by the son of Toghluk, was carried on with severe loss to both sides. The town had been recently so strongly fortified, the assailants could make no breach; indeed, the followers of Mohammed were never skilled in siege operations. A malignant distemper, the effect of hot winds, broke out in the camp of the besiegers, which swept away hundreds every day. They were at length obliged to desist. Their retreat was disastrous; thousands perished by pestilence and the sword; and of all the many thousands who formed that army, only three thousand returned to Delhi. In a short time a more numerous army beleaguered Wurrungole, and compelled it to surrender. Expeditions were also sent against Jagnuggur and Tirhoot. In the midst of these successes, Toghluk lost his life by the fall of a temporary erection prepared for his reception by his son, Aluf Khan, who succeeded him, after a reign of four years, A.D. 1325.

This prince assumed the title of Mohammed Toghluk, and such was the joy of the people on his succession, that in his progress through Delhi the streets were strewed with flowers, and every demonstration of joy was exhibited; his munificence had no limit but his means; he not only patronized literary men, but shone eminently among them; and his letters, both in Arabic and Persian, are said to display so much taste, elegance, and good sense, that they are still studied as models of purity. Many other accomplishments are ascribed to him. There is one stain on his character which blots all these amiable traits,—he was without mercy or compunction, and so little did he hesitate to spill human blood, that one might have supposed his object was to exterminate his species. The Mogul incursions, by the absence of which the reign of his father was so happily distinguished, were again renewed. Before his government was settled, a Mogul chief of great fame invaded Hindostan, at the head of a vast army, with the design of subjugating the entire peninsula. He overran Lumghan, Mooltan, the northern provinces, and advanced rapidly on Delhi. Mohammed, unable to oppose this overwhelming force, sued for peace. He secured a temporary respite by the payment of a ransom nearly equivalent to the value of the empire. This disaster did not subdue Mohammed's passion for appropriation. He so completely subjected the distant provinces of Dwar-Sumoodra, Maabir, Kumpila, Wurrungole, Lucknow, Chittagong, and Soonargam, that they were as effectively incorporated with the empire as the suburban villages of Delhi. He likewise conquered the Carnatic to the shores of "Oman's dark waters." Brief was his hold upon them. In the succeeding storm which shook his hereditary empire

to its deepest foundations he was obliged to relax his grasp of all these conquests, with the exception of Gujerat. The drains made upon the finances of the country to meet his extravagance, and for the equipment of his extensive armaments, were to be met some way. The booty collected from the plundered conquests were inadequate to the requirements. The repeated predatory excursions of his predecessors had dissipated many of the royal treasures, the accumulation of a succession of ages. There remained to him only one resource, the last a prodigal monarch has to fly to,—the plunder of his own subjects under the name and form of law: an expedient, too, which has been fraught with the most disastrous results to those who have hazarded it. The heavy taxes levied on the inhabitants of the Doab* and other provinces, the substitution of copper money for silver by public decree, the exaction of half a million of horses for his campaigns, the indiscriminate massacre of Mohammedans and Hindoos, produced general discontent, which soon ripened into disaffection; public credit was destroyed, and famine and pestilence aggravated the mischief. The copper money, for want of proper regulations, produced evils of equal magnitude. A curious passage occurs on the latter cause of grievance in Ferishta, which is here extracted; not so much in elucidation of the financial derangement in the kingdom of Delhi, at this remote period, as to place within the reach of the money-mongers a precedent for a paper currency, which, it appears, could not have been known to the bank historians, Gilbart, Lawson, and Francis. This expedient is far older than "the bills of exchange," the wonderful invention of the early Italian merchants, the Lombards, who came over and established themselves in London in the street which bears their name; and than "the receipts the goldsmiths issued," in the days of the protectorate,† "for the money lodged at their houses, which circulated from hand to hand, and were known by the name of goldsmiths' notes, which may be considered the first kind of notes issued in England." ‡

"The king," says Ferishta, "unfortunately for his people, adopted his ideas upon currency from a Chinese custom of using paper on the emperor's credit, with the royal seal appended, *in lieu* of ready money. Mohammed, instead of stamped paper, struck a copper coin, which he issued at an imaginary value, and caused it to pass current by a decree throughout Hindostan. The mint was under bad regulations. Bankers acquired fortunes by coinage. Foreign merchants made their payments in copper to the home manufacturers, though they themselves received in exchange solid silver and gold in foreign markets. There was so much corruption practised in the mint, that for a premium to those persons who had the management of it, merchants had their coin struck considerably below the value, and these abuses were connived at by the government. The great calamity, however, consequent upon this debasement of the coin, arose from the known instability of the government. How could the people in the remote provinces receive for money the base representative of a treasury that so often changed its master?" * Such was the popular fermentation, that the king was obliged to call in the copper currency, the treasury was emptied, and there still remained a large balance due. This debt the king struck off, and thousands were ruined. The scheme terminated in the exhaustion of the treasury, and bankers and merchants were enriched at the expense of their sovereign and the people. The armies levied for grand projects of further conquests —indeed, nothing less than all Persia and Tartary — were in arrear, and breaking up into independent bands, carried ruin and destruction through the length and breadth of the land. A project was conceived, by the king and his advisers, as wild as any that animated the adventurous speculators of the concluding part of the seventeenth, and beginning of the eighteenth century, nearer home. This was nothing less than the conquest of China. An early intercourse had existed between the two countries, and a vast number of the Indians were united with them as fellow disciples of Buddha. Mohammed had heard of its great wealth, and already possessed it in imagination. This ideal wealth, like an enchanter's spell, he fondly hoped would resolve all his difficulties, and realize the dreams of his ambition. One obstacle intervened, and that was the hardy mountaineers of Nepaul, which lay on the confines of both empires. To overcome this was the first step: one hundred thousand cavalry were sent on this service, and when the Indians came in sight of the promised land, wearied by their toilsome journey, and with numbers considerably reduced, a large army was ready to receive them. To add to their hardships, the commissariat was in an impoverished state, the rainy season, so detrimental to Indian campaigning, was at hand, and their country was at a great distance; the troops decided on

* A district situated between two rivers.

† Francis's *History of the Bank of England*, vol. i. p. 10.

‡ Ibid., p. 28.

* Ferishta, vol. i. p. 414.

retreat. The mountaineers seized their baggage, and the Chinese hung on their rear. Hemmed in on all sides, they perished in the defiles; scarcely a man returned to relate their fate.

The king was so much pleased with the situation and strength of Dewgur, and its more central position, that he translated thither the seat of his government, and evacuated Delhi, then the envy of the East. Men, women, and children, were driven to remove, with all their portable possessions: on this project much wealth was foolishly lavished.

A series of revolts followed, in which the royal troops generally were victorious. The one exception was a revolt in the Deccan, excited by apprehensions that preparations were being made by the Moslems for the massacre of all the natives—the Hindoos. The result was that the former were expelled from the entire country, except the capital, the late residence of the court. The revolt of the king's troops in this province quickly followed, and in rapid succession an insurrection in Malwa, and another in Gujerat; previous to this the Punjaub had been invaded by the fierce Affghans, and immediately after by the Gukkurs. But the most formidable of all the wars, one which occupied him to the close of his life, was that into which, by his impolitic proceedings, he forced the Ameer Judeeda.* On his march to punish the Rajah of Scinde for his protection to these, he terminated his eventful life by having surfeited himself with fish (A. D. 1351), after a reign of twenty-seven years.

His cousin Feroze, who was fortunately in the camp, was proclaimed king by the army, and by the dying injunction of the late king. The Mogul portion of the troops had risen, and plundered the royal treasury. The first care of Feroze was to inflict punishment on the Mogul auxiliaries. Ambassadors were received at his court from Bengal and the Deccan, which had thrown off the yoke, and whose treasons had not been punished in consequence of the occupation which other quarters had given the king. This reception was an official acknowledgment of the independence of these provinces of the kingdom of Delhi; the only fealty which they henceforth (1356) exhibited, was the payment of a very small tribute. In 1358 the Moguls made an incursion as far as Depalpore; but before an army dispatched to oppose them arrived, they had retired, laden with spoils. In the year 1359 Feroze marched in the direction of Lucknow. In his progress he reduced to terms the governor of Jektulla, laid waste the territories of Songhur and Jagnuggur, and then returned to Delhi. He subsequently marched towards the mountains of Nagrakote, where he punished the rajah, but left him in possession of his territories. A singular anecdote is recorded of this visit by the Mohammedans. They relate that the inhabitants informed Feroze that the idol which the Hindoos worshipped in the temple of Nagrakote was the image of Now Shaba, the wife of Alexander the Great. In this temple they also relate was a library of Hindoo books, consisting of one thousand three hundred volumes—a large collection, considering they were all manuscript. He then proceeded down the Indus to Tutta, to check a rebellion. Wearied by age, and the cares of state, he surrendered his sceptre to his son, in 1387.

There survive many testimonials of the attention which this prince paid to the development of the natural resources of the country, and particularly to extend its water intercourse. He constructed a canal from the Sutlej to the Kugur; another between the hills of Mundvy and Surmore, from the Jumna, into which he conducted seven minor streams, which all uniting flowed through Hansi, and thence to Raiseen,* where he built a strong fort, which he called Hissar Feroza; he conveyed an aqueduct from the Kugur over the river Soorsutty to the village of Pery Kerah, where he founded the city of Ferozabad. He cut another canal from the Jumna, which filled a large lake, which he constructed at Hissar Feroza. In the vicinity of the city of Perwar, there was a hill, out of which ran a stream that discharged itself into the Sutlej, and beyond it a smaller one,—named respectively the Soorsutty and the Sulima,—and between them a mound, which, if cut through, the water of the former would flow into the latter, and then to Soonam, through Sirhind and Munsoorpore, which would not fail at any season of water. To effect this desirable object, he set fifty thousand men to the task, in the execution of which "they exhumed the bones of elephants—more probably mastodons—and men. The bones of the human forearm," says Ferishta, "measured three guz (five feet two inches); some were petrified, and some retained the appearance of bone;"† a fort was built there, still called Ferozepore; nine hundred of his public

* Ameer-Judeeda—new officers—was a name conferred on the newly-converted Moguls and their descendants, who, having invaded India, had embraced the Mohammedan religion, and the service of the kings of Delhi, at the same time. Being foreigners, without local partialities, they were considered to be the best instruments for carrying into effect the orders of a despotic prince. They were bold, spirited, and soon shook off their allegiance. See Briggs's *Ferishta*.

* There is a town of this name in Malwa also.

† Briggs's *Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 453.

works are enumerated. Such details as these, though not so thrilling as the neigh of war steeds, clash of armour, or groans of men, are the true materials of history, and the genuine records of greatness.

Feroze, who had resigned in favour of his son Mohammed, in consequence of that prince's misconduct was obliged to resume the reins of government, which in a short time he delivered into the hands of his grandson, Futteh Khan. The old king died in the ninetieth year of his age (1388).

Futteh Khan, on ascending the throne, assumed the title of Gheias-ood-Deen Toghluk. This young prince soon abandoned himself to sensual indulgences. When these have "withered up the feeling," the other animal passions luxuriate unchecked; his jealousy was soon awakened and developed, his brother and other relations were its victims; at length, deserted by those whom nature had bound to him, he fell a victim to the vengeance of his enemies, after a reign of five months.

His immediate successor was his cousin, Prince Zuffur, though his uncle, by whose imprudence he himself had mounted the throne, was living, but in exile. The reign of this young prince, who assumed the title of Aboo-Bukhr Toghluk, was also cut short. The Ameer Judeeda of Samana had assassinated their chief, Mullik Sultan, and sent his head to prince Mohammed, the son of Feroze, who had forfeited his father's respect, and then the throne, by his vices. At the same time they earnestly entreated him to come and assert his rights. He complied with their invitation, proclaimed himself king, and at the head of an army marched on Delhi. Mohammed, having sustained some repulses, was at length successful, and made the ruling prince prisoner, in the year 1390, after a reign of one year and six months.

Nasir-ood-Deen Mohammed Toghluk II. first, as has been said, ascended the throne in his father's lifetime. He had been scarcely reinstated when an insurrection broke out in Gujerat. The chief sent to quell it rebelled, and declared himself independent. Similar movements agitated Lahore and Mooltan; indeed, the empire, from the recent convulsion, seemed shaken to the core, ready to fall to pieces, and to become the prey of the first vigorous adventurer. The vizier fell under false suspicions, and on the accusation of his own nephew suffered death. The king, in 1392, set out on a campaign to Mewat to quell some disturbances in that quarter. He was attacked with fever, and, while in an enfeebled state, was informed that an enemy had plundered the country to the very gates of Delhi. Though far from recovered, he hastened to Mewat, attacked and totally routed the foe, and compelled him to fly. Another outbreak in Lahore his son was dispatched to suppress, but before the prince left Delhi, news of his father's decease was brought to him; the king had succumbed to a relapse. He died after a reign of six years and seven months (1394), and was followed by his son and successor, Hoomayoon, in forty-five days after.

The premature demise of the youthful sovereign Hoomayoon gave occasion to intrigues and violent disputes amongst the nobles for the vacant throne. Their choice was eventually fixed on Mahmood, whom they selected for their sovereign. The minority of the king, and the jarring interests of the various factions, had rendered the government so weak that the vassals of the crown thought a favourable opportunity had presented itself for the assertion of their independence, and they did not hesitate long to avail themselves of it. Kuraja Jehan, the minister of the last king, and who was not removed by the reigning prince, established an independent kingdom at Juanpore, and became so powerful as to be able to impose tribute on the older one of Bengal. This dynasty was called Shurkeea, to distinguish it from that of Bengal, the capital of which was Lucknow, and called Poorbeah, both towns signifying eastern. To the west Sarung Khan, governor of Mooltan and the north-western provinces, had defeated the Gukkurs, and shortly after (1395), seizing on Mooltan, aggrandized his power. The state of the kingdom promised him every facility of accomplishing more ambitious designs still. The kingdom was at this time distracted; the government had fallen into anarchy; civil war raged everywhere; two kings in arms, equally supported, and with alternating advantages, held their courts in the one capital—a thing unprecedented in that kingdom. Sarung Khan advanced towards Delhi and reduced Samana, but he shortly after suffered an effective check. An army was dispatched against him by one of the rival kings; he was defeated, and compelled to fly to Mooltan. Here he was besieged for six months, and eventually reduced to surrender at discretion through want of provisions. Mooltan was occupied by the royal troops, but Sarung Khan contrived to escape. In the interim Mahmood was reduced by his supporters to a state of abject dependance, and was king only in name, while his rival had been defeated and obliged to seek refuge in a remote dependency. Mulloo Yekbal Khan, the general of the victorious army, now marched, accompanied by the pageant-king, Mahmood, against the pretender Noosrut Shah, and his protector, Tartar Khan, at

Paniput, by whom a counter movement on Delhi was attempted without success. Tartar Khan, thus frustrated, fled to Gujerat. The victorious general entered the capital again, and began to establish order, and remedy the disastrous effects produced by the convulsions of the past. The process of reorganization was interrupted by a danger which had long afflicted, and still further threatened the state, namely, the incursions of the Moguls, which in this instance had assumed the most formidable dimensions, and was about to discharge their concentrated and indiscriminate fury on the doomed inhabitants of Hindostan. Timour Beg, better known to the Westerns as Tamerlane,* had crossed the Indus with preparations commensurate with the undertaking, and thus were the miseries of this unhappy people completed.

Tamerlane—the more general and classic name of this hero—was a descendant, by the female line, of Jenghis Khan, previously mentioned in this history. He was the son of Taragai, whose fourth ancestor, Karashar Novian, of the noble tribe of the Barlass, had been the vizier of Zagatai, the son of Jenghis Khan. His father had feudal possession of the province of Kesh. His birthplace was Resch, one of its towns situated about one hundred and thirty miles to the east of Bokhara, and about thirty south-east of Samarcand.† He was born A.D. 1336 (A.H. 736). His first aspirations were for conquest, and from the first stage of youth he ambitioned to be the ruler of the world. Among the traditions pertaining to his birth, it is stated that on that interesting event he made his *début* with his hand firmly grasping clotted blood. His first exercises were of a martial character. He acquired a perfect mastery of the lance and in sword exercises; the most fiery steeds were soon subjected to his control; he delighted in the pursuit of the fiercest and most dangerous animals; and by the great superiority of his genius and fixity of purpose, he obtained absolute control over his high-spirited and impetuous playmates. Conquests and thrones were the subjects of even his commonplace conversations. At the early age of twelve years he entered on his military career, but the first historical recognition of him was in his twenty-fifth year. On the death of his father at this period, his uncle, by seniority, as was the custom of his clan, succeeded him. The contentions with which the province of Transoxiana was torn, opened to Tamerlane a career which he embraced with ardour. The empire of Zagatai, from its foundation, bore within its bosom the germs of rapid decay. The insubordination and repeated revolts of the Novians * had enfeebled the authority of the sovereign. Twenty khans had succeeded each other in less than a generation. Cazan, the last of the line, had become detestable by his tyranny, and perished in an engagement with his revolted emirs.† In those disturbances the uncle had played no insignificant part, and, in one of the vicissitudes of his faction, had to fly, and seek an asylum in Khorassan. But Tamerlane, his nephew, submitted to the victor, and thus became the chieftain of his clan, and was confirmed in the possession of his principality of Kesh, and in the command of ten thousand men. At the age of twenty-seven he rendered very important services to the Emir of Khorassan and Transoxiana against the Getes, who were devastating his territories. The emir, as a recognition of his worth, bestowed on him his sister in marriage, but after her death Tamerlane commenced hostilities against his brother-in-law, captured the capital of his territories—the venerable city of Balk. The fortress was razed, the emir's children perished, and his property, treasures, and harem became the prey of the conqueror. This event occurred in 1370, and placed the kingdom of Zagatai at the conqueror's mercy. Tamerlane selected Samarcand for the seat of government, which he strongly fortified, and richly embellished with palaces and gardens. His recent elevation seemed to him a mere glimpse of the glorious vista before him; with an ambition inferior to none of the greater conquerors who preceded him, he looked upon the earth as his and his only. "There is but one God in heaven," said Tamerlane, "so there must be but one lord on earth." Having subjugated Turan, that is, the country beyond the Oxus, he turned his mind to the acquisition of Iran on this side of that river, where a number of independent principalities had risen on the

* *Timour, Demour*, or *Demir*, is the Mongolian term of iron. Tamerlane is a corruption of Timourlenk, *i. e.* the lame Timour. His lameness was occasioned by a wound received at a siege in the early part of his military career, according to Sherefeddin. For the full particulars of the life of this extraordinary man the reader is referred to his own institutes, and the pages of Arabsha and Sherefeddin. The former was a native of Damascus, and well versed in the Mohammedan law. He died A.D. 1450. A translation of the Arabian work has been given in the French by Vatier. Sherefeddin was born at Yezd, in Persia proper. His work is also translated into French by M. Petit de la Croix, and from the French into English (London, 1723). The full title of Tamerlane when at the summit of his power was, Sultan Riamram Cothbeddyn Timour Kourkhan Saheb-Keran.

† Malcolm's *Persia*, vol. i. p. 285.

* Novian, an hereditary title borne by the descendants of kings only.

† Emir and Beg are synonymous titles, and equally designate a prince, commander, chief, &c. The former is Arabic, the latter Turkish.

ruins of the empire of Jenghis Khan. He soon attached the provinces of Khorassan, Siestan, and Sabulistan, and then commenced his first war against Persia proper, which occupied him during three years. The Persian empire presented a spectacle similar to that which was presented in Delhi on his approach to that capital. Two rival houses divided the regal sway, and incapacitated the Persians from offering a combined and effective resistance. These were the dynasties of Mosasser, in Persian Irak, and the province of Fars (Persis), and that of Ilchane, in Arabian Irak, and Azerbijan, or Atropatane. Shadshesha, who then ruled in the former, submitted without opposition, and gave his daughter in marriage to the grandson of Tamerlane. Sultan Ahmed, the sovereign of the latter, resisted, but was soon overpowered, and compelled to make submission. The adjacent states followed the example—Georgia, Shirwan, Gilan, Armenia, and Mesopotamia, as well as Persia, bowed their necks, and accepted the yoke of the conqueror. During the campaign of Tamerlane in Persia, Tokatmish Khan, of Western or Great Tartary, who, twelve years previously, by his aid, had been raised to the throne, now raised the standard of independence. He soon received the punishment his temerity provoked. The army which had triumphed in Persia was poured upon devoted Tartary. The Djettes and other nations of Mongolistan were conquered; the Czars Khodja Aglyn and Kamar-eddyn, their sovereigns, were pursued to the Irtesch. The officers of the army of Tamerlane marked for posterity the extent of their north-western conquests, by the representations of their armours and national devices, burned into the trunks of the gigantic pines which, in extensive forests, wave over the banks of that river. Tokatmish sought refuge in flight, having sustained a decisive defeat near the banks of the Volga. The following winter (1391) was spent by Tamerlane in the midst of festivities at Samarcand, and there he hurried forward preparations for his next campaign. He quitted his winter quarters (1392), and entered on an expedition of five years' duration, during which he completed the subjugation of Persia, captured Bagdad and the fortresses of Mesopotamia, pursued his successes in Armenia and Georgia, defeated Tokatmish a second time, and having crossed the Danube, the Dneiper, and the Don, penetrated into Russia, and conquered the sacred city, and afterwards Moscow.

Some cessation was required after these events which crowded the five years' absence. The following year he spent in Transoxiana, in the midst of fêtes and amusements. He had a magnificent palace erected in the environs of his capital; he bestowed on his son Chah-Rokh the sovereignty of Khorassan, of Siestan, and Mazanderan, as far as Ferouzkoub and Ree, and sent him to reside at Herat. He received an ambassador from the emperor of China, and, though in the sixty-second year of his age, he contracted another marriage. His vigour and activity had not as yet been impaired. He was during this time preparing not only the most brilliant but also the most difficult of his enterprizes. He resolved on the conquest of Hindostan, and must have been encouraged to this undertaking by the pitiable state of that great country, particularly by the distraction, which had been only partially subdued, when all the states of that country were startled by the rapid approach of the terrible Tamerlane, flushed with victories, and an appetite sharpened for more. His emirs, surfeited with wealth and honours, were opposed to this campaign. He had recourse to the Koran to remove their opposition, and showed the piety of a war against nations, the great majority of whose population were steeped in idolatry. His grandson, Pir-Mohammed, was sent forward with an army of observation. Tamerlane departed from Samarcand in the end of March, 1398, and attacked, in their snow-capped mountains, the inhabitants, who were detestable in his eyes, not only as idolaters, but also as banditti, and put great numbers to the sword. His own dangers and losses were very severe, and many of the horses perished of cold and fatigue. He also conquered and destroyed many tribes of Affghans. After a wearisome march of six months he arrived on the banks of the Indus, and passed it by a bridge of boats at the same spot where it had been passed by the Sultan Julal-ood-Deen when flying from Jenghis Khan.

The approach of Tamerlane to Delhi was one horrifying series of bloodshed and devastation. He marched along the river to the conflux of the Chenab and the Ravee, where the strongly fortified town and fort of Toolumba stood. Mooltan, Bhutnire, and Lony, fell into his hands. When he had reached as far as Paniput, he crossed the river with seven hundred men to reconnoitre Delhi. Seeing so few troops, the Delhians sallied out with five thousand horse and foot and twenty-seven elephants. A skirmish took place; the Delhians were repulsed. On this occasion he was informed that the number of prisoners captured, since he had crossed the Indus, amounted to over a hundred thousand; that on the previous day, when they had witnessed his danger from the overwhelming numbers of the Indian detachment which had attacked

him, they could not conceal their great joy; and that it was extremely probable that on a day of battle they would join their countrymen against him. He ordered them to be put to the sword. On the 13th of January, 1398, he achieved a complete victory under the walls of Delhi. The sack of the city followed. A large booty was seized, and a great crowd of captives. He subsequently besieged and captured Meerut, having undermined and blown up its strong walls. He then pursued his march, skirting the mountains of Sewalik, marking his way with fire and sword, until he reached the banks of the Ganges. He crossed this river, and laid waste the fertile tract extending northwards to where the stream, gushing from the mountains, winds its course through the plains. In his progress he vanquished the Rajah of Jummoogur, and compelled him to become a believer. The Sheika of Lahore was beheaded. A great number of natives on both sides of the river were exterminated, and several princes subdued; he received the submission of several others, amongst the rest, that of Shah Iskander, King of Cashmere; and returned to Samarcand by the route of Cabul on the 28th of April, 1399. The after career of Tamerlane is well known. His next war was waged against Bajazet, Emperor of the Ottomans, from 1400 to 1402, in which year was fought the memorable battle of Angora,* which was contested with great obstinacy through a long day, and by the military skill and admirable tactics of Tamerlane ended in the total defeat and captivity of the Ottoman sultan. Angora was also almost the extreme limit of the wider devastations of the conqueror. He afterwards laid siege to Smyrna. This was the extreme limit of his Western conquests. He returned to Samarcand, where, as lord paramount of Asia, he received embassies from various nations, and celebrated the nuptials of six grandsons with unrivalled magnificence and festivities. He then set out towards China, with the purpose of conquering that country, and died on his march, at Otra, on the 19th of February, 1405, in the seventy-first year of his age, and thirty-sixth of his reign.

The city of Delhi remained in a state of anarchy, for the space of two months, after the departure of Tamerlane, and famine and pestilence raged without a palliative. At length the authorities summoned courage to return; the inhabitants began to revisit their homesteads, and the capital once more assumed its former populous appearance. The narrow tract between the two rivers, and a small district round the city, were all that remained to it of its recent extensive possessions. The governors of the detached provinces during the civil convulsions had asserted their independence. Gujerat, Malwa, Kanouj (including Oude, Kurra, and Juanpore), Lahore, with Depalpore and Mooltan, Samana, Byana, Calpee, and Mahoba, were under respective governors, each of whom usurped the title of king. The sovereignty of Mahmood was merely nominal. Successively the tool of his adherents, at others a refugee at the court of men who were once his subjects, he led a miserable life of dependency, and died at length in possession of his capital, after a disastrous, inglorious, but eventful reign of twenty years, in 1412; and with him fell the kingdom of Delhi from the rule of the Turks, the adopted slaves of the Emperor Shahab-ood-Deen Ghoory, the second dynasty of the Mohammedan princes of India.

Dowlut, an Affghan by birth, who had been originally a private secretary, and promoted through various grades, was the successor to the throne, and was acknowledged by many of the nobility. However, after a reign of one year and three months, he had to surrender to a turbulent and more powerful aspirant, by whom he was confined to prison, and there died shortly after in A.D. 1416.

Khizr Khan, by whom the last-mentioned King of Delhi was overthrown, had played a prominent part during a portion of the reign of Mahmood III. His father was the adopted son of a governor of Mooltan, and his family laid claim to being descended from the Prophet. The allegations on which this ancestry is claimed are of a trivial and ludicrous character. Whatever their merit, he is styled Syud.* After the conquest of Delhi he waited on Tamerlane, and had the good fortune to ingratiate himself into his favour, and was re-appointed to his former government, together with the provinces of the Punjaub and Depalpore. This accession to his power enabled him to make his way to the throne. The moderation which he exhibited in the day of his success contributed essentially to the stability of his position. While he exercised all the attributes of sovereignty, nominating to high offices of the state, he refrained from assuming regal titles, and declared himself to be the dependant and tributary of Tamerlane. By this prudent policy he secured two very important ends: by one, he disarmed the jealousy with which

* This engagement is the first on record at which military uniforms and cuirasses were first worn. Tamerlane introduced them among his troops.

* Syud or Seyed were the descendants of Ali and Fatima, and considered the legitimate descendants of the Prophet.

such an assumption would have been received by his fellow nobles, and by the second secured the countenance and support of the conqueror, whose name and approval were sufficient to awe any malcontents. His first care was to repress the turbulent chiefs in his vicinity, who had the will but not the power to maintain their independence. He reduced Kuttehr, accepted the proffered submission of the governor of Budaon, exacted the revenue, which during the commotions had fallen into arrear, from Gunpore, Kampella, and Chundwar, recovered Jaleswur out of the hands of the Rajpoots of Chundwar, and took possession of Etawa. All this was accomplished in the first year of his government. In 1414 there was an irruption of the Turks into Sirhind, and the governor was assassinated by them. Khizr Khan sent an army to oppose them. They retreated across the Sutlej; but as the mountains were then in the possession of independent zemindars, in alliance with the Turks, there were no important results. The King of Gujerat, with some hostile designs on Delhi, advanced as far as Bagore, but on the approach of Khizr Khan diverted his course to Malwa. The latter then proceeded to Gwalior, where he levied tribute. In the year 1419 he discovered that a conspiracy had been formed against him by some powerful adherents of Mahmood III. This circumstance induced him to raise the siege of Budaon, before which he then was, and to return to Delhi, where, having assembled the conspirators, he commanded the household troops to fall upon them, and put them to the sword. About this time an impostor, who laid claim to the throne in the name of a defunct prince, had collected a body of insurgents, which was defeated. The survivors deserted their leader, each man withdrew privately to his home, and the forces of Delhi also disbanded, and returned to their respective stations. The impostor in the following year made his appearance, and united his force with an insurgent chief. The latter, discovering that he was master of a considerable and valuable collection of jewels, caused him to be assassinated. In an expedition to Gwalior and Etawa, which, during his government, though often punished, were a constant source of annoyance, falling sick, he returned to Delhi, and died on the 20th of May, 1421, after a reign of seven years and a few months.

Khizr Khan was highly esteemed by his subjects; indeed, the strongest fact adduced to support his claim to being a descendant of Mohammed was that "he possessed the qualities of charity, courage, mercy, benevolence, virtue, abstinence, truth, kindness, in a degree which rendered him like the Prophet himself."* As a token of their respect for his memory, the Delhians, by common consent, wore black for three days.

The respect in which his memory was held secured the sceptre for his son, Syud Mobarik, who was elected by the vote of the assembled nobles. The fact that his father had not assumed a kingly title, and that the nobles assembled to elect the new king, are evidences of the control which the aristocracy had possessed over despotism, and proves how precarious the tenure by which the prince held his throne.

The reign of this prince was a continued warfare, in which he himself took an active part, and generally his arms were crowned with success. From his ascent to the throne till the close of his life he had to contend against the pretensions of an energetic and powerful aspirant to his crown. In the very month on which he handled the reins of government, he received advices that Jusrut, who had the previous year defeated and made prisoner Ally Shah, the King of Cashmere,† inspired by his success, aspired to the throne of Delhi. There was scarcely a year that he did not renew his attempt; nor did repeated defeats and loss of treasures modify his ambition. Probably the plunder which his mountaineers swept from the fertile plains prompted the recurring campaigns rather than any strong hope of attaining the ostensible object.

In 1429 another adventurer appeared on the stage, whose proceedings created no small share of trouble and annoyance. A courtier, Syud Selim, died in that year, who during thirty years of power had amassed an enormous fortune; indeed, it was supposed to be equal to the private coffers of the king himself. According to the usages of India, it could be claimed by the crown. The king availed himself of no such privilege. He resigned the entire to the two surviving sons, whom he, moreover, elevated to the highest distinctions which he could confer. These indulgences did not secure the fidelity of the young men. On the contrary, they dispatched one Folad, a Turkey slave, to Sirhind, to stir up an insurrection privately in their name. The plot, shortly after the departure of their emissary, was discovered, and both the traitors committed to prison. Folad justified the confidence which his masters testified in his abilities. On his arrival in Sirhind he entered

* Ferishta, vol. i. p. 507.

† The kingdom of Cashmere is the only Mohammedan state of India which is not found having relations with the empire of Delhi. Its history forms a separate portion of this work.

into negotiations with the principal officers of the royal army there stationed, and succeeded in lulling them into profound security. In the depth of night, with a band of followers, he made an attack on their camp, in the hope of being able to surprise it. He was wrong in his calculations. His approach was perceived; and he was received with such promptitude by the king's troops, that the attack altogether failed. But this discomfiture did not cool the ardour of Folad. Having retired after his repulse to a fort occupied by his adherents and accomplices, he made another attempt on the ensuing night, and being supported by a heavy fire from his works, the Delhi troops, as if panic-stricken, fled with the utmost trepidation, leaving their camp and baggage a prey to their assailants. This disaster impelled the king to take the field in person. Folad had occupied Sirhind, the capital of the province, and had an abundance both of money and supplies, and resolved to defend it against the king to the last extremity. With a courage and success worthy of a better cause, he held his post for six months, though towards the close greatly distressed. Seeing no other means of extricating himself, he sought an alliance with the ruler of Cabul, between whom and the King of Delhi no friendly relations had been cultivated. A force was sent to his assistance, and these, on crossing the Beas, were joined by the warlike Gukkurs. The confederates laid waste the country of those chiefs who held estates in the Punjaub, and who were now prosecuting the siege of Sirhind. The royal army were compelled to raise the siege. The troops of Cabul were rewarded by Folad for their services; but on recrossing the Sutlej they plundered the Punjaub, and acquired a hundredfold the value of their remuneration from him. His retreat was marked with every injury that may be inflicted on an invaded country. On reaching Lahore he imposed a contribution of one year's revenue. From Lahore he proceeded to Depalpore, laying waste that district also. It is asserted that forty thousand Hindoos were massacred; besides, thousands were carried into slavery. He directed his march to Khuteelpore; he then crossed the Ravee, and devastated to within a few miles of the walls of Mooltan. Here he defeated the army of Delhi, and hastened on to the assault of that town. In this attempt they were unsuccessful, but continued the siege, and committed daily depredations, putting all whom they met to the sword. At length the hour of retribution was at hand. The plunderers were again encountered by the reinforced Delhians: a sanguinary conflict ensued. The Moguls were progressing favourably, when the fall of a favourite chief so inspired his troops with revenge, that the enemy fought with desperation, and at length snatched the victory. The depredators were totally defeated. They lost all their plunder, and their chief escaped with a few attendants, his whole army being either killed or drowned in the Jhelum in their attempt to escape.

Folad was not disheartened nor inactive; he marched shortly after out of his fort to attack Lahore, but had to fall back on his old retreat again. Shortly after this, in 1435, Syud Mobarik founded a city on the banks of the Jumna, and called it by his own name, Mobarikabad, and then made an incursion towards Sirhind. On his road he had intelligence that that fortress was at length captured, and the head of Folad was presented to him. The other transactions of his reign was the endeavour to recover the eastern territories which had been, during these convulsions, wrested from the empire, and to repel the incursions of the mountaineers who harassed his confines and made repeated irruptions into the interior. The King of Malwa and of Juanpore felt the force of his arms; the Rothors of Rohilcund were forced, by his presence, to pay their tributes, and the Mewates were often checked in their predatory expeditions. His temper was so finely regulated that he is said to have never spoken in anger, and on most occasions he was just and benevolent; to his nobility he had never given offence, except in removing them for misbehaviour from their appointments. These qualities did not shield him from enmity and the assassin's blow, directed by his vizier, to whom he had given some cause of offence. This occurred after a reign of thirteen years and four months, in the year 1435. The vizier, who had preconcerted his arrangements, placed his confidant, Mohammed, the grandson of the late king, upon the throne.

Syud Mohammed's elevation was not hailed by unanimous approval. The deputy vizier and other nobles, then in camp, severely censured the conspirators. Their indignation, for the present, was suppressed; and to avoid the horrors of civil war, they resolved on submitting to the new king. This party was further outraged, when they saw two Hindoos, the actual murderers, promoted to the government of provinces, and otherwise liberally rewarded; while the officers of the late monarch were persecuted, and even the lives of some sacrificed on the most trivial pretexts. Several of the nobles had reason to apprehend that they would be stripped of their estates held on tenure from the crown. These, for self-protection, entered into a con-

federacy and took up arms. The deputy vizier had hitherto so guardedly dissembled his feelings, that he stood high in favour with the vizier, and was accordingly entrusted with the command of the army for the reduction of the malcontents. They soon united their forces, and marched on Delhi, to wreak their vengeance on the conspirators. The king, in this exigency, took measures for his safety, and decided on abandoning the vizier, and entered into negotiation with the besiegers for securing his own escape or for cutting off the minister. These preparations did not escape the jealous watchfulness of the latter, who had recourse to counter measures, and with a band of accomplices broke into the royal apartments to put the king to death. Intimation of their design having preceded them, they were received by a more powerful body; and all, including the vizier, were cut to pieces. The confederates took the oath of allegiance to the reigning prince, and were promoted to the highest posts of the state. All who were concerned in the murder of the late king suffered death. After this adjustment, Mohammed displayed some energy. He made a campaign towards Mooltan. Many of the disaffected chiefs being intimidated, came in and made submission; their example was followed by the other malcontents. He also marched towards Samana, and detached a portion of his army against Jusrut Gukkur, whose territories were surrendered to plunder. The king returned to Delhi, where he gave himself up to pleasure, and totally neglected the affairs of government. The inevitable results soon began to manifest themselves. An insurrection broke out among the Affghans; and Behlol Lodi, the nephew of one of the leading chiefs among the confederates, usurped Sirhind, and seized on Lahore, Depalpore, and the country as far south as Paniput. While Mohammed was temporising with him, the King of Malwa advanced within three miles of Delhi, at the head of a threatening force. Syud Mohammmed, in great alarm, called to his aid Behlol, who, accordingly, succoured the capital with twenty thousand horsemen arrayed in armour, and repelled the danger. Behlol conceived the greatest contempt for the vacillating voluptuary, and boldly aspired to the throne. Having been confirmed in the governments of Lahore and Depalpore, which he had forcibly seized, his means of furthering his designs were strengthened; and, accordingly, he induced a large body of Affghans to enrol themselves under his standard. Instead of proceeding, as he had been ordered, to wage war on Jusrut Gukkur, the old enemy of Delhi, he induced that chief to co-operate with him, and they seized several of the districts belonging to the crown, and eventually laid siege to Delhi, but he was compelled to relinquish that enterprise to attend to some more pressing emergency. Such was the decline of the power of Delhi, through the imbecility of the government, that the zemindars of Byana placed themselves under the government of Malwa. Syud Mohammed died a natural death, in 1445, after a reign of twelve years and some months.

His son, Alla-ood-Deen, succeeded him on the throne. All the nobles of the kingdom took the oath of allegiance with the exception of Behlol. The contempt of the latter the young king was not in a position to resent and punish. However, in 1446, he assembled an army for the recovery of Byana; but on his march he was informed that a hostile army was on its way to attack Delhi. Although advised to distrust this report, which was vague and unauthenticated, and remonstrated with by his vizier, he returned to the defence of his capital. As had been conjectured the rumour was false. This step was the ruin of his reputation; the people pronounced him a greater imbecile than his father. Another act of his was still more offensive to his subjects. He preferred Budaon to Delhi; and spent a considerable portion of his time there laying out gardens, building palaces, and giving entertainments. While thus employed, Behlol renewed his designs on the capital. The imprudent abandonment of his minister by the king induced the latter to attach himself to his ambitious rival; the result was, that the throne of Delhi was abdicated by Alla-ood-Deen, in favour of Behlol, on the condition that the ex-king was to be left in quiet possession of the town which he had selected for his residence. In this retreat—a good exchange perhaps, after all, for a tottering throne—he spent the remaining twenty-eight years of his life. He reigned for the space of seven years. He was the last of the Syuds.

# CHAPTER XXXVIII.

## THE AFFGHANS AND MOGULS.

BEFORE we proceed to sketch, briefly, the history of the princes of the Affghan line, an opportunity is supplied of giving an account of the political divisions of Hindostan at that particular period. The materials have been principally furnished by Ferishta.

The peninsula was at this time—the middle of the fifteenth century—split up into several separate principalities, possessing or claiming independence. The Deccan, Gujerat, Malwa, Juanpore, and Bengal, had each its independent king. The Punjaub, Depalpore, and Sirhind, as far south as Paniput, formed the territory of Behlol Khan Lodi. Mehrowly, and the country within a few miles of the city of Delhi, as far as the Seray Lado, was in the hands of Ahmood Khan Mewatty. Sumbhul, even to the suburbs of Delhi, was occupied by Duria Khan Lodi; Kolejalesur, in the Doab, by Eesa Khan Toork; and Raberry and its dependencies by Kootub Khan Affghan; Kampila and Pattialy by Rajah Purtab Sing; and Byana, by Dawood Khan Lodi; Candeish, Scinde, and Mooltan, had each its distinct Mohammedan king: so that the city of Delhi had but a very small tract of country attached to it; in one place it only extended twelve miles from the walls, and in another scarcely a mile, when Behlol took possession and assumed the title of king.

The new king, Behlol Lodi, was of Affghan descent. The Affghans claim to be of Jewish origin, and were from a very remote period a commercial community, and carried on the trade between India and Persia. In the reign of Feroze Toghluk, the grandfather of the king possessed wealth and power, and rose to the government of Mooltan. His uncle, in the army of Khiza Khan, commanded the Affghan contingent, distinguished himself in that war, and as a reward of his bravery and fidelity, was appointed governor of Sirhind, with the title of Islam Khan. His brothers participated in his good fortune; and one of them, the father of Behlol, had a district bestowed upon him. On the father's death, he entered the military service under his uncle, Islam Khan, and subsequently married his daughter; and though he had full grown children of his own, Islam Khan made Behlol his heir, and he was also nominated his successor in command of the troops, a body of twelve thousand Affghans. The daily augmenting influence of the Affghans in Sirhind had, ere this, excited the jealousy of the ruling power at Delhi, and Syud Mohammed had sent an army against them; while at the same time Jusrut Gukkur was also instigated to attack them. During the vicissitudes of this war, Behlol was forced to retreat to the hills with the women and children, but his cousin fell into the enemy's hands; his head was cut of and carried to Jusrut, and by him placed before the young man's father, who had been treacherously placed in the hands of his enemies. The father denied that it was the head of his son, but hearing of the gallant manner in which he provoked his fate, the brave old warrior burst into tears, and exclaimed, "Yes, it is my son; but I would not recognize his countenance till convinced he had done honour to his tribe." He observed at the same time, "My nephew Behlol could not have been in the battle or he would have been slain also. He lives, and will avenge the death of my boy." The result justified the prediction; the old man escaped, joined the nephew. Sirhind was quickly retaken, and the entire province of the Punjaub occupied; the vizier, at the head of a large army, was defeated, as has been related.

Hamid, the vizier by whose intrigue the government had been secured to him, still possessed great influence. He was, in the beginning of the reign, treated with the greatest respect; but the king either apprehensive of some such treachery as had been practised towards his predecessor, or thinking that he was overshadowed by the great power of his benefactor, by an artful stratagem seized on his person, and coerced him to retire into private life, after he had effectually crushed his influence.

By the accession of Behlol, an important addition was made to the territories and strength of Delhi. All the petty chiefs around that city, who had been tempted to throw off the yoke, were soon reduced to obedience; and Behlol's supremacy was established over all, but the principality of Juanpore, with which a vigorous war was waged during the successive reigns of three sovereigns, extending, with short intervals of hollow peace, over a lengthened period of twenty-six years. This state, too, he eventually conquered. This war he survived ten years. He died at an advanced age, in 1488, after a reign of thirty-nine years.

Though he gets credit for being virtuous, mild, and just, and for having successfully prosecuted his enterprises, the breaking up of his

kingdom into six divisions amongst his relatives, if creditable to a parent's care, was not a wise act for a sovereign. He had greatly increased the kingdom, having left at his death a territory extending from the Jumna to the chain of the Himalayas, as far east as Benares, besides a district to the west of that river extending to Bundelcund.

To his son, Nizam Khan, better known as Sikunder, he bequeathed the crown, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his nobles, who maintained that the right of succession undoubtedly rested in his grandson, whose father had been assassinated by one of his servants. It does not appear that the kings of Delhi had a testamentary power; their privilege apparently extended no further than a recommendation, as we find on every vacancy created by the peaceful demise of the sovereign, that the right of election was exercised by the nobles. On this occasion the crown was claimed for three different aspirants: the father's nominee; the grandson, a minor; and the eldest surviving son. The decision was in favour of Sikunder, but his election was disputed by two of his brothers. These he defeated, reduced to submission, received into favour, and reinstated in their governments. The Rajah of Gwalior, and the governor of Byana, acknowledged fealty; and the latter was removed from that district and appointed to Jalesur, Chundwara, Marhera, and Sukeet. Agra was taken by him. An insurrection was fomented among the zemindars of Juanpore, which soon spread to an alarming extent. An army, one hundred thousand strong, took the field, and though they at first put to flight the adherents of the king, they were at length reduced to obedience. Bahar, as far as the confines of Bengal, was reannexed to Delhi. The rajahs of Dholpore and Gwalior submitted; he obtained possession of Chundery, but was baffled through the intrigues of one of his disappointed nobles, in laying hold of Rhuntunbhore. He was renewing his preparations for another attempt on Gwalior, when he was taken ill and died of quinsy, 1517.

Sikunder exhibited during his reign several attributes of a good king. His military prowess was acknowledged, and the internal and civil affairs were not neglected. All the articles of life were abundant and consequently cheap, and peace pervaded the interior. He frequently spent the entire day at business, and was strictly just in his administration. When on his march to give battle to one of his rivals, he was met by a calendar, who saluted him with, "God send you victory." "Pray," said the king, "that the victory may be his who will best promote the good of his subjects." The profession of arms under his government assumed a new character. He made a point of ascertaining the qualities of every officer who was promoted, and particularly inquired into his origin and education. The result was that the officers were all well educated men. He established horse-posts through the country, and received accounts regularly from every military detachment. Reports of the armies, of the courts, and of the principal cities were received daily. The great flaw in his character—that which among his co-religionists was his highest virtue—was his sectarian devotion to his creed. He made a point of destroying all Hindoo temples. He had musjids and bazaars built opposite the bathing stairs in the city of Muttra, leading to the river, and ordered that no Hindoo should be suffered to perform his ablutions there. He forbade the barbers to shave the beards and heads of the inhabitants, to prevent them from the discharge of their religious duties. Before his ascent to the throne, in a disputation with a holy man, who maintained the impropriety for a king to interfere with the religion of his subjects, or to prevent them from bathing at places to which they had been accustomed to resort for ages, he drew his sword, and exclaimed, "Wretch! do you maintain the propriety of the Hindoo religion?" The holy man replied, "By no means, I speak from authority; kings should not persecute their subjects on any account." A story is also told of a Brahmin who, being upbraided by some Mohammedans on account of his faith, maintained "that the religions, both of the Moslems and Hindoos, if acted upon conscientiously, were equally acceptable to God." This opinion being maintained with some ingenuity and much argument, says Ferishta, the subject came to be discussed publicly, and the Brahmin was ordered to defend his thesis against twelve of the most learned men in the empire. Whatever may have been the success of the learned doctors against their solitary adversary, the issue of the disputation does not speak well for their liberality. Their intemperate decision argues their defeat. They decided, unless he renounced his errors and embraced Islam, he ought to suffer death. The Hindoo, refusing to apostatize, was accordingly executed, and the doctors were munificently rewarded. Sikunder was a poet, and a patron of learned men. His reign lasted twenty-eight years.

Sikunder dying at Agra, his son Ibrahim ascended the throne. This prince had estranged his kindred by a maxim which, though offensive to them, is by no means unworthy of a man destined to rule a mixed people,

that is, provided that all were to be treated with kindness and justice—"that king's should have no relations nor clansmen, and that all should be looked upon as subjects and servants of the state." It would appear by the sequel that such was not Ibrahim's interpretation, for instead of elevating the others to the status of the Affghans, he degraded theirs to that of the masses. The Affghans had the privilege of sitting in the royal presence, but were constrained by him to stand in front of the throne, with their hands servilely crossed behind them. The disaffection of the Lodi chiefs began early in his reign to manifest itself. They came to an agreement to leave him in possession of Delhi and a few dependant provinces, and to elevate his brother, Julal Khan, then governor of Calpee, to the throne of Juanpore. He soon secured in his interest all the nobles of the eastern provinces. His partizans, reflecting on the injury the division of the kingdom might inflict upon themselves, repented of what they had already done; but it was now too late. Ibrahim issued a proclamation, denouncing as traitors all who should adhere to the pretender, and at the same time sent presents and envoys to all the principal officers. These precautions had the effect of detaching the nobles, and of bringing them over to his side. Julal Khan prepared to maintain his claims. He sought with success a powerful alliance, assembled an army, attacked the forces of Oude, and compelled them to retreat on Lucknow. Ibrahim, on being informed of these proceedings, arrested and imprisoned his other brothers, and then led his forces towards Oude. Julal being deserted by his ally, who moreover passed over to the king, marched on Agra, and might have taken possession of that city or plundered the treasury there. He was prevented from doing either by an assurance which was given, that Ibrahim would ensure to him the independent possession of Calpee. But the king having taken Calpee, repudiated that arrangement; and Julal Khan having been forsaken by his soldiers, was obliged to fly to Gwalior to seek the protection of the rajah. The king, capriciously, after this turn of fortune, had his vizier put in chains, and at the same time he loaded his son with honours. An army having set out for the siege of Gwalior, Julal Khan sought refuge in Malwa; not being well received, he fled to Gurrakota, but being intercepted on the road, he was sent prisoner to the king. Julal was sent to the prison at Hansi, where his other brothers were confined; but private orders were given for his assassination on the journey. Gwalior, which for a hundred years previously was in the power of the Hindoos, fell into his possession. The cruelty of Ibrahim, whose hands were imbrued, not only in the blood of his brother, but in that of many of his chiefs, had provoked another rebellion. The army of the insurgents amounted to forty thousand cavalry, five hundred elephants, and a large force of infantry, with which they proceeded to oppose the royal forces under Ahmood Khan. They were defeated, leaving one of their chiefs on the field of battle, and the others, together with all their treasures and baggage, in the hands of the royalists. A series of butcheries succeeded this victory, and Ibrahim manifested the bitterest hatred and resentment against the nobles who had figured in the court of Sikunder. These proceedings provoked another rebellion, in which the governor of Bahar was assisted by several men of extensive influence. The governor having died, his son, Bahador Khan, assumed the title of king, as Mohammed Shah. Such was the odium in which the tyrant was held, that this chief was joined by a number of disaffected chiefs, and found himself at the head of an army of a hundred thousand men, with which he took possession of all the country, as far as Sumbhul, and defeated the royal troops in many successive engagements. Ghazee Khan Lodi, in obedience to a summons which he had received from the court, was hastening from Lahore with an army to its assistance; but having been informed, on his way, of the treacherous and bloodthirsty proceedings of the king, he became alarmed for his own safety, and returned to his father, Dowlat Khan Lodi, who, seeing no safety for himself or his family, threw himself on the protection of Baber, the Mogul prince then ruling in Cabul, and encouraged him to undertake the conquest of India. Before the invasion was matured, an attempt was made by Alla-ood-Deen, who had contrived to escape from his brother Ibrahim, and fled to Cabul; Dowlat Khan encouraged his pretensions, but his object was to clear the way for the future prosecution of his own ambitious designs. Alla-ood-Deen was soon joined by many chiefs of distinction, and was, in a very short time, at the head of an army of forty thousand, with which he directed his course to Delhi. He was met by the royal army, which, after a hard fought battle, defeated him and forced him to retreat to the Punjaub. After this, no events of importance transpired till the year 1526, when Baber arrived in India, and at the battle of Paniput defeated the Delhians; and Ibrahim lost both his crown and his life, and left the empires of Delhi and Agra a prey to the victorious de-

scendant of Tamerlane. The reign of Ibrahim Lodi lasted twenty years.

Few of the many conquerors of India deserve more special notice than Baber. He not only subdued a great portion of it, but he also imposed a dynasty, and is therefore more identified with its history than was either of his ancestors, Jenghis Khan or Tamerlane. Baber was the sixth in descent from the last-named conqueror, and a worthy inheritor of no inconsiderable share of his acquisitions. His military and political operations were as solid and enduring as they were brilliant. The extensive dominions of his grandfather, Abasaid, were shared by the numerous sons of that monarch. One of them, Ahmood Mirza, obtained Samarcand and Bokhara; Balk, or Bactria, came to another; Cabul to a third, whose name was Ulugh Beg. Omar Shekh* Mirza, the fourth son, and father of Baber, at first had charge of Cabul, but was transferred during his lifetime to Ferganah, on the upper course of the Jaxartes, a small but rich and beautiful country, which Baber always mentions with affection. He was born at Indijah in February, 1483, the same year which gave birth to the father of the Reformation, Luther, and the year of his accession was that in which Charles VIII. invaded Italy. His father having been killed by an accidental fall from the roof of a pigeon-house, Baber was advanced to the throne by his nobles, and assumed the title of *Zeheer-ood-Deen* (protector of religion), in 1494. He was then only twelve years old. His father had been involved in a war with both his brother and brother-in-law; the extreme youth of the young king gave them hope of ample satisfaction, and they calculated that with little difficulty they would be able to appropriate his kingdoms. To save him from this imminent danger, his relations proposed to convey him into the mountains; but this intention was overruled, and Baber began to make preparation for the threatened siege. An incident which occurred at this time will give an insight into the character of the future man. One of the courtiers was detected in corresponding with the enemy, and, being summoned before the king, he slew him with his own hand. The confederates entirely failed in their attack on his capital; a raging pestilence having suddenly broke out among their cavalry, their horses died off in hundreds daily, and a peace was concluded. The khans of Kashgar and Khostan, after this led their armies against him, but they also, eventually, made peace. The governor of Asheera rebelled: Baber besieged the town, and the rebel was compelled to come forth, with a sword suspended about his neck, and a shroud hung over his shoulders. Thence he proceeded to Sharokia, where he met his maternal uncle, and a reconciliation was effected. The King of Samarcand having occupied Aratiba, one of the provinces belonging to his father in his lifetime, he resolved to retake it, and accordingly marched with an army against it. The war was protracted through three years, when the King of Samarcand, having been abandoned by his ally, the ruler of Turkistan, proceeded with a small retinue of three hundred horse to solicit the assistance of Khosrow Shah, ruler of Khondoos. Baber availed himself of his absence, and hastened to Samarcand, where he was received into the city, and ascended the throne with the approbation of the majority of the nobles, in 1497, and in the fifteenth year of his age. Some of the chiefs, being disappointed in not having the town given up to plunder, went off in a body, and having placed at their head his young brother, Jehanghire Mirza, they demanded for him the province of Indijan. When this demand was presented to Baber he could not restrain his indignation, and threw out imputations which affected his adherents as well as those who had deserted him. This imprudence so offended the remaining officers, that in a body they went over to his enemies. To aggravate his perils, he was seized with a dangerous illness, by which he was reduced to the last extremity. His life, indeed, was preserved, with the greatest difficulty, by conveying sustenance through moistened cotton applied to his lips. On his recovery he found his affairs in the greatest confusion. The officers and soldiers, despairing of his life, began each to shift for himself; and Ali Dost Taghai, having heard that he was dead, surrendered Indijan to the rebels. He then applied to his uncle, Mahmood, for aid; and though he marched to his assistance, having no military capacity, he listened to the artful proposals of the cabal, and was persuaded to retreat. This misfortune was followed by the desertion of all his forces, with the exception of three hundred, who faithfully adhered to him, and shared his exile and fallen fortunes. He took up his quarters in Khojend, a town so small as to support with difficulty two hundred men. Burning with the desire of conquest and dominion, his ambitious spirit spurned the insignificance of his position, and aspired to a wider and a nobler field of action. In the winter of 1498 he led forth his few followers, and, as he himself relates, won all the strongholds of Yar Ailak by treaty, storm, or stra-

* *Shekh* or *sheikh*, an Arabic word, meaning an old man and prince.

tagem. The first gleam of good fortune was the return of Ali Dost Taghai to his allegiance. The Sultan Mahmood next sent an army to his assistance; and the chiefs of the rebellion had acted so tyrannically, that the towns began to rise up against them, and their troops to desert them; and in 1499 his paternal kingdom was entirely restored to him. An act of indiscretion made him a second time a refugee. A party of the rebels, who had capitulated on condition of taking away all their property, were with his sanction plundered by his partizans. This order was issued with too much precipitation; and as Baber himself observes, "in war and affairs of state no matter ought to be finally determined till it has been viewed in a hundred different lights." The Moguls in his service were so alarmed, that they forsook him, and marched away, in number about four thousand, and offered their services to a neighbouring sultan, who by this reinforcement was enabled to defeat the forces of their former master. After a series of operations a convention was made between Baber and his brother Jehanghire, by which the latter should have the territory on the north of the Sirr, while Indijan and Urkund were to belong to the former; and in the event of Baber obtaining possession of Samarcand, the whole should be resigned to Jehanghire. On his part he bound himself to unite his forces with his brother's for the invasion of that country.

By repeated invitations Baber was induced to renew his designs against Samarcand, and set out for that capital; but before he reached it, he was informed that both it and Bokhara were seized on by the Uzbecks, who were at that time laying the foundation of that dominion, which has continued to the present in Transoxiana. In his absence Tambol had a second time taken possession of Ferghana, and Baber with his followers fled to the mountains to the south of that country. While in this retreat he learned that Sheibani Khan, the chief of the Uzbecks, had left Samarcand on some expedition, leaving a garrison of five or six thousand men. He resolved to surprise it in his absence, and with that object proceeded with the small force of two hundred and forty men. They rode all night, and when all the enemy were at rest they escaladed the walls without giving the least alarm. The citizens received them with thanksgivings for their success, and united with them heartily in their attack upon the garrison, and assisted with clubs and stones in driving out the Uzbecks. Sheibani Khan, on being informed of this dashing exploit, hastened back, but found the gates closed against him and ultimately withdrew to Bokhara. Shadmar, and Sogdiana, with its fortresses, before the end of a few months, submitted. In 1501 he marched against the Uzbecks, and suffered a signal defeat: with difficulty, attended by a few followers, he escaped to Samarcand, by plunging on horseback into the river Kohik, and swimming across. He determined to maintain his hold in this town "for life and for death." The citizens were reduced to extreme distress. Some of the meaner sort were constrained to eat dogs and asses; the leaves of trees were collected to feed the horses. Some were fed with shavings and raspings of wood steeped in water. The citizens and soldiers could endure these hardships no longer, and therefore, having made a sort of capitulation, he evacuated the town at midnight. The following two years of his life were embittered by vicissitudes and privations of the most afflicting character. He commonly went barefoot through the mountains with his companions, and their feet, he says, became so hard, that they did not mind rock or stone in the least. His servants deserted from want of food. He sometimes expresses the despondent feelings by which he was in these wanderings harassed. The following is a translation of a verse composed by him then:—

"No one remembers him who is in adversity:
A banished man cannot indulge his heart in happiness.
My heart is far from joy in this exile:
However brave, an exile has no pleasure."

At length his patience gave way, and he said to himself, "Rather than appear in this state of debasement, it were good to flee from the sight of man as far as my feet could bear me." He resolved to travel into Northern China. Occasional communications from his adherents in Ferghana served to keep alive his hopes, and at length, with the aid of his uncle, he recovered his capital, and was joined by his brother, who had hitherto been his rival. His old enemy and traitor, Tambol, called to his aid the formidable Uzbecks; Baber was again defeated. He fled with a few men, fighting at every step, and was so hotly pursued, that his guards fell one by one into the hands of the enemy, and his horse was so much exhausted, that he was overtaken by two of Tambol's soldiers. They called to him in an assumed friendly voice to stop, but he pressed forward up a glen till about "bedtime prayers." Both of them, with a solemn oath, assured him that Tambol desired to reinstate him, and they also "swore unto him by the holy book that they would follow and serve him wherever he led." If they were at any time sincere in their assurances, they ultimately abandoned their

honourable intentions, and betrayed him to his enemy. With great difficulty he again obtained his liberty. He rejoined his uncles, but with little advantage to himself, for Sheibani, invited by Tambol, arrived with an army "more numerous than the rain-drops," and routed the Moguls in a bloody conflict. Both his uncles were taken captives, and he fled to Mogulistan. He wandered in distress amongst the mountains for a whole year, and surrendered all hope of regaining his inheritance, and determined on seeking his fortune in Khorassan, bade a long farewell to his native land, and ventured beyond the Hindoo Koosh. Though he had figured in so many scenes, and suffered so many trials, he was yet only in his twenty-third year. The touching details of his eventful experience at this time, as recorded in his life, written by himself, are a faithful mirror of the fitful character of a determined boy. His transient feelings, and the elasticity of his spirits, were remarkable—at one moment dissolved in tears, the next with the keenest relish enjoying the agreeabilities of his situation. His domestic affections are as strong as they are simple and natural—there is no apparent concealment of his inmost thoughts. The genial glow of puerility in the earlier period of his memoirs renders it probable that they were contemporaneously written. During all his marches, says Elphinstone with much truth, in peace or war, flowers and trees and cheerful landscapes were never thrown away upon him. It may be because others have not opened their hearts as he has done, but there certainly is no person in Asiatic history into whose tastes and feelings we can so fully penetrate as into Baber's.

In entering on a new field of adventure his followers were less than three hundred, and among them all there were but two tents. Bactria was at that time under the rule of Khosrow Shah, a favourite of Baber's late uncle, and subsequently minister to his son, the prince whom he had driven out of Samarcand, and whom Khosrow had since then murdered, and appropriated what remained of his dominions. With his lately-acquired subjects Baber was a favourite, and looked upon as the legitimate owner of the kingdom. It was not long after his arrival before all the Moguls in Khosrow's service offered Baber their allegiance; and even his brother came over to him with all his family and effects, and was followed by the whole of the army. He now found himself at the head of a respectable force, and proceeded onward to the conquest of Cabul. His uncle, Ulugh Beg, the king of that country, had died in 1501, two years previously, leaving his kingdom to his son, a mere lad, who was expelled by his minister; the latter was assassinated, and the kingdom was then seized upon by a prince of Candahar. Almost without a blow Cabul and Ghizni, with all the provinces dependant upon them, acknowledged the dominion of Baber in 1504. Over this country he ruled for twenty-two years before he undertook the conquest of India, and his descendants reigned there until the end of the seventeenth century. A mere recapitulation of the leading events of that interval is all that is requisite here. He subdued Candahar; put down a rebellion fomented by his brother; he waged wars with his old enemies the Uzbecks; and probably would have shared the destruction which had annihilated the eldest branch of his house, had not Sheibani Khan been totally defeated and slain in 1510 by the King of Persia. Baber occupied Bactria and Bokhara, and again obtained possession of Samarcand in 1511, but before a twelvemonth he was driven out by the Uzbecks; and although he was sustained by the Persian alliance, and maintained the war for two years longer, he was stripped of all his acquisitions except Bactria in 1514.

It was then that he turned his attention to India, and entered on that enterprise which had been suggested to him by Dowlat Khan, governor of Lahore, and his sons. The application for aid made to Baber by him was accompanied with an offer of allegiance. No proposal could have been more acceptable; and he lost no time in making the necessary preparations. He directed his march through the country of the Gukkurs, and imposed his yoke upon them. Behar Khan Lodi, and other Affghan ameers, who continued faithful to Ibrahim, or averse to an invader, encountered him in the vicinity of Lahore, and were defeated. His victorious army sacked the town of Lahore. Depalpore was next taken by assault, and a general massacre followed. Dowlat Khan, who had been expelled from Lahore by the King of Delhi, and had taken refuge among the Beloochees, here joined Baber with his three sons, and was favourably received. At this time he was recommended by Dowlat to detach a body of troops to Dura Ismael Khan, with whom several Affghan nobles had collected a force, but Dilawer, the son of Dowlat, informed Baber privately that his father and brother only wanted to separate his army, and weaken them. They were both on this information cast into prison, but shortly after released. This did not ensure their attachment; they fled to the eastern hills, and Dilawer was put in possession of their estates. Alla-ood-Deen was put in

possession of Depalpore, and hopes held out to him of being substituted for his brother Ibrahim in Delhi. The defection of a man of such influence as Dowlat Khan, with other unfavourable occurrences, induced Baber to retrace his steps to Cabul. No sooner had he withdrawn than Dowlat and Ghazee seized upon Sultanpore, and imprisoned Dilawer. Sultan Ibrahim forwarded an army to bring them to submission. The army was tampered with, and the general gained over Alla-ood-Deen, who, having been driven out of Depalpore, had fled to Cabul, and now returned to Lahore, bringing with him the orders of Baber to his commanders that they should assist in placing him on the throne of Delhi, and that he would support him in person as soon as the state of affairs would permit. Dowlat and his son professed their readiness to co-operate with him. The Mogul chiefs having obtained for Baber the cession of all the territories west of Lahore, permitted Alla-ood-Deen to join Dowlat Khan in order to prosecute his pretensions. These, with their joint forces, marched on Delhi. Ibrahim advanced from Agra to oppose them, but his army was taken by surprise in a night attack, and dispersed, but having rallied the next morning, snatched the victory and its fruits from the rebels. The unfortunate pretender was abandoned by his adherents, and fled in great distress to the Punjaub. Baber was then on his march back again to renew his Indian war. Ghazee Khan Lodi transferred his allegiance to his old sovereign, and united his forces with his when he heard of the advance of the Moguls, and remained faithful till that monarch's death.

In 1525 Baber commenced his fifth Indian campaign. On the route to Lahore he amused himself in rhinoceros hunting, and thus had an opportunity of testing the courage, prowess, and skill of his chiefs. In December of the same year he crossed the Indus at the head of a hundred thousand horse. Dowlat and his son, with an army—then in the interest of Ibrahim—of forty thousand, were encamped on the banks of the Ravee, near Lahore, but they did not await his arrival. The father retired into the fortress of Muluret, which, having been beleaguered, surrendered after a few days. The old traitor was pardoned, and again received into favour. On the following day he went in pursuit of Ghazee, who had retired to the mountains. He overtook and defeated him, after which he formed a junction with the army commanded by Ibrahim Lodi. Baber decided on marching on Delhi. To this step he was encouraged by messages from some traitors in Ibrahim's court; and on his way he was joined by an Affghan deserter with three thousand men. Ibrahim did not await him under shelter of the walls of Delhi; he had boldly taken the field, and when Baber was within two stages of Shahabad he learned that the vanguard, six or eight miles in advance, composed of twenty-seven thousand horse, were ready to dispute his progress. He hurried on his left wing to encounter them. They met at sunrise the following morning: the conflict was vigorously sustained. The issue was adverse to the Delhians; they were put to flight, and their commander fell in the retreat. The prisoners were barbarously put to the sword. The main army, under Baber, having reached the field of battle, encamped there for six days, during which he ordered his park of artillery to be linked together with leathern ropes, made of raw hides, according to the practice, Ferishta observes, which prevailed among the armies of Asia Minor.

Though Ibrahim's army consisted of a hundred thousand horse, and a hundred elephants, and that of Baber is represented as amounting only to twelve thousand men, he made an attempt with five thousand horse to surprise the Delhians. In this manœuvre he was disappointed. The next morning Ibrahim led his forces to the memorable plains of Paniput,* a day to be remembered in the history of the Indian peninsula. On the 20th of April, 1526, the two armies came in sight of each other. Baber divided his forces into two lines, composed of four divisions, with a reserve in the rear of each, and a small body of horse to skirmish in the front. The light troops were thrown out in advance; besides these there was a grand reserve in the rear of both lines. Baber having delivered his orders to his generals personally, and placed his army in battle array, took his post in the centre of the first line. Ibrahim placed his forces in one solid mass, and, according to the practice of the Indians, ordered his horse to charge. This attack the Mogul army awaited so steadily, that the Delhians began to slacken their pace long before they reached the enemy's lines. Those divisions which advanced to the lines of the adversary being unsustained, were repulsed, but as they fell back the reserves were ordered to wheel round their flanks, and, meeting in the centre, they fell upon their rear. By this manœuvre the Affghans were almost cut off to a man. Ibrahim was among the slain, and five thousand of his followers were heaped around him, and among these was the Rajah of Gwalior. Of the Delhians some authors report that sixteen

* Paniput is also the scene of a great battle between the Mahrattas and Ahmed Shah in 1761, which will be noticed hereafter.

thousand were killed, while others swell the amount to fifty thousand. In a few days both Agra and Delhi fell into his hands. The following characteristic observations on this conquest are made by Baber in his commentaries:—"From the time of the blessed Prophet down to the present day three foreign kings have subdued Hindostan—Mahmood of Ghizni, and Sultan Mahmood Ghoori, and myself:* both were great potentates, while opposed only by rajahs of petty kingdoms; I, on the other hand, while the whole power of the Uzbecks threatened my dominions on the north-west, advanced with not more than twelve thousand, including camp followers, against the emperor of all India, whose army was composed of a hundred thousand men, and a thousand elephants. In reward for my confidence in him, the Most High did not allow me to endure so many hardships in vain, but overthrew my formidable adversary, and gave me the sceptre of Hindostan."†

The detestation in which the Moguls were held by the Affghans determined them to refuse submission. They appeared in arms everywhere, and put their forts in the best possible state of defence; even some of them who had joined the invader deserted, and the peasantry around Agra attacked them in several instances, cut off the foraging parties, and intercepted the supplies both for men and horses. The climate, to which the Moguls were not inured, also thinned their ranks. Thus circumstanced, Baber was pressingly urged by his chief officers to return to Cabul, but he replied "that a kingdom which cost him so much pains in taking should not be wrested from him but by death," and issued a decree proclaiming his determination to remain in India, at the same time permitting all who preferred safety to glory to retire to Cabul. This announcement proved favourable to his interest. Several of the influential men who stood aloof speculating on his withdrawal from India now gave in their adherence. The Affghan confederates had now an army of fifty thousand strong in the field, but there was treason in their camp. The vizier of the late king, Futteh Khan, deserted, and induced several of the nobles to submit. This diversion did not extinguish the hopes of the nationalists, several of whom espoused the cause of Mahmood, the son of the late Sikunder Lodi, and with an army of one hundred thousand horse resolved to re-establish the Affghan dynasty. This led to the battle of Ranwa, a village on the Banganga River, four miles south of Bhurtpore. The Affghans fought with desperate valour, and the fortunes of the day seemed to incline to them, till Baber, perceiving a favourable opportunity, charged with his private guards "like a lion rushing from his lair," and after an obstinate conflict the Indian line was broken, and they fled in disorder. To commemorate the victory a ghastly pyramid of the heads of the slain was reared on an eminence near the scene of action, and Baber assumed the title of Ghazee.

The enemy thus weakened and disheartened gave their conquerors a respite. Hoomayoon, the conqueror's son, was sent back to Cabul with orders to add Bactria to that province. Many of the strongholds now submitted. In 1528 Baber made a tour of his new empire. Towards the close of this year Prince Mahmood, the son of Sikunder, took possession of the province of Bahar, and the Beloochees in Mooltan revolted. Baber marched in person to Bahar, and defeated the enemy.

The Prince Hoomayoon having left his brother Hindal Mirza as his substitute in the government of Cabul, returned to visit his father. On the 24th of December, 1530, Baber expired, and in compliance with his will he was interred in Cabul. He reigned for thirty-eight years, and died in the fiftieth year of his age.

The particulars of his career have been drawn from his *memoirs*, written by himself in the Turkish language, transcribed by his son, and translated in the reign of his grandson Akbar, into Persian. The language, in which it was originally composed, is spoken to this day from the Caspian to the Chinese frontier. The chief portion of this was translated by Leyden, and the remainder by Erskine.

"In his person," Ferishta records, "he was handsome; his address was engaging and unaffected; his countenance pleasing, and his disposition affable." On his feelings and tastes some remarks have been made. He was learned, and had few equals in the arts of poetry, prose composition, and music. In the time of his ancestor Jenghis Khan, Samarcand and Bokhara were the first cities in civilization. Notwithstanding his warlike pursuits, his time was not absorbed by the duties of the camp. He was ardently devoted to the enjoyments of the cup, and to female society. When inclined to make merry, he generally gave orders to fill a reservoir in his favourite garden with the richest wine. The following verse was publicly exhibited to the revellers:—

"Give me but wine and blooming maids,
All other joys I freely spurn;
Enjoy them, Baber, while you may,
For youth once passed will ne'er return."

* Baber has not mentioned the conquest of his ancestor Tamerlane. This may arise from Tamerlane not having established an Indian kingdom or imposed a dynasty.

† *Life of Baber*, by Caldecott, p. 179.

Hoomayoon Padshah succeeded his father. He was a prince of refined taste and cultivated mind. He had scarcely mounted the throne when his brother Mirza formed the design of wresting the Punjaub from him, and asserting his independence. Hoomayoon was cognizant of his projects, yet not wishing to be involved in an unnatural war with his brother, anticipated him by sending him a commission nominating him to the government of the Punjaub, Peshawur, and Lumghan. Mahmood, son of Sikunder, was still in arms, and, in the hope of recovering the inheritance of his family, he had recently got possession of Juanpore; Hoomayoon having marched thither ejected him, and restored the former governor. A conspiracy against the king's life, by some of his own countrymen, was detected; the prime mover was pardoned, and some of the accomplices punished, these were officers of distinction in his service. Zuman Mirza, who had been pardoned, on taking the most solemn oath of fidelity, availed himself of the earliest opportunity of escape, and sought refuge at the court of Gujerat, with Bahador Shah. Here he was joined by about six thousand adherents, consisting of Moguls, Affghans, and Rajpoots. Hoomayoon demanded the surrender of Zuman Mirza, which being refused he made preparation to enforce his demand. Bahador Shah was then carrying on the siege of Chittoor, but owing to some circumstance not explained, although Hoomayoon had marched as far as Gwalior, and Prince Rana Sanka had claimed his protection, after two months, he broke up his camp, and returned peaceably to Agra. Despairing of relief, Rana Sanka, with costly presents, induced Bahador Shah to abandon the siege. The successful prosecution of his uninterrupted designs, spirited on this ambitious prince to more important measures, in fact nothing less than the expulsion of the new dynasty. He set up a new claimant for the throne of Delhi, Alla-ood-Deen, the son of Behlol Lodi, and to sustain his pretensions placed an army of forty thousand men at his disposal. This force, commanded by the pretender's son, advanced on Agra, but on the approach of an opposing army, the great bulk of his men deserted, and the remainder, with three hundred officers, were cut to pieces. Bahador shortly after took the field, and having collected a large train of artillery, on which he relied, he entrenched his army, and placed his cannon in redoubts, in the expectation that the Moguls would risk an engagement. The armies were in sight of each other for the space of two months; at length all his supplies being cut off, the men, horses, elephants, and camels perished daily, from want and disease, in great numbers; and finding himself reduced to extremities, with five attendants he left his camp in the night time, and fled towards Mandoo. The following day his army dispersed, were pursued, and put to the sword. Mandoo, in which Bahador had a force of several thousands, was scaled at night by three hundred Moguls; the garrison, panic-stricken, betook themselves to flight, and the unfortunate refugee, with five thousand horse, escaped to Champanere, then the capital of Gujerat. During the flight he would have been taken by the king in person, had not one of his faithful attendants thrown himself between Hoomayoon's guards and his master, and thus saved his life. The pursuit was hotly sustained. Three days after the capture of Mandoo the victors reached Champanere. Bahador, taking with him all his treasures, fled to Ahmoodabad. The city of Champanere was given up to plunder, but the citadel, strongly garrisoned, and well supplied with provisions, threatened a prolonged defence. Hoomayoon continued the pursuit of the King of Gujerat, who pursued his flight to Cambay, and thence to the Island of Diu. He was so closely pursued that Hoomayoon arrived at Cambay on the very evening he had left it. The principal part of the royal treasures of Gujerat being stored at Champanere, Hoomayoon returned thither to conduct the siege in person. In the capture of this strong fortress the young king exhibited a large share of shrewdness and intrepidity. While one day reconnoitering, he observed a party of country people conveying supplies by a secret pathway leading through a wood; he induced them to carry him in disguise to the spot at which they were admitted. Having carefully made his observations, the following night with three hundred chosen men he prepared to escalade it. Feigned assaults, for the purpose of diversion, being made in other quarters, he with thirty-nine of the detachment approached that part of the fortification he had already marked out, and which, as being extremely difficult of assault, and in the opinion of the garrison unapproachable by the enemy, was left unprotected, the sentinels having been withdrawn for the defence of more assailable points. The king was enabled without interruption to fix steel spikes in the scarp of the rock, and by their aid thirty-nine of his officers ascended, after whom himself, making the fortieth. Before the sun rose the entire party were within the walls. A preconcerted signal was given, and a simultaneous attack was made on all sides. At the head of his detachment the king, sword in hand, fought his way to one of the gates, threw it open, and his troops poured into the

citadel. The garrison was put to the sword. The governor, for his fidelity and bravery, was spared. This daring feat is ranked, and not unmeritedly, by the Mohammedan historians as equal, in the opinion of their military men, to anything of the kind recorded in history. The treasures which fell into his hands, the accumulations of many years, were so great that it is stated Hoomayoon gave to his officers and soldiers as much gold, silver, and jewels as could be heaped upon their respective shields, proportioning the value to their rank and merit. Bahador was not crushed by his misfortunes. He had again enrolled an army of fifty thousand men, and was daily advancing in strength and influence. He, however, sustained another defeat near Mahmoodabad. The province of Gujerat being partitioned among his officers, he directed his march to Boorhanpore, and in his progress received the submissions of the princes of the Deccan. Scarcely had he satisfactorily settled that affair when he heard that a formidable insurrection had broken out in the north, at the head of which was Sheer Khan. Having received the submission of Candeish, he proceeded to Mandoo, and thence to Agra.

Through the attachment still preserved for Bahador, as well as through the ambition and treachery of some of the Mogul officers, who had a design of raising the king's brother, Mirza Askari, to the throne, Malwa and Gujerat, the conquest of which had been accomplished at so much trouble, were now (1535) lost to Hoomayoon without a battle.

The troubles in the north did not allow much time to the king to indulge in those pleasures which were now daily growing upon him. He left his capital, Agra, in 1537, and set out against Sheer Khan. This chief, destined to play a great part in the affairs of Hindostan, was the grandson of Ibrahim Khan, an Affghan, who claimed descent from the kings of Ghoor. Hasan the father held a jaghir in Bahar. He had two sons, Sheer Khan and Nizam Khan. These he neglected, and the elder at an early age left his father, and as an adventurer sought his fortune as a private soldier in the army of the governor of Juanpore. Amid the arduous duties of his profession, he did not neglect the cultivation of his mental faculties. He devoted himself to study, and became versed in the literature of the East, and could repeat from memory all the poems of that popular oriental genius Sadi. He was subsequently reconciled to his father, and was placed in the management of his jaghir until Soliman, his step-brother, grew up, by the intrigues of whose mother he found himself in so uncomfortable a situation that, accompanied by his brother Nizam, who in all probability was guided by him, he again forsook home, and entered into the service of Sultan Sikunder, who was then king. There he continued to the death of his father, when the jaghir of Sahseram was conferred upon him. After the disastrous battle of Paniput, in which Ibrahim lost both crown and life, Sheer Khan stooped not to the conqueror, but transferred his services to Mohammed Shah Lohani, who assumed the title and dignity of King of Juanpore and Bahar. This prince having yielded to the intrigues of Soliman the half brother, and transferred to him the paternal jaghir, Sheer Khan withdrew in disgust, and joined Junid, the governor whom Baber had appointed to Juanpore, in 1527. Aided by the conquerors he was soon enabled to raise a body of followers in the hills of Bahar, recovered his jaghir, and became a troublesome neighbour to his late master, professing himself a subject of Baber Having paid his personal respects to that prince, he accompanied him to Chanderry, in 1528, was soon after confirmed in the possession of his inheritance, and appointed to a command in Bahar. In the year after, 1529, Sheer Khan once more is found in the ranks of the nationalists, but on the dispersion of Mahmood Lodi's army in that year, he was one of the chiefs who submitted to Baber. So did also Jelal, the son of Mohammed Shah Lohani, now dead. This young prince, still a minor, and under the guardianship of his mother, was received by the conqueror into favour, and invested with considerable powers. Sheer Khan had obtained great influence over the mother, and on her death, which soon after supervened, Jelal was left in entire dependence on this aspiring noble. He was soon master of Bahar, and of the strong fortresses of Chunar and Rohtas. These steps of aggrandizement were pursued in the beginning of the reign of Hoomayoon. Though the latter looked on with apprehension, and had more than once resolved on checking his ambitious projects, the necessity for his presence in other quarters, and particularly the more recent campaigns in Gujerat and Malwa, had prevented the prosecution of any effective measures. Thus Sheer Khan had been enabled to secure the complete possession of Bahar, and had already made considerable progress in attaching the rich kingdom of Bengal. Such confidence had he thus early in the stability of his power, that when Hoomayoon was in pursuit of Bahador Shah, his son with impunity withdrew with the body of horse which he had led to his assistance.

The grounds of quarrel with Bengal was that Jelal, wishing to assert his independence,

had sought and obtained the aid of the king of that country, but Sheer Khan bade defiance to both, and not only repelled their joint forces, but entered on an aggressive war, and laid siege to Ghoor, the capital of the kingdom.

This short summary will sufficiently explain the situation of affairs in the north when Hoomayoon had returned, and was about to bestow the attention which the emergency commanded. He had no contemptible adversary to encounter. Sheer Khan made his preparations with a masterly perception of the situation, of which the previous history of India furnishes no example. To enable him to complete his conquest of Bengal he threw a strong garrison into the rocky fort of Chunar, with the necessary supplies and appliances for a protracted and obstinate defence. This fort stands on the extreme verge of a detached portion of the Vindaya Mountains, which slope down to the Ganges in the British district of Mirzapore. This eminence, a sandstone rock, rises abruptly from the edge of the stream to the height of one hundred and four feet, and attains its greatest elevation about two hundred yards farther south-east, where it is one hundred and forty-six feet high. From that position the hills recede westward, covering the whole of the south-east of Bahar and Bengal, and shutting up the road along the south bank of the Ganges in two places, one near Chunar, and the other at Sicragalli, east of Bayhalpore.* As the march of the Mogul army lay along the Ganges, and their artillery was conveyed by water, it was essential to their purpose to obtain possession of this stronghold. The siege lasted six months. After the fall of the fortress the victors pushed on, still keeping to the Ganges, and, before Patna was reached, they were met by the unfortunate King of Bengal, who had been expelled his territory, and was still afflicted with a wound received in the last engagement. As they approached the defile of Sicragalli, a detachment was sent to occupy it, but this had been prudently occupied, and, in an attempt to force it, the Moguls were repulsed with considerable loss. The main army was now at hand, and to their surprise they found the position abandoned, and the road to the capital of Bengal thrown open to them. It was no part of the plan of operations, upon which Sheer Khan had resolved, to oppose, in the open field, the superior force of the enemy in this early stage of the campaign. His intention was to betake himself to the hills on the south-west, and he had already removed his household and valuable effects to Rohtas. During the delay at Chunar Ghoor had fallen, and the battle which had sent its king a fugitive had been fought in Bengal. The detachment which had retired from the defile had been sent there, with instructions to avoid any serious affair, in order to retard the advance, and to complete the arrangements for withdrawal to the highlands. Ghoor yielded without a show of resistance. Though all shadow of opposition had disappeared, an enemy was at their doors more formidable than that which had so rapidly vanished. The Moguls had entered Bengal on the eve of the rainy season, which now had attained its height; the Delta of the Ganges was one waste of water, the slender streams were swollen into far-spreading pools, the plains were in every direction inundated. A stop was necessarily put to all military operations, and the communication with Upper India was seriously obstructed. This state of inactivity continued for several months. Disease, generated by the moist and sultry weather, spread amongst the troops, and several were daily falling victims. As soon as the waters had subsided, and the communications were again established, the soldiers deserted in crowds; and Prince Hindul, the king's brother, who had been left in North Bahar, abandoned his post. Before the rains had ceased, Sheer Khan was again in the field. He overran Bahar and Benares, had extended his lines of communication along the Ganges as far as Kanouj, and had thus skilfully shut Hoomayoon out from the facilities of intercourse with his capital. The result of these masterly movements was that he was obliged to leave his newly-acquired possessions in charge of an inadequate force, while he himself, with the remainder of the army, had to cut his way back to Agra. It was with great reluctance, and after considerable hesitation, that he finally decided on this course. Half the dry season had passed away before he commenced his retreat. He had dispatched a large body of his army as a corps of observation, under the command of one of his experienced veterans, and a favourite general of his father. When they had proceeded as far as Monghir they were surprised and defeated by a division of Sheer Khan's army, who had emerged from their state of inactivity, and again renewed operations in the field. When the Moguls had reached Baxar, between Patna and Benares, they were surprised to find that Sheer Khan, who had now assumed the title of king, had, by forced marches, outstripped them, and was prepared to intercept their further progress. Hoomayoon was advised to engage these troops, fatigued by a day's march of thirty-five miles. This suggestion was not acted upon, and on

* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 132.

the following day Sheer Khan had so strongly entrenched himself, that he could neither be passed nor attacked with any prospect of success. Hoomayoon was now obliged to throw up entrenchments, and collected a number of boats to form a bridge across the Ganges, that he might transport his troops across, and thus pursue his journey along that river. This he was the more anxious to effect as the troubled state of affairs in Agra demanded his presence. These preparations he was permitted to pursue without molestation during nearly two months. When the bridge had been nearly finished Sheer Khan one day left his camp, but with a force sufficient to conceal his movement from the enemy, and by a circuitous route came in the rear of Hoomayoon's position, and at the break of day, on the following morning, attacked him with his army divided into three columns. The Moguls were taken entirely by surprise. The king effected his escape at the imminent risk of his life. The bridge not being completed, he plunged into the Ganges. His horse, exhausted, was swept away by the stream, and his master would have shared the same wretched fate, had he not been saved by a water-carrier, who was crossing with the aid of a skin, inflated like a bladder, which sustained the king's weight as well as his own. Eight thousand Moguls were drowned, a party of the enemy having previously seized on all the craft on the river. This disaster occurred in 1539. With a small retinue Hoomayoon hastened to Calpee, and thence to Agra. His queen, whom he made an unsuccessful attempt to save, was taken by the enemy. It is a trait worthy of record, and creditable to the victor, that he treated her with scrupulous delicacy and attention, and sent her to a place of safety. A singular instance of the king's gratitude to the water-carrier is related by Ferishta: on his arrival at his capital he allowed him to sit on his throne for a half day, and permitted him to reward his relatives during that time with princely presents.

During this last campaign his two brothers, instead of uniting to oppose the common foe, had, insidiously, attempted to wrest from him his kingdom, and endeavoured to gain possession of the cities of Agra and Delhi. Hoomayoon used every argument with them in vain to affect a coalition of interest. After the recent defeat the two royal brothers, finding that the Affghans were likely to prevail, became ashamed of their conduct, and resolved to support Hoomayoon. The three met at Agra; Kamran severed himself from their councils and returned to Lahore.

While Hoomayoon was endeavouring to repair his losses, Sheer Khan, after some respite, advanced to the Ganges, and occupied the neighbouring provinces. In the beginning of 1540 Hoomayoon again took the field, his army being strengthened by an addition of three thousand men left by Kamran. The engagement which ensued was fatal to the Moguls. The army was entirely defeated, and driven into the Ganges. Hoomayoon's horse was wounded, and he saved his life by means of an elephant, which he guided across the stream. The opposite bank was precipitous, and the prince must have perished were it not that two soldiers, who happened to have gained that part of the shore, had tied their turbans together, and threw one end to him, and thus enabled him to make good his landing. On his way he was joined by his two brothers and some troops; having narrowly escaped being pillaged on the road, he reached Agra. The power of Sheer Khan was now in the ascendant, and neither Delhi nor Agra appeared to be a safe domicile for the house of Baber; consequently the royal family, and the most valuable portion of their portable property, were transmitted to Lahore, and they themselves shortly after followed. There was no welcome here for the royal exile. Kamran was too apprehensive of his own safety, and afraid of being supplanted by his elder brother. To purchase exemption from Sheer Khan he ceded to him the Punjaub, and retired to Cabul, leaving Hoomayoon to provide for his security in the best way he could. In this extremity he directed his course towards Scinde, which bordered the dominions of his brother Kamran, having been at one time included in the kingdom of Delhi. Hoomayoon calculated that there existed among many of its chiefs an attachment to the symbol of power, and that they could be induced to recognise his authority. He passed into this province through Uch. Here in fruitless efforts, among which were the sieges of Bakkar on the Indus, and Sehwan, a year and a half were wasted away; his resources were expended, his followers were thinned by deaths and desertions, and the chief of this territory was advancing to attack him; in fact, he surrounded him while conducting the siege of Sehwan, and thus cut off all supplies both from him and the garrison. Deserted by his relatives and friends he was obliged to retreat, and could not find, for several days, a few boats to convey his faithful followers across the Indus. Flying from the enemy he passed through Jesselmere to Nagoor and Ajmeer, then ruled by Maldeo, Rajah of Marwar, one of the most powerful princes of India. Though he had directed his course here by the invitation

of that prince, the latter, perceiving by the shattered fortunes of the king that he had nothing to apprehend from his anger, and that his enemy, Sheer Khan, was in the ascendant, faithlessly resolved on seizing on him and delivering him up. Hoomayoon, warned of his danger, fled by night on horseback to Amurkote, closely pursued. His route lay through a sandy desert, where his followers endured the severest privations, and were entirely destitute of water. Some ran mad, others dropped suddenly dead, and nothing was witnessed but screams and lamentations, and to add to their misery the enemy were close in pursuit. The king had but a few attendants; no chance of escape presented itself. A well-directed arrow entered the breast of the commander of the party in pursuit—he fell; terror seized his followers; they unaccountably fled from the handful of royalists, and Hoomayoon was again providentially preserved from imminent destruction. The Moguls seized on many of the abandoned camels, and obtained possession of provisions and other necessaries, of which they stood in such pressing need. By the Rajah of Amurkote he was in a most friendly manner received, and hospitably entertained. During his sojourn here was born his son and successor, Akbar, 1542, a prince by whose genius and fortune the Indian empire was exalted. Having been reinforced by his friend and host, Hoomayoon proceeded towards Candahar, but here he was opposed by his brother, who was in possession, and being attacked by him was compelled to fly to Khorassan, accompanied by only twenty horsemen and his queen. Such was the precipitancy of their flight that the infant prince was left behind in the camp, and carried off by his disappointed uncle, who pretended that he had come with kindly intentions, and indeed treated his nephew with great respect and affection, and removed him and his attendants to Candahar, December 14, 1543. Despairing of any succour from his brother, the king hastened to Siestan, and placed himself under the protection of the King of Persia. In this step he was not disappointed, he was received in a manner befitting a king, and munificently supplied with money, necessaries, and attendants. Thence he proceeded to Herat, where he was honourably received by the son and heir to the sovereign, who abundantly supplied him with every requisite for his journey to the Persian court. In his progress he was waited on by all the governors of the province, who paid him their respects, and magnificently entertained him.

Having accompanied the royal refugee so far from his dominions, and leaving him the recipient of the favours of the Persian monarch, his evacuated kingdom now challenges attention.

The successes which had hitherto crowned the prudent and brave prince, Sheer Khan, by whom Hoomayoon was expelled, have been briefly noticed. The retreat of the king placed him in possession of the provinces, which were stript of their defences. He took possession of the entire of the Punjaub. He erected a strong fortress on the Jhelum for its protection, destined to become famous, and which he called Rohtas, after a fortress in Bahar, and then returned to the late seat of empire, Agra. The chief whom he left in command in Bengal had revolted. This movement he quickly and effectually suppressed, and made such wise arrangements as to guard against the recurrence of disturbance. In the course of the next year he recovered Malwa, and in the succeeding he reduced the fort of Raizin. Though the garrison had capitulated, on the pretence of the authority of the construction of the treaty by some Mohammedan lawyers, the Hindoo garrison were cut to pieces after a brave resistance. "In comparison with their valour," says the Mohammedan writer Ferishta, "the deeds of Rostom and Isfundyai might be deemed child's play. Not an individual of the Rajpoots survived the horrid catastrophe." "No motive," says Elphinstone, "can be discovered for this act of treachery and cruelty. There was no example to make, no injury to avenge, and the days of religious fury were long since gone by; yet there is no action so atrocious in the history of any Mohammedan prince in India, except Tamerlane." His next campaign was into Marwar; when he was crossing the sands, he formed redoubts all round him with gabions, and in this manner he passed through the country of the Rajah of Nagoor and Ajmeer. Maldeo, the most powerful of the independent rajahs, met him at the head of fifty thousand Rajpoots. Both armies lay thirty days in sight of each other. Sheer Khan was looking for some plausible pretext for withdrawing, when he availed himself of a stratagem not remarkable for its originality, but which has often been successfully employed. Most of the Rajpoot nobles had been reduced to submission by Maldeo. Sheer Khan caused letters to be written in the name of these stating, "That having been subjected by the rajah they had, through necessity, accompanied him, but that they were in secret inimical to him; that if Sheer Khan would reinstate them in their former possessions, they were willing to pay him tribute and acknowledge his supremacy." On these letters he indorsed in Persian, "Fear nothing,

but persevere, and you may be assured your wishes will be complied with." Some of these letters were artfully conveyed to Maldeo, who fell into the trap insidiously laid for him; and instead of attacking his enemy, he actually ordered a retreat. One of the high-minded Rajpoots felt so sorely the imputation, that he remonstrated with the infatuated prince. He told him, "That such treachery was unprecedented among true Rajpoots, and he was determined to wash off the stain on their reputation with his blood, or to subdue Sheer Khan with his own tribe alone." He accordingly, with only twelve thousand men, fell on Sheer Khan's force of eighty thousand, with such impetuosity and bravery, that he repulsed the enemy repeatedly, and threw the army into such confusion, that were it not for the timely arrival of fresh reinforcements, during the heat of the fight, they would have won the victory. Sheer Khan, when he had at last succeeded in defeating them, declared that he had nearly lost the empire of India for a handful of *jooar* (millet), alluding to the poverty of the country, and the insignificance of its products. Chittoor surrendered on terms. Rhuntunbhore, he gave as a jaghir to his son. He then marched against Kalunjur, one of the strongest forts in Hindostan. In consequence of the perfidious violation of the treaty of Raizin, the rajah determined on its defence. Sheer Khan here providentially suffered for that crime, and indirectly in consequence of it. The fort had been surrounded, and batteries constructed for his artillery close to the walls; a breach was made, and a general assault ordered, when a shell which was thrown against the fort burst in the battery, in which the king stood, and communicating to a powder magazine that had been carelessly left exposed, the king and many of his chiefs were blown up by the explosion, and he so seriously injured that he was conveyed to his tent apparently lifeless. Though in great agony, he encouraged the prosecution of the siege, and continued to give his orders till the enemy surrendered, and when the intelligence was brought him, that the fort was reduced, he cried out, "Thanks to the Almighty God!" and expired, after a reign of five years and a military career of twenty, in the year 1545. His remains were deposited at Saheseram, where his magnificent mausoleum still stands in the centre of an artificial piece of water, a mile in circumference, which is faced by walls of cut stone, with flights of steps descending to the water.

This prince has been considered as a usurper. This decision may be ascribed to the restoration to the throne of the descendants of Tamerlane. His title was better than any that that house had yet established. It had only been fourteen years in existence when overthrown by him. From an early period his personal observation convinced him that the only superiority which could be claimed by the Moguls over his kindred the Affghans, was the personal merits of their chief, Baber, and he patriotically resolved to rid his native country of the odious race. His talents, his good sense, and the benevolence and wisdom which characterized his measures for the improvement of his subjects, showed him worthy of the position to which he aspired. Notwithstanding his brief reign and constant military operations, he brought his territories into the highest state of improvement. In the *Muntakhib-ul-Tawarikh*, written fifty years after his death, it is recorded that he constructed a high road, extending for four months' journey, from Bengal to the Western Rohtas, near the Indus, with caravanserais at every stage, and wells at every mile and a half. There was an iman and a muezzin at every mosque, and provisions for the poor at every caravanserai, with attendants of proper castes for Hindoos as well as Mussulmans. The roads were planted with rows of trees for shade, and in many places were in the state described fifty years after. Horse posts were established at convenient distances, both for the convenience of government, and the interests of trade and private correspondence. A similar establishment was maintained from Agra to Mandoo, a distance of four hundred and fifty miles. Such was the public security during his reign, say his historians, that travellers and merchants, depositing their property on the road side, lay down to sleep without apprehension of robbery. It is said that on being told that his beard grew white, he replied, it was true that he had obtained the throne in the evening of life, a circumstance he always regretted, as it left him so short a time to be of use to his country, and to promote the welfare of his people.

Selim Shah Soor, the second son of the late king, availing himself of the absence of his brother, who had been recognised by the father as his heir, ascended the throne. His brother being a prince of limited capacity, and himself a man of known abilities, he had the support of the nobles and army. Four of the principal men in the state having given an assurance to the eldest that his safety should be guaranteed, and the richest province in the kingdom conferred upon him, he was induced to make a formal surrender of his birthright. The result of this negotiation was, that the younger brother was proclaimed by the title of Selim Shah, and a tract of

country near Biana was assigned to his brother Adili. The reigning prince, it appears, considered his position insecure while his brother lived, and gave private orders for his arrest and deportation to the seat of government. By this harsh proceeding, the four chiefs who had interested themselves in the arrangement above recorded, felt that their honour was compromised. They took measures accordingly, and a formidable insurrection was fomented. This was suppressed by the king's promptitude and firmness. Adili fled to Bahar, and was never after heard of. A second revolt was also extinguished. The rest of the reign was not distinguished by any important incidents. However, on one occasion, the king had reason to apprehend a serious attack. Kamran flying from his brother Hoomayoon, who was on his march towards India from Persia, sought protection with Selim, and shortly after intelligence arrived that the ex-monarch had crossed the Indus. Selim took instant measures for his safety, and though under the operation of leeches, he instantly started from his seat, and gave orders for the immediate marching of his army; and on that very evening encamped six miles distant from Delhi. However, this proved to be a false alarm. Hoomayoon retreated, and Selim, returning to Delhi, eventually retired to Gwalior, and resided there. Two unsuccessful attempts were made on his life. Many of his chiefs were said to be privy to them, and were put to death without much inquiry. After this he became extremely suspicious and cruel, and continued so till his death. This event occurred in the year 1553, and in the ninth of his reign.

Like his father, he was magnificent in his court equipage, and studied the convenience of travellers, who were entertained at the public expense. A portion of the palace at Delhi was built by him; and although, by orders of Hoomayoon, it was called Nurghur, it still commonly retains the name Selimghar.

Prince Feroze succeeded his father Selim, in the twelfth year of his age. He had reigned only three days when he was assassinated by Mobbariz Khan, the brother-in-law of the late Selim, and the nephew of Sheer Khan, who usurped the throne, and assumed the title of Mohammed Shah Adili. This prince was a vicious debauchee, supposed to be too much devoted to dissipation and pleasure to encumber himself with the cares which royalty imposes. One of the first acts of his detested reign was to raise a Hindoo retail shopkeeper to the post of minister. He is described as illiterate, and a man of low tastes, but proved a man of great energy and capacity. The king knew neither how to write or read. His time was spent among the inmates of the harem. His extravagance assumed the most capricious shapes. One of his amusements was as he rode out to discharge among the multitude golden-headed arrows, worth ten or twelve rupees each. He was nicknamed *Andly*, which in the English language signifies, one who is blind, or who, acting as such, shows himself a fool. His rashness and extravagance rendered the king more ridiculous daily. Once, during a public audience, he began to partition the estates and governments among his partizans. Among these he transferred the province of Kanouj from its old governor. The son of the latter, a young man of proud temperament and little discretion, being present, cried out to the king, "Is my estate, then, to be conferred on a dog-dealer!" Surmust Khan, to whom it had been given, was a man of uncommon strength and stature; he seized the young noble, Sikunder Khan, by the throat: he soon relaxed his hold; the dagger of the latter was imbedded in his heart, and his lifeless trunk was stretched at his feet: he then slew several who endeavoured to restrain his fury, and eventually made his way to the throne and attacked the king himself, who, leaping from his seat, ran into the seraglio, and escaped by shutting the door in the face of his pursuer. The king's cousin and brother-in-law, Ibrahim Khan Soor, coming to the rescue, cut the rash infuriate to pieces. Taj Khan placed himself at the head of the disaffected, took possession of the public money and the effects of the crown, and soon assembled a formidable army, which made the king take the field. Both armies met on the banks of the Indus above Chunar, and the insurgents suffered defeat. The success of this battle was in a great measure due to his relative Ibrahim, whose intrepidity had saved him from the fury of Sikunder Khan. These services, which had added greatly to the estimation in which he was held, served to inflame the jealousy of the king, and he accordingly gave private orders to seize him. His wife, the king's sister, informed him of his danger, and he fled towards his father, governor of Hindown. He was pursued, but defeated the king's troops. After this, Ibrahim assembled a considerable force and entered Delhi. Hence he marched to Agra; and reduced the circumjacent provinces. He had assumed the ensigns of royalty. Mohammed fled to Chunar, and contented himself with the government of the eastern provinces, while Ibrahim retained possession of the western territory.

Another aspirant now raised the standard

of revolt, Prince Ahmood Khan, a nephew also of the late Sheer Khan, whose sister was married to Mohammed. He assumed the title of Sikunder Shah, and marched, with twelve thousand horse, towards Agra. He defeated Ibrahim, though in command of seventy thousand horse. He was not permitted to gather the fruits of his victory. The Punjaub, his territory, demanded his presence. Hoomayoon, returning from his long exile, had reached so far on his way back to recover the empire which he had previously lost. The late disaster had so weakened Ibrahim, that Mohammed began to acquire confidence, and prepared for the recovery of his western dominions. The vizier, Hemoo, with a well-appointed army, attacked Ibrahim at Calpee, and having there defeated him, pursued him to Byana, and besieged him in that city for three months. The remainder of Ibrahim's career, though chequered with some incidents of importance, is not sufficiently interesting to be interwoven in the web of our narrative. He was made prisoner in Orissa, in the subsequent reign of Akbar, and suffered an ignominious death.

On his arrival in the Punjaub, to which the presence there of Hoomayoon had summoned him, Sikunder found that Tartar Khan, whom he left in command, had fled from the new fort of Rohtas to Delhi; and the Moguls had, without opposition, recovered all the country as far as Lahore. Sikunder dispatched forty thousand horse to oppose their further progress. This army suffered a signal defeat; the baggage and elephants became the prey of his adversaries, and the fugitives never drew rein till they reached Delhi. This defeat did not deprive Sikunder Shah of all hope of retrieving his fortunes. At the head of eight thousand horse, he marched to the Punjaub, anticipating a greater accession of strength amid his subjects. Here he was frustrated; Beiram Khan, the tutor of the prince Akbar, encountered him near Sirhind. He was defeated, and fled to the Sewalik mountains; expelled from this retreat, he sought refuge in Bengal, and assumed the reins of government, and shortly after died.

On the defeat of Sikunder, the troops of Hoomayoon, elated with their victory, pushed on, and were soon in possession of both Delhi and Agra. Immediately after these events, the Vizier Hemoo—who, though raised from an humble station, manifested great abilities—having defeated Ibrahim Khan near Agra, and afterwards pursued Mohammed Shah Soor, the ruler of Bengal, whose army was routed and himself slain, joined his master Ibrahim Khan Adili, at Chunar, and then began to make preparations for carrying on the war against Hoomayoon. But the close of this prince's eventful life was at hand. While enjoying the fresh air on the terrace of the library at Delhi, the hour of prayer was announced; the king, as is usual with all faithful Moslems, stood still and repeated the creed of Islam, and then sat down on the steps till the crier had concluded. Then endeavouring to rise with the aid of his staff, it slipped on the polished marble, and he fell on his head. He was taken up insensible, and died the same evening, 1556. He was in the fifty-first year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his reign. The fate of Hoomayoon inspired Hemoo with new hopes and vigour; leaving his effeminate sovereign at Chunar, he set out with thirty thousand men to recover the lost capital. Marching through a country favourable to his pretensions, crowds flocked to his standard. Agra was taken after a siege. The Mogul army, who had accompanied the late king, were located at Delhi, under the command of Tardi Beg. The Affghans proceeded thither, and the Moguls, having suffered another defeat, precipitately evacuated the city. Hemoo was determined to give them no respite. He prepared to pursue them to Lahore, and terminate the war by a decisive blow. The Moguls, having crossed the Sutlej, were concentrating their forces in the last-mentioned province.

## CHAPTER XXXIX.

### THE REIGN OF AKBAR.

AKBAR was only thirteen years and four months old on the death of his father, and was at that event in the province of the Punjaub. His tutor, Beiram Khan, who had given many proofs of his ability and fidelity, became his minister, and had the whole power, civil and military, lodged in his hands. The annoyance which was given by Sikunder, and the revolt of some of the feudatories, did not permit the king and his guardian to hasten to the assistance of the troops in Delhi and Agra. The news of the victories recently achieved, which had wrested from Akbar all his dominions except the Punjaub, created

great alarm at head-quarters, and a proposal of retiring to Cabul was seriously entertained. Beiram Khan resolutely opposed this measure, and, unsupported, he strenuously advocated the propriety of giving the enemy battle, though their forces amounted to a hundred thousand horse, and the royal army could scarcely muster twenty. The ardour of the young king seconded the counsel of the minister. On the 5th of November, 1556, both armies met at Paniput. Though Hemoo fought with the greatest bravery, and gave an inspiriting example to his troops,—rushing, when the fortune of the day seemed to incline to the enemy, into the centre of their ranks,—the royalists triumphed, and he was taken prisoner, having been previously pierced through the eye with an arrow. When Hemoo was brought into the royal presence, Beiram Khan encouraged the young prince to kill the infidel with his own hand, and thus win the distinguished title of *Ghazi*, or "Slayer of infidels and champion of the faith." Akbar did not embrue his hands in the cold-blooded murder of a wounded captive: not so his cruel minister; with a cut of his scimitar, he severed the head from the trunk. Akbar soon after took possession of Delhi and Agra; and from this period may be properly dated the restoration of the house of Tamerlane.

The restoration was chiefly due to the consummate ability of the minister, who had now risen to the highest condition open to a subject. There were two vices to which Beiram was, in a special degree, addicted—cruelty and jealousy; the indulgence in which first estranged from him the affection of his royal pupil and ward. The summary punishment inflicted on Hemoo was not a solitary instance of his disregard for human life. It is related that one day while the king was at Agra, one of his elephants, infuriated, killed another belonging to Beiram, who ordered the keeper, who had lost all control over the animal, to be put to death; and a few days after, while he was sailing on the river, an elephant, which had been led down to the water, ran furiously against the boat and nearly sank it: the suspicious minister looked upon these accidents as deliberate attempts on his life, and in this instance he required the king to punish the driver. To satisfy him that his surmises were groundless, Akbar ordered the man to be sent to him, that he might punish him: he commanded him to be put to death. Several other instances are supplied of his capricious and cruel temper. The consequence was, that Akbar asserted his own independence, and stripped his regent of the power he had so frequently abused. More than one traitorous attempt was made by Beiram to make himself master of the Punjaub, but at length he was reduced to such a miserable state of indigence, that he was obliged to throw himself upon the clemency of his injured prince. The magnanimity with which the king acted on this occasion is worthy of the character he bears. On the approach of the fallen minister, a body of nobles was deputed to receive him, and conduct him to the presence with all the marks of respect once due to his exalted station. On entering the court, he hung his turban round his neck, and advancing rapidly, threw himself, in tears, at the foot of the throne. Akbar, stretching forth his hand, caused him to rise, and placed him in his former rank at the head of the nobles. He then addressed him thus:—"If you prize a military life, the government of Calpee and Chundery offer a field for your ambition. If you prefer to abide at court, our favour shall not be wanting to the benefactor of our family; but should you be disposed to seek devotion in retirement and wish to perform a pilgrimage to Mecca, you shall be escorted in a manner worthy of your rank." The latter was his choice; a proper retinue was assigned him, and an annual pension of fifty thousand rupees (£5000). He then took his leave of the king. He never reached the grave of the Prophet; having arrived at Gujerat, on his way, he was there stabbed to the heart by a man whose father he had slain in battle with his own hand.

In 1561, Akbar commenced those conquests which terminated in the combination of the various kingdoms and independent states into which India had been divided. Bas Bahador, the ruler of the principality of Malwa, was conquered, and his territories appropriated. On this occasion Akbar gave an indication of his sagacity, firmness of purpose, and promptitude of action. Adam Khan, who commanded the invading force, distributed the spoil among his followers, and reserved to himself the treasure, the royal ensigns, and the ladies of the harem, and sent only a few elephants to the king. This strange proceeding led him to conclude that Adam intended to make himself independent. He accordingly, without giving any intimation of his suspicions or designs, marched to Malwa, surprised that chief, and returned with all the treasures that had been collected. Shortly after this he displayed a feat of great personal strength and intrepidity. While hunting in the neighbourhood of Nurwur, a royal tigress crossed his path; without a moment's hesitation, with a single stroke of his sabre, he stretched her dead on the plain.

Sheer Khan, the son of the late Moham-

med Shah Adili, who, after the defeat and death of Hemoo, had sunk into comparative obscurity, with forty thousand Affghans advanced from Bengal to reduce the province of Juanpore. Khan Zuman was dispatched to oppose him. He gained the victory, but having neglected to forward the usual quota of the booty to the king, was brought to a sense of his duty by the sudden approach of Akbar at the head of an army. Some time after this, Bas Bahador induced the rulers of Candeish and Berar to assist him; and, thus reinforced, he recovered all his dominions in Malwa. His success was of short duration; he was again put to flight, and fled to the mountains of Kombulmere. Mohammed Khan Atka, who had been appointed minister at Delhi, acquired great influence at Court, but was assassinated by Adam Khan. The latter, by the king's orders, was thrown over a parapet twenty-two feet high. In 1563 Akbar had a narrow escape from assassination; an arrow was discharged at him on his road to Delhi, and lodged in his shoulder. The assassin was cut to pieces before the arrow was withdrawn. In ten days the wound was healed. In consequence of some calumnies which were insidiously circulated among his relations, many of them went into open revolt. They mustered a force of thirty thousand horse, and laid waste and plundered the territories of Bahar and Juanpore, and obtained possession of a portion of the royal treasure. An army which was sent to oppose them was defeated. The king having dispatched a second, followed in person. The confederates, under Sikunder Khan and Bahador Khan, having, in the meantime, crossed the Jumna, raised disturbances in the Doab; while Khan Zuman defeated a body of the king's troops on the banks of the Ganges. The royal army, having come up with Sikunder Khan and his colleagues, forced them to an engagement, though they were then endeavouring to compromise matters with the king, and had sent envoys for that end. The royalists sustained a total defeat, and fled in the greatest disorder, without halting, till they reached the king at Kanouj. The victors then attacked Juanpore, and carried it by assault. Akbar now marched to the scene of action, and having been joined by the forces of the surrounding provinces, whom he had summoned to his aid, the rebels fled, and soon after submitted. Their estates and honours were restored.

About this time an envoy from Cabul apprised Akbar that Solyman Mirza, chief of Budukshan, had appointed a deputy in Cabul, and was acting as an independent ruler. The king, more apprehensive of his northern than of his eastern enemies, ordered the officers of the Punjaub to place themselves under the command of the governor of Mooltan. The enemy had anticipated the king's commands; Cabul was invested, and the royalists were compelled to fly, but on their journey were met by an army marching to their assistance under the orders of Fureedon Khan. This traitor recommended Mohammed Hakeem Mirza, the king's brother, to seize upon Lahore, assuring him that Akbar was in no condition to oppose him, being involved in the war with his relatives, who had seized all the eastern provinces; that once in possession of Lahore, he could with very little trouble drive out the late intruders from Cabul. This plot having been revealed to the king's adherents, they occupied Lahore, and resisted every attempt to seduce them from their allegiance. The king hastened to the Punjaub to crush this serious movement; he surprised his brother in Lahore, who fled with the utmost precipitation. The citizens received Akbar with joyous acclamations. The Uzbeck chiefs, availing themselves of the king's absence, seized on Kanouj and Oude, and spread their conquests in every direction. The king quickly returned and marched against them. Though it was in the midst of the rainy season, he did not relinquish his purpose. He drove the rebels across the Ganges, and, mounted on his elephant, he waded the stream. After lying in concealment during the night, with his advanced guard of about two thousand men on horses and elephants, he attacked the enemy about sunset. Their leader was slain; one of the principal officers captured; the men were thrown into the greatest confusion, and fled in all directions; and thus, after a protracted war of seven years, was the rebellion of the Uzbecks effectually suppressed, in 1567. Before these transactions were completed, a movement, which ultimately led to very important consequences, was initiated. Sultan Mirza, who derived his descent in the paternal line from Tamerlane, and had accompanied Baber in his Indian expedition, was the prime mover. During the reign of Hoomayoon he evinced the blackest ingratitude to that prince, and had been generously forgiven. On the accession of Akbar to the throne, Sultan Mirza returned to India, and had the district of Sambal conferred on him. He had four sons and three nephews, all of whom were enrolled among the nobles of Akbar's court, though still in their minority. The four sons had attended the king in his campaign against the Uzbecks at Juanpore, and on their return had retired to their estate at Sambal. During the king's incursion into

the Punjaub, availing themselves of his absence, they ungratefully took up arms, and collected to their aid a number of malcontents, and with them commenced to levy contributions on the king's subjects. The feudatories in their neighbourhood rose up in arms against them, captured Sultan Mirza, and expelled the others with very little effort. They sought an asylum in Malwa. Throughout the kingdom of Gujerat they subsequently scattered the seeds of future troubles, which were not eradicated till the subjugation of that kingdom.

The most important undertaking was the siege of Chittoor, for the defence of which eight thousand Rajpoots had been left, with an ample supply of provisions, by the Rana, who had retired with his family to a position more difficult of approach. A full description of this siege is given by Ferishta; and from it, it is evident that the arts of mining and the construction of military field-works were familiar, from a remote period, to the nations of Hindostan. The skill displayed at the siege of Ahmednuggur, in 1595, against the Moguls, and in that of Kerowly, in 1807, and Bhurtpore, in 1826, against the British troops, from whom the Indians could not have learned the science of mining, are additional and convincing proofs of their knowledge. Colonel Briggs, adverting to these facts, says it is curious to perceive how completely the Indian mode of attack corresponds with the practice of Vauban, and the best engineers of modern times. On the present occasion two *sabats*, or galleries, had been constructed, and two mines were carried under the bastions, to different spots, and matches laid to them at the same time. One explosion preceded the other, and a practicable breach was the consequence. It was supposed that both had been sprung, and two thousand men advanced in separate bodies to enter both breaches at once. The second mine exploded as the party arrived; five hundred of the assailants were killed, and also numbers of the besieged who were crowded on the bastion. Both attacks failed. The king, while superintending the progress of the works, perceived the governor of the place, by torch-light, directing the repairs of the breaches; seizing a matchlock from one of his attendants, he lodged the ball in his forehead. His soldiers, disheartened by this loss, abandoned all hope of success, and assembling their wives and children, burned them with the corpse of their chief on a funeral pile, they then retired to their temples, where they refused quarter. The temples being stormed, ten thousand Rajpoots were put to the sword. The Rana, notwithstanding the loss of his capital, remained independent.* From Chittoor Akbar returned to Agra, and there learned that the Mirzas, having left Gujerat, had returned to Malwa, and renewed hostilities by laying siege to Oojein. They were soon compelled to seek refuge again in Gujerat, in 1568.

None of the dynasties which had ruled in India previously to the house of Tamerlane, had such a precarious tenure of the throne. His descendants were, in every respect, aliens "in religion, in language, and in blood." To the Mohammedans in India, these princes were as obnoxious as to the Hindoos. Unlike the royal races of Ghizni and Ghoor, they had no neighbouring dominions on whose people they had hereditary claims, nor such prolific sources as the slave kings to recruit their adherents. The interest which Baber had established in Cabul, was destroyed by the proceedings of Kamran, and the unceasing efforts of the Affghans, for the vindication of their prior claims, converted that warlike people and the Indian Moslems into determined foes. Akbar, at an early period of his reign, appears to have fully comprehended the insecurity of his position; the sudden and effective expulsion of his father, and the fact that it was by external influences that he effected his own restoration, were impressed on his youthful apprehension, and suggested the necessity of devising some means of internally strengthening his hold on the country. "It was probably," says Elphinstone, "by these considerations, joined to a generous and candid nature, that Akbar was led to form the noble design of putting himself at the head of the whole Indian nation, and forming the inhabitants of that vast territory, without distinction of race or country, into one community. This policy was steadily pursued throughout his reign. He admitted Hindoos to every degree of power, and Mussulmans of every part to the highest stations in the state, according to their rank and merit."

In this politic spirit he selected two wives from the Rajpoots, and obtained another for his son, and this alliance, far from being looked upon by the Hindoos as a loss of caste,

* Nine years after his son and successor, Rana Pertab, was deprived of his strongholds of Komulner and Gogunda, probably A.D. 1578, and compelled for a time to fly towards the Indus. But unlike his father, he was an active, high-spirited prince, and his perseverance was crowned with success. Before the death of Akbar, he recovered the greater part of the open districts of his dominions, and founded the new capital called Odeypore, which is still occupied by his descendants. His house alone, of the Rajpoot royal families, has rejected all matrimonial connections with the kings of Delhi; and has even renounced all affinity with the other rajahs, looking on them as contaminated by their intercourse with an alien race.—ELPHINSTONE'S *India*, vol. ii. p. 271.

soon came to be considered an honourable connection.

In 1569 the king invested the strong highland forts of Rhuntunbhore and Kalingur. In 1571, on the site of a village called Sikree, which he considered an auspicious spot, having had two sons born to him there, he laid the foundation of the city of Futtehpore.

A project of far greater importance than any which had hitherto occupied the young king was now presented to him—namely, the annexation of the kingdom of Gujerat. In the reign of Hoomayoon it has been related how Bahador Shah, the King of Gujerat, after having attained to a high degree of power, and played a conspicuous part in Indian history, had been repeatedly defeated, and coerced to fly from his kingdom. During the subsequent reverses of the King of Delhi, Bahador reassembled an army, and recovered his throne.

The kingdom of Gujerat, previously a province of Delhi, during the troubled rule of the Toghluks had asserted its independence, and from being a narrow tract of land on the plain, it extended from the hilly tract, which connects the Aravalli Mountains with the Vindaya chain, to the desert, including that portion called Rin, on the west, to the sea, on the south, which nearly encloses a part of it, and forms a peninsula, Kattywar, equal in extent to all the rest of the province, and on the north it is bounded by the Gulf of Cutch and Rajpootana, and on the east by Candeish and Malwa.

On the death of Bahador Shah, Gujerat had descended to his nephew, Mahmood II. On his death, a Hindoo slave named Etimad Khan, who had risen to be in high favour with this prince, conducted the government in the name of a boy whom he asserted was the son of Mahmood. This was denounced as a usurpation by a chief named Jenghis Khan. It was with this prince that the Mirzas had sought refuge, but their restless ambition soon gave offence to their protector, and they were expelled by force of arms. Jenghis Khan, having fallen soon after by the hand of an assassin, the Mirzas returned, in order to take advantage of the commotions they expected to ensue. From the year 1568 to 1572 the kingdom was distracted by various contending factions. To crush these, and restore some order, the regent, Etimad Khan, solicited of Akbar to march thither for the suppression of these distractions, and to take possession of the kingdom. For these purposes he set out for Delhi, in September, 1572, and when he reached Patan he was met by the reigning boy, who formally transferred to him the sovereign power. The King of Delhi acted with prudence and resolution, punished the most formidable of the refractory nobles, and having established a government prepared to pursue the Mirzas, one of whom was at the head of an independent army at Baroche, and another with a considerable force near Surat. The king resolved on attacking the force at Baroche. Hossein Mirza, who was in command, apprised of his approach, set off for the Punjaub to excite an insurrection there. Akbar, with a small body of horse, hastened to intercept him, and after a day's pursuit found himself with an insignificant escort, which amounted to one hundred and fifty-six only, in presence of the enemy, one thousand strong. With this small force he commenced the attack. To the employment of Hindoo chiefs—a remarkable feature in his policy, and to which may be fairly ascribed the rapid extension of his authority—may be fairly attributed the preservation of the king's life, and the successes of the day. In this small band were several chiefs of note, and among them Rajah Bhagwan Singh of Jeypore, his nephew, and his adopted son, Rajah Man Singh. The latter led the advance, and having crossed the river, instantly charged and was repulsed. The king, who was with this band of Rajpoots, was compelled to halt in a lane formed by hedges of cactus, which did not admit more than three horsemen to advance abreast. In this situation three of the enemy attacked Akbar as he stood in advance of his men. The rajah of Jeypore gallantly threw himself forward to shield his sovereign, speared one and charged the other. The enemy fled, and the Mirzas succeeded in making their escape. They afterwards dispersed. At a subsequent period one of them was cut off in Gujerat, some of them escaped to the northern part of India, and, being defeated near Nagore, fled to the paternal estate of Sambal, and, driven thence, entered the Punjaub, where they plundered as they went, and then fleeing towards the Indus, they fell into the king's hands, and were put to death. One only escaped, Hossein, who, flying from Gujerat into the hills bordering on Candeish, remained there unnoticed. Gujerat was entirely reduced, and once more annexed to the crown of Delhi. Akbar, having completed this conquest, returned to his capital, Agra. A month had scarcely elapsed after his arrival, when he learned that Hossein Mirza had united with one of the former chiefs of Gujerat, and had occupied several districts in that province, and were then besieging Ahmedabad. Though the rainy season had set in, this did not deter the enterprising prince from adopting immediate measures to crush this

new attempt. He selected two thousand of his choicest cavalry, and sent them on before him. He soon followed, attended by three hundred nobles, mounted on camels, and overtook the main force at the city of Patan. His measures were so promptly decided on, and executed with such celerity, that in spite of the inclemency of the season, and the state of the roads, he accomplished his journey of four hundred and fifty miles in nine days. His little army was greatly inferior in number to the troops whom he had come to attack. On his approach to the besieged town he sent forward an officer to notify it. His sudden arrival astonished the rebels, and made them apprehensive of a simultaneous attack, both from the newly-arrived force and the garrison. Hossein Mirza having inquired, when they were first seen, whose army was that, and being informed that it was an army commanded by the king in person, exclaimed, "It is impossible, for it is only fourteen days since one of my spies saw him in Agra; and I perceive none of the royal elephants." The other replied, "It is only nine days since he marched, and it is clear no elephants could have accompanied him." The engagement was sharp and decisive, the personal valour, judicious and timely charge made with his own guard, won the day; Mirza and his confederate both were slain; the garrison was relieved, and the conqueror again returned to the seat of his government.

The next theatre of his military exploits was Bengal. After the defeat of Sheer Shah II., 1560, a portion of Bahar was occupied by the Moguls. The remainder of that province, with all the country to the east of it, remained to be subdued. Before the restoration of Hoomayoon, Bengal had asserted its independence of Sultan Adili, and had since then been governed by a succession of Affghan princes. At this time Dawood Khan was on the throne. This prince was both weak-minded and vicious. The odium in which he was held had given hopes to his vizier that he might with impunity supplant him. Dawood being acquainted with his design had the traitor executed. This act of summary justice provoked a civil war, with which Bengal was now harassed. Akbar being disengaged from military enterprises, thought this a favourable opportunity of attacking one of the former dependencies, and he accordingly forced from Dawood a promise of tribute. A temporary cessation of troubles at home had tempted that ill-advised prince to reassert his independence, and he had ill-advisedly taken up arms. The king resolved to conduct in person the war in Bengal. In the depth of the rainy season he left Agra with as many troops as could be embarked in a thousand boats. The reverses which he sustained in the first stages of the campaign intimidated Dawood, and he accordingly deputed a person to make terms with the invader, but Akbar insisted on his unconditional surrender. Dawood retired to Bengal, abandoning all Bahar. He thence fled to Orissa. In two battles, which were subsequently fought, the royal troops were defeated, but in the third engagement the rebels were worsted, with the loss of all their elephants, and pursued to the Bay of Bengal, and there soon after submitted. Dawood was left in possession of Orissa and Cuttack, and renounced all pretensions to Bengal and Bahar (1575). The vacillating Dawood did not remain long in quiet. Having been joined by several Affghan chiefs from Bengal and Bahar, he found himself in a very short space of time at the head of fifty thousand men, and retook the greater part of Bengal. A battle was fought between the belligerents. Dawood was defeated, fell into the hands of his enemy, was put to death, and in two days after his son, from natural causes, followed him to the grave. The remains of the sovereignty of the Affghans in India was thus entirely extinguished.

The final overthrow of Bengal as an independent kingdom, and the extirpation of the reigning house, did not terminate all disturbances in that province. Bengal had never been wrested by any of the descendants of Tamerlane from the sway of the Affghans. Its geographical characteristics made it a convenient haunt for the turbulent and disaffected. On the south there extended a tract of land both hilly and thickly wooded; the north was a combination of rugged mountains; intricate forests, marshes, and jungles, extended to the sea. Hither fled all the bold Affghan nobles who had incurred the hostility of the Moguls, and here among their kindred they met friends and protectors. The disgrace of the Affghans was often the source of wealth to the Moguls, and several of the estates held from the crown had come into their possession. The recent conquest of the country, completed about the time of Akbar's great commercial reform, afforded to the sovereign an opportunity of inquiring into abuses, and of regulating the revenue of the province, and placing it on a well organized basis. The tenures on which the estates were held from the crown were rigidly investigated, and the quota of troops were stringently exacted from all the present holders. These regulations pressed heavily on the Mogul proprietors, who, conscious of their power, prepared to resist the authorities. The spirit of insubordination spread rapidly

through both provinces—Bengal and Bahar; the insurgents had increased to thirty thousand men; the standard of rebellion was reared, and the king saw himself suddenly stripped of the fruits of his victories by the very forces by whose valour they had been won. During three years this unnatural war continued, and was finally ended by Azim Khan, who succeeded rather by well distributed largesses than by the sword. The Affghans, as might be supposed, were not negligent of the advantages these dissensions afforded them. They seized Orissa, and all the country up to the river Damotter, near Bardwan. Their further progress was interrupted by the death of their chief, and shortly after Akbar found an opportunity of effectually expelling them to Cuttack, and finally reduced them to submission (1580). Their last attempt in arms was in 1600, when their hopes of regaining Bengal were extinguished for ever.

Before the revolt of the Moguls had been suppressed, Akbar's presence was demanded in the Punjaub, to suppress the revolt and invasion of his brother, Mirza Hakeem, the governor of Cabul. Hakeem was defeated, sought an asylum in the mountains, soon after submitted, was generously restored to his former government, and is not found after this in collision with his brother and sovereign. On his return Akbar erected the fort of Attock* (1581), which still stands at the principal ferry of the Indus, and marks the spot at which Alexander the Great and several other conquerors of India crossed that river; and two years after he caused the fort of Allahabad to be built at the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges. The ten years included between 1580 and 1590 were distinguished by a series of very important campaigns. The Affghans made an irruption, and intercepted all communication between Cabul and India, and were repelled. Gujerat, which had made a noble effort for its independence, was subdued, and re-annexed. Bengal, which had revolted from Sultan Adili before the return of Hoomayoon, and had remained under different Affghan kings till now, was entirely conquered. In the year 1585 his brother Mirza died, and he occupied his possessions. During these transactions Mirza Solyman had been driven by the Uzbecks out of Badakshan, and the success of the invaders, in all probability, imposed the necessity of the journey which Akbar made shortly after into Cabul. In consequence of his approach, or rather perhaps of the conquerors being satisfied with being left in the undisturbed possession of the recent acquisitions, the peace remained unbroken.

These events having brought the emperor close to the northern range of mountains,—a great portion of which was comprised within his dominions, but which gave a merely nominal allegiance,—he was induced to vindicate his claims and also to extend his sway. The wars in which he thus became involved were attended with greater difficulties than any which he had hitherto undertaken. The first of these was the conquest of Cashmere. A description of this enchanting province, and of its early history, has been given in an earlier part of this history.* It had been held by a long succession of Hindoo princes down to the beginning of the fourteenth century; it then fell under the domination of a Mohammedan adventurer, and was held by kings of that religion to its conquest by Akbar, who subdued it, and annexed it to his Indian empire in 1586. The fame of its transcendental beauties induced him to pay it a visit. This he repeated once only, but it became the favourite summer retreat of the succeeding emperors; and still enjoys, undiminished, its well-merited celebrity.

His next war was with a fanatical tribe, the Roshenias,† who resided in the mountain district bordering on the Khyber Pass. An imposter named Bayazid had, by the assumption of the character of a prophet, acquired great influence over them. He had succeeded in destroying their faith in the Koran, and had taught them that nothing existed but God; that he filled all space, and was the substance of all forms. "God," said he, "remains concealed in the human nature like salt in water, or grain in the plant; he is the same in all his creatures, and the Lord of all; since nothing existed but God, what meaning was to be assigned to such terms as right and wrong, good and bad, excepting that every man should implicitly obey his religious instructor? Behold now," he added, "I am both your god and your prophet, there is therefore nothing which you can do so meritorious as to obey my commands. If you fulfil them, I will restore you after death to the forms of men; if not, you shall be degraded to the forms of hogs and bears, and those who obstinately oppose shall be utterly annihilated." He totally denied the doctrines

* Attock signifies the barrier, for according to the superstitious notions of the Hindoos, it was held unlawful for them to cross that river.

* Page 105.

† See Dr. Leyden's account of the Roshenian sect, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xi. The doctor professes to have gleaned his information from the *Makhzan-Affghani*, in the Affghan language, and from the celebrated Persian work *Dabistanhi-i-Mazahib*. From the epithet *Roshan*, or the luminous, his followers derived the appellation Roshenian, *luminati*.

of a future state, and directed his perfect disciples to indulge their pleasures without reserve, and to gratify their inclinations without scruple; he assured them they had nothing to do with ordinances or prohibitions of the law; and that whatever was acquired by violence, robbery, or the edge of the scimitar, was lawful. As soon as he had thus prepared his followers, he accustomed them to the use of arms, and locating himself in the mountains, he began to plunder the merchants, levied contributions, propagated his doctrines extensively by the sword; and soon thus extended his sway, and struck terror even into princes. These successes had assumed a serious aspect, and demanded the vigorous interposition of the Mogul government. The power of the Affghans, though broken down beyond the Indus, was still formidable among the fierce and untractable mountaineers of the north-eastern frontier, who relied on their stubborn independence and the security of their alpine homes. The present inhabitants of the chain, which, rising west of the plain of Peshawur, connects the most southern and lowest range of the Hindoo Koosh with the Sufeid Koh and Salt range, and the Suliman Mountains, in their sanguinary and rapacious character fairly represent their forefathers. Bayazid had such a series of successes, that he had the audacity to descend from his ravines to meet the royal troops in the plain. He was defeated with great slaughter, and soon after died of fatigue and vexation. Faith in his name, and the confidence he had inspired, survived him. His bones were exhumed, and borne as precious relics by the Roshenians at the head of their marching columns. His youngest son, Jelala, some time after his death, succeeded to the command, and became too formidable to be repressed by the resources of Cabul. The professed object of Akbar's approach to the Indus, and the temporary removal of his court to Lahore, was to crush this growing power. Successive corps had been sent across the Indus to effect that purpose. The command of them was entrusted to Zein Khan, the emperor's brother-in-law, and to Rajah Bir Bal, his prime favourite. From one of the Affghan tribes, unaided by the Roshenians, the imperial troops sustained a disastrous defeat in the defiles, in the mountains of Swat, supposed to be Karah-Korah and Bilandzei. The army was cut to pieces, and one of the generals and many of the chiefs were among the slain. With alternating fortunes, Jelala maintained the struggle till 1660, when he was in sufficient strength to gain possession of the city of Ghizni. Having been soon after expelled, he made an attempt to recover it, but being repulsed and wounded in the assault, he was pursued, overtaken, and killed in his flight. His followers maintained this religious war during the two succeeding reigns of Jehanghire I. and Shah Jehan. The Affghan tribes have resisted repeated attacks from the Mogul emperors, and from the kings of Persia and Cabul, and, though conquered by the British in the campaign of 1839 and 1842, they still retain their turbulent independence.

The prosecution of this war, fierce and continuous though it was, did not engross all the attention or absorb the resources of the enterprising monarch. During the prosecution of it he conquered and annexed Scinde and Candahar.

Scinde had passed from the hands of the Affghans into the possession of other adventurers. Some internal commotions presented to Akbar the hope of being able to recover that former province of the kings of Delhi. He accordingly dispatched an army from Lahore to penetrate Scinde from the north. In this war the Scindians were aided by a band of Portuguese, and two hundred natives dressed as Europeans, who are to be, therefore, considered as the first sepoys in India; and they are also said to have had a fort defended by an Arab garrison, the first mention, Elphinstone states, that he has observed of these mercenaries, afterwards so much esteemed, and so frequently employed. Scinde fell in 1592.

The troubles of the early years of Akbar's reign had enabled the King of Persia to reoccupy the province of Candahar, which had been treacherously and ungratefully wrested from that power by Hoomayoon. The King of Persia, Shah Abbas, being plagued by the attacks of the Uzbecks, against whom he wished to enlist the co-operation of Akbar, had neither time nor disposition to resist his attempts upon it.

The annexation of this latter province completed the restoration of all the hereditary possessions which lay to the west of the Indus; and the conquest of Hindostan proper was also nearly accomplished. None of Akbar's predecessors had more of it under his sway. The Rajah of Odeypore still maintained his independence, but all the other Rajpoot chiefs had become attached to his throne, and were now, in consequence of his conciliatory policy and the cultivation of their interests, firm and devoted adherents.

His next object was the Deccan. Of the remote history of this territory, already physically described,* little can be said. In the traditionary annals of the peninsula, it is re-

* P. 124

lated that Rama, in his pursuit of Raven, the ruler of Ceylon, who had carried off his wife Siva, had attached it to his kingdom of Oude. The ancient geographical division of the district, into the Dravira, or Tamil country, Carnata, Telingana, Maharashta, and Orissa, is proved by the five corresponding languages, all derived from a matrix radically distinct from the Sanscrit. In 1325 Mohammed Toghluk completed the conquest of the Deccan, but did not long retain his hold of it. The rajahs of Telingana and Carnata were the first to re-assert their independence. Their success was followed by a general revolt, in 1347, and the dynasty of Bahmani established, and its independence recognised at Delhi. The final dissolution of this house, about 1494, gave rise to the independent Mohammedan states of Bejapore, Ahmednuggur, Golconda, Bahar, and Berar. Of these, the two latter, merging into one or other of the remainder, became extinct.

As early as 1586, Akbar espoused the cause of Burhan, a brother of Mortezza Nizam Shah, the fourth king of Ahmednuggur, who aspired to the government in consequence of the insanity of the king. An army was sent to establish his pretensions. It failed to do so, and Burhan remained for some years a dependent on his imperial patron. In 1592, on the death of the imbecile, Burhan was called to the vacant throne, but found the kingdom plunged in difficulties from which he failed to rescue it. By his death, in 1595, matters were seriously aggravated. There were no fewer than four pretenders to the crown, and each supported by an army in the field. To the aid of the claimant in possession of the capital an army was dispatched by the emperor; but before it could effect a diversion in his favour, the city fell into the hands of Chand Sultana, regent for her infant nephew, Bahador Nizam Shah (1595). This princess was one of the most extraordinary women that ever figured on the Indian stage. On the approach of the Mogul army, whose designs she reasoned were not confined to the arrangement of the intestine distractions of her kingdom, but to its ultimate appropriation, she directed all her energies to open the eyes of the neighbouring independent states to the approaching gulf yawning for their destruction. She appealed to her relative the Rajah of Bejapore; his alliance she secured. She then applied herself to reconcile the jarring factions which weakened her government; she was here, also, successful. Laying aside their private differences, they combined to combat the ambitious power which threatened the ruin and extirpation of them all. Nehang, an Abyssinian chief, hastened to her relief, and cut his way into the capital through the ranks of the besieging army of Moguls. The siege was prosecuted with a vigour, incited by the approach of the army of Bejapore; re-inforced by two of the contending factions, with equal energy and resolution did the besieged prosecute their defences, inspired by the presence and example of their royal and unwearied heroine, who fearlessly braved the greatest dangers. Two mines had been already run under the defences, when they were fortunately discovered and rendered useless. The third was fixed before the besieged could undermine it; in the attempt to do so the party was blown up, and a wide breach made in the fortifications. Their destruction disheartened the most manly of the survivors. Their faces were to the city and their backs to the storming party rapidly advancing to the breach. Their terror and despair were changed, in the twinkling of an eye, into admiration and resolution. The sultana, arrayed in full armour, with her veil thrown over her face, and a naked sword in her hand, sprang to the front. The Moguls stood appalled by the sudden apparition. Their first assault was checked, and the unequal fight maintained till a well-armed host rushed to her assistance from every quarter. The contest was sustained fiercely on both sides, till evening at length separated the combatants, leaving the victory to the gallant heroine. The victory brought no respite, the morning's dawn beheld the breach repaired and the bulwark stronger than ever. A peace ensued, but not until, say the traditions of the Deccan, her shot having been expended, she had loaded her guns, successively, with copper, with silver, and with gold coin, and, as a last resource, had begun to fire away her jewels. By the treaty which was then made, 1596, the King of Ahmednuggur surrendered to the emperor his claim on Berar, of which he had made a recent conquest.

This peace was not of long continuance, and the affairs of Ahmednuggur were in a more complicated state than ever. The bond of union, so skilfully completed by the sultana was soon severed. She herself was assassinated, the capital captured by Akbar, and the young king sent a prisoner to the hill fort of Gwalior. These events, though important in their consequences, did not secure the submission of the entire kingdom; another prince was placed on the throne, and its subjugation was not effected till the subsequent reign of Shah Jehan, in 1637.

Previously to the taking of Ahmednuggur, the kingdom of Candeish was incorporated with the empire of Delhi.

The remainder of the days of Akbar were embittered, and it is said shortened, by domestic troubles.* Both his sons were addicted to excesses of temper and habits, which afflicted the old king. The younger died of intoxication. His other son and successor, Selim, was cruel, a wine drinker, and had more than once rebelled against his indulgent parent, and was jealous of his own son, Khosrow. They were apparently reconciled before his death, which took place in 1605, after a reign of fifty-one years and some months. Of this great prince, it may be fairly pronounced that he was the most powerful, the wisest, and probably the most virtuous of the distinguished princely race from which he sprang. The summary here given of his glorious career, though stripped of much that is valuable, supplies all the leading and important events of his life, and must be read with peculiar interest now that his feeble descendants have fallen from their long-tottering throne, and the last crowned prince of the Mogul line, after a well-organized attempt to recover his independence, is doomed for the remainder of his days to expatriation.

Some years ago, in or about 1844, the attention of the *virtuosi* was called to the sale of some valuable Indian curiosities, which had been stored in the East India Export Dock, and left in undisturbed neglect for a period of four years. The origin of these exquisite marbles was then a subject of dispute. Mr. Laing, who had imported them, had departed this life a very short time previously, and there came no one forward to disclose their history. One report stated that these beautiful works of art formed the finest parts of that glorious monumental edifice, the Taj Mahal,† which stands in all its original integrity, about three miles from the fortress of Agra. This was an unjust imputation against the East India Company, who, far from acting with the vandal cupidity insinuated, and far from spoliating this remarkable specimen of Mohammedan architecture, had placed a guard on constant duty to protect it, and had recently expended a lac and a half of rupees in restoring those portions that had been injured by time, and the more active hand of the pillager. Another report had it, that they belonged to the palace of Akbar Khan at Cabul, and had been saved from destruction when, as was stated, the outraged soldiery were demolishing that residence in revenge for the treacherous murder of Sir William M'Naghten. But the facts of the case were, they had belonged to the sumptuous palace which Akbar the Great had erected at Agra, after he had transferred the seat of government from Delhi thither, and formed the linings of the great hall of audience (Dewan Khaneh Aum). This chamber was beautifully adorned with arabesques and other devices cut about one-eighth of an inch deep into the marble; the interstices being filled in with coloured stones of every hue and shade, so as to imitate, with equal fidelity and splendour, the flowers, fruits, leaves, and other objects comprised in the design.* In consequence of the state of decay in which this chamber was,—the marbles threatening to detach themselves from the walls, and to be shivered by the fall,—Lord William Bentinck thought it advisable to remove those exquisite ornamentations. They were, instead of being remitted to enrich our stores of art, sold by auction, and the decorative portions of the *zenana* (the women's apartment), together with the elegant pierced windows, carved or moulded into every geometrical form that the ingenuity of the artist could devise, were purchased by the late Mr. James William Laing, who held a high civil office in the district of Agra. By this gentleman they were packed up in cases, and transmitted, at considerable expense, to England, and eventually brought under the hammer. They were successively knocked down to the highest bidder, fell into private hands, and were dispersed, never to be reunited, thus frustrating any plans which Mr. Laing might have entertained of reproducing in England the architectural wonders of the Mogul empire.†

* Colonel Tod, on the authority of the Boondi records,—which, he asserts, are well worthy of belief,—says that a desire to be rid of the Rajah Maun Singh of Jeypore, to whom he was so much indebted, and whom he did not dare openly attack, induced Akbar to prepare a *maajun* (intoxicating confection), part of which he poisoned, but presenting by mistake the innocuous part to the rajah, he took the other himself, and thus perished in his own snare. Maun Singh's offence was, that he seconded the pretensions of his nephew, Khosrow. The old writers of the west attribute the death of this monarch to a similar cause.—TOD's *History of Rajpootana*.

† For its history, see page 94.

* If the authority of the Portuguese Jesuit, Catrou, can be relied upon, the native architects of Akbar's reign were furnished with designs for the internal decorations of his palace by Italian artists; and this seems to be corroborated by the fact, that the works of that period far excel in the fertility and abundance of pictorial and artistic genius.

† These interesting particulars the author has gleaned from that valuable serial, the *Asiatic Journal*, vol. ii. p. 83. 3rd Series.

## CHAPTER XL.

### THE REIGN OF JEHANGHIRE.

On the 10th of October, 1605, Selim, the son of Akbar, ascended the vacant throne, in the thirty-eighth year of his age.

The materials which supply the following sketch of his reign, are drawn principally from his Autobiography, translated by Price, and Gladwin's *History of Hindostan*, with occasional references to Elphinstone's *India*—a work in which the student of the Hindoo and Mohammedan periods of that history will find much to interest and instruct; and from various other works in which special or incidental particulars illustrative of the period are given.

The empire was at this time divided into fifteen *subahs*, or provinces: viz. Allahabad, Agra, Oude, Ajmeer, Gujerat, Bahar, Bengal, Delhi, Cabul, Lahore, Mooltan, Malwa, Berar, Candeish, and Ahmednuggur. There presided over each a governor or viceroy (*sepah sillar*), who was invested with supreme executive powers, military and civil. Therefore the revenue officers, the army and militia, and police, and courts of justice, were under his control, subject to the instructions of the king alone.

Selim assumed the title of Jehanghire, the World-subduing Emperor, and ordered the following pompous legend to be inscribed on the coin of his realm, the new issue of which, together with the substitution of the name in the form of public prayer, were the initiative acts of the emperors of Delhi:—"Struck at Agra, by Khósrow, the safeguard of the world, the sovereign splendour of the faith, Jehanghire, son of the imperial Akbar."

Of the splendour of that power, now shattered and degraded, some idea may be formed by the extravagant magnificence with which the coronation ceremonials were performed. The jewels of the throne alone were estimated at one hundred and fifty millions sterling, and four tons of gold were employed in the workmanship of it. The legs and body were loaded with seven hundred weight of ambergris, so that wherever the throne—which was so constructed that it might be taken to pieces—was removed, no further perfumes were necessary. The pearls and rubies, with which the crown was clustered, were worth two millions and seventy thousand pounds; and the space which surrounded the throne was covered with the most costly brocades and gold-embroidered carpets. Censors of gold and silver were disposed in different directions, from which was emitted the delicious perfume of burning odoriferous drugs. Three thousand camphorated wax-lights, three cubits in length, in branches of gold and silver, scented with ambergris, illuminated the scene from night till morning; a number of beautiful blooming youths, clad in dresses of the most costly materials, woven in silk and gold, with zones and amulets sparkling with the lustre of the diamond, the emerald, the sapphire, and the ruby, rank after rank, and in respectful attitude, awaited the imperial commands; and to crown all, the ameers of the empire, from the captain of four hundred to the commander of five thousand horse, covered from head to foot in gold and jewels, in brilliant array, encircled the throne, awaiting the commands of their sovereign. The *tout ensemble* furnishing an example of imperial magnificence seldom paralleled, as the great Mogul truly says, in this stage of earthly existence.

Among the salutary ordinances, which were proclaimed at the commencement of his reign, the manufacture or sale of wine, or any other description of intoxicating beverage, was strictly prohibited. "I undertook," he says, "to institute this regulation, although it is sufficiently notorious that I have myself the strongest inclination for wine, in which, from the age of sixteen, I have liberally indulged." * The remarks and reflections which follow are of so singular a character, that their insertion may not be deemed impertinent.

"And in very truth, encompassed as I was with youthful associates of congenial minds, breathing the air of a delicious climate, ranging through lofty and splendid saloons, every part of which was decorated with all the graces of painting and sculpture, and the floors bespread with the richest carpets of silk and gold, would it not have been a species of folly to have rejected the aid of an exhilarating cordial,—and what cordial can surpass the juice of the grape? With some acknowledged beneficial effects, it must, however, be confessed, that these indulgences to excess must expose a man's infirmities, prostrate his constitutional vigour, and awaken false desires, such being the most injurious properties belonging to the best of stimulants. For myself, I cannot but acknowledge that such was the excess to which I had carried my indulgence, that my usual daily allowance extended to twenty quarts. So far, indeed, was this baneful propensity

* *Autobiographical Memoirs of Jehanghire*, p. 6.

carried, that were I but an hour without my beverage, my hands began to shake, and I was unable to sit at rest." The growth of this morbid propensity at length alarmed him, and he gradually reduced his supply to one fourth. After ascending the throne, and when the affairs of the state demanded his attention, he never exceeded his five cups on any occasion; and hoped to be able, eventually, as did his grandfather Hoomayoon, to abstain totally from its use.

The recorded wealth of the sovereign was immense. Jehanghire asserts that, of the paraphernalia and regalia for state pageants, accumulated by his father, whether in treasure or splendid furniture, the invincible Tamerlane—who had subdued the world, and from whom his father was eighth in descent—did not possess one-tenth; and that on his wishing to ascertain the amount deposited in the treasury at Agra, he had four hundred pair of scales at work day and night weighing gold and jewels only, and at the expiration of five months, the task was far from being completed, and never was. The cause is not stated. An inventory has been published of the treasure in jewels, bullion, coin, and other property belonging to Akbar at the time of his death, in which it is recorded that there were eight large vaults filled with gold, silver, and precious stones, the value of which was inestimable. Of a species of coin struck by Akbar, and called his rupees, there were 199,173,333 crowns =£50,000,000. In jewels, 30,026,026 crowns; statues of gold of divers creatures, 9,503,370 crowns; gold plate, dishes, cups, and household stuffs, 5,866,895 crowns; porcelain and other earthen vessels, 1,255,873 crowns; brocades, gold and silver stuffs, silks and muslins, 7,654,989 crowns; tents, hangings, and tapestries, 4,962,722 crowns; twenty-four thousand manuscripts, richly bound, 3,231,865; artillery and ammunition, 4,287,985 crowns; small arms, swords, bucklers, pikes, bows and arrows, &c., 3,777,762 crowns; saddles, bridles, and other gold and silver accoutrements, 1,262,824 crowns; woollen cloths, 251,626 crowns; brass and copper utensils, 25,612 crowns; making a total, coin included, of 274,113,793 crowns, or £68,528,448 sterling.*

The follies in which he indulged during the lifetime of his father, and the crimes with which he was stained, did not encourage the hopes of the measures he pursued as king. His first ordinance, though a very primitive one, was the cause of much self-gratulation. To the battlements of the royal tower of his palace, his own apartment, he had attached a gold chain—which he named the chain of justice—which extended to the Jumna, with eighty small bells appended, in order, when any injustice were done by a magistrate, the injured party might, by the use of this medium, communicate directly and unobserved with his sovereign; he also remitted some of the taxes which pressed heavily on his poorer subjects; provided for the protection of property and the re-peopling of devastated districts; rendered travelling more secure; saved merchants from the annoyance of having their bales opened without their consent; quartering troops on the inhabitants was forbidden. No person was to suffer, for any offence, the loss of nose or ears; the lords were prohibited from infringing on the lands of the commons, or from exercising authority beyond the confines of their own estates; hospitals, infirmaries, and competent medical aid were provided for the necessitous at the public expense. A decree was issued confirming the dignitaries and feudatories of his father's government in all that they enjoyed during his life, and all grades of public officers were advanced a step. A general pardon and enlargement of prisoners were granted, and the number of persons benefited by this indiscriminate boon may be surmised, when, within the limits of Hindostan, there were not less than two thousand four hundred forts of name and competent strength, and that from one of these, Gwalior, seven thousand prisoners were liberated.

He found the kingdom—so much of it as lay on the north side of the Nerbuddah—in a state of profound tranquillity; but the commotions in Bengal had not been suppressed by the late sovereign, and the independent party in the kingdom of Ahmednuggur, though their capital was in the hands of the foreigner, were daily increasing in strength, and preparing for its recovery.

Though thus devoting his time to the civil administration, his ambition for conquest was not extinguished. He inherited the aggrandizing propensities of his lineage; and, like his father, always cherished a longing desire for the recovery of the inheritance of his ancestors. He contemplated the completion of Akbar's designs on the Deccan, but was restrained by those measures just named, and by a stronger motive still,—what he deemed the impolicy of leaving India unfurnished with troops to the discretion of any son. At this time, although he hypocritically, in his Memoirs, professes the strongest affection for his son Khosrow, he entertained against him the most virulent jealousy, and

* See Mandelsloe's *Travels*; Harris's *Voyages*, vol. iii. p. 762.

none of those feelings of hostility were mitigated, which he displayed in the lifetime of the late king, which had driven the mother of the young prince to suicide, and which, at the bedside of his dying father, he had promised to repudiate. Having achieved the conquest of the Deccan, a feat of which he assured himself, it was his intent to conduct his triumphant legions into Samarcand. Some changes in the latter province now challenged his attention; yet he thought the prosecution of the war with the Rana of Odeypore of greater importance, and accordingly sent there an army under the command of a younger son, Parveis, accompanied by some officers of great trust and experience. Shortly after he had reached the scene of action, but not before he had effected an arrangement with the rana, he was recalled, in consequence of the rebellion of his elder brother Khosrow. That young prince, though under surveillance, was no doubt in communication with his adherents. His maternal uncle was one of the most powerful men in the empire, was ruler of Bengal, and had, in the previous reign, actively espoused the cause of his nephew. In March, 1606, at midnight, Jehanghire was roused from his slumbers, and informed that his son had fled towards Delhi, with the intention of proceeding to the Punjaub. In a few hours his favourite commander, Ameer Ool Ombra, was sent in pursuit, with instructions that should matters verge to extremities, "he was not to fail in the application of the resources placed at his disposal; for in the concerns of sovereign power there is neither child nor kin. The alien who exerts himself in the cause of loyalty, is worth more than a thousand sons or kindred."* With all the troops whom he could muster, well provided, he followed, first giving to his ministers commands that they should forward the intelligence to the ameers on the frontiers, and require their immediate presence under the imperial standard. A body of three hundred horse, whom Khosrow met on the road to Delhi, joined him. He hastened to Delhi, and when he reached the Punjaub his force amounted to thirty thousand horsemen. His followers were maintained by the plunder of the districts through which he pursued his way. The father was hurrying along the same line of march, with upwards of ten thousand soldiers, mounted on the fleetest steeds and swiftest camels of the royal stables.

A curious anecdote is related by the king, illustrative of the credulity of the man, and which adds another to the many of the extraordinary historical instances of marvellous coincidences. It is thus related in his own words:—"I had mounted my horse, and had not proceeded far on my march, when a man came to me who could not have possessed any knowledge of my person, and I demanded his name; he replied Murad Khanjah, 'Murad the Auspicious.' 'Heaven be praised!' said I, 'my wishes shall be attained.' A little further on, and not far from the tomb of the emperor Baber, we met another man, driving before him an ass loaded with firewood, and having a bundle of brambles on his own back. I put the same question to him, and he told me, to my great delight, that his name was Dowlut the Auspicious. I then observed to my attendants, how encouraging it would be if the third person we met was Saadet (felix) the Auspicious. What, then, must have been the surprise when, proceeding a little further on, we observed a small boy on the bank of a rivulet watching a cow grazing. I ventured to ask him his name; his answer was, 'My name is Saadet the Propitious.' A clamour of exultation arose among my attendants, and with feelings of equal gratification and satisfaction, I, from that moment, determined that, in conformity with these three 'auspicious' prognostications, all the affairs of my government should be classed under three heads, and called 'the three omens.'"

Khosrow had got possession of the town of Lahore, which had been surrendered into his hands, and was besieging the citadel, when the approach of his father was announced to him, his advanced guard was actually at hand. These were charged by the rebels, commanded by four of Khosrow's principal generals. The royalists were victorious; two of the rebel generals fell into their hands, and one thousand prisoners. These, by the king's direct orders, were condemned to various punishments, some to be flayed alive, some to carry wooden yokes around their necks, others to be drawn through the river, and the remainder to be trampled under foot by the elephants.

Khosrow and his forces were not dismayed by this defeat; they prepared at night with one hundred and twelve thousand horse to attack the imperial camp. With this resolve they abandoned the siege of Lahore. Intelligence reached Jehanghire at Sultanpore, that the armies were actually engaged. With his body of ten thousand horse he hastened to the scene of action. On reaching Gundwal, he was reinforced by twenty thousand horse and fifty thousand camel-mounted matchlock-men, all of whom were forwarded to the support of Sheik Fered, the commander, who was engaged. The royalists commenced the attack. Khosrow's army, his father states,

* *Autobiographical Memoirs of Jehanghire*, p. 66.

amounted on that day to two hundred thousand, of whom thirty thousand fell on the field of battle, and the remainder fled in dismay. Khosrow, having dismounted from his horse, had entered a litter, in the hope of escaping in the confusion of the pursuit; but being surrounded by the victors, he surrendered himself. Thus ended this decisive battle.* That same night Khosrow was conveyed to the presence of his father, while the latter was discussing the probable issue of the engagement.† The same day the victorious monarch entered the city of Lahore. The king relates, that the treasures of Khosrow, amounting in value to eighteen million pounds English money, fell into the hands of some person who was never discovered. Khosrow was placed in strict custody, and on his unfortunate adherents were inflicted the most excruciating tortures. "Seated in the pavilion," he states, "having directed a number of sharp stakes to be set up in the bed of the river, I caused the seven hundred traitors, who had conspired with Khosrow against my authority, to be impaled alive upon them. Than this," he coolly continues, "there cannot exist a more excruciating punishment; since the wretches exposed frequently linger a long time in the most agonizing torture, before the hand of death relieves them; and the spectacle of such frightful agony most if anything can, operate as a due example, to deter others from similar acts of perfidy and treason towards their benefactors."‡ Nearly a year after these events he returned to Agra.

Prince Parveis, who had been recalled from Odeypore, had not time to reach Agra, the command of which was to be intrusted to him during his father's absence, before the rebellion was crushed, and he was now commanded to divert his course to Lahore.

The jaghiredars of the provinces of Ferah and Siestan, led on by the governor of Herat on the part of Shah Abbas, King of Persia, thinking the death of Akbar, and Khosrow's rebellion, a favourable opportunity, laid siege to the fortress of Candahar. They were resisted with such determined bravery, that they were compelled to abandon the enterprise, and their master repudiated the abortive attempt.

An insurrection at Nagore was crushed, and a garrison stationed in Ajmeer. Kulmac, who had been for some time in rebellion, made his submission, and was received into favour. The emperor, in 1606, made a hunting excursion into the Punjaub, leaving Khosrow at Lahore, under charge of one of his confidential chiefs, Asof Khan. The sultan had his younger son Khorum declared his heir; and it was commanded that in all grants and patents he should be recognised heir-apparent.

In the following year (1607) a revolt of the Affghans called for the emperor's presence in Cabul; and whilst here he sent for his son Sultan Khosrow, and showed him some acts of kindness. This resuscitation of paternal affection was soon repressed by the detection of a conspiracy, which had for its objects the release of the young king, and the assassination of his father.

Cabul having been restored to order, Jehanghire next directed his arms against Gujerat and the Deccan, in which insurrections still raged. Having first returned to Agra, he thence marched on Delhi. Mohabat Khan was sent against the Rana of Odeypore, and Khan Khanan in command of the army to the Deccan. These operations not having been conducted successfully by either, the former was succeeded by Abdullah Khan, and the latter by Sultan Parveis. Shortly after his arrival at the seat of war Abdullah Khan obtained a considerable victory over the rana, and blockaded him in the passes of the mountains.

At this period Koteb, a man of low origin, pretending that he was the Sultan Khosrow escaped from prison, collected such a body of adherents, that he was enabled to seize the town of Patna. In an engagement, on the banks of the river Punpun, on which he ventured, after a shadow of resistance, he fled, closely pursued, to Patna, had not time to close the gates, and fell into the hands of Afzul Khan, who put him to death.

The campaign in the Deccan was a succession of disasters. Neglecting to lay in supplies, the imperial army was exposed to all the hardships of famine. The capital of the kingdom, Ahmednuggur, in the possession of the Moguls, since it fell into the hands of Akbar, was lost, a dishonourable peace concluded, and the army forced to retreat, greatly displeased with the conduct of their commander. He was consequently recalled, and on his arrival at court met with a very cool reception.

In 1611 Cabul was again the scene of a

* Memoirs, p. 88.

† The particulars, as given in the text, are taken from the king's Memoirs. Elphinstone, relying on the narrative by Gladwin, who does not supply his authorities, gives a far different version of the capture of the young prince. He says, "he was totally defeated, and, having fled in the direction of Cabul, he was run aground in a boat, as he was passing the Hydaspes (Chenab), and was seized, and brought in chains before his father." See Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 349; Gladwin's *History of Hindostan*, vol. i. p. 9.

‡ Memoirs, p. 87.

formidable insurrection, headed by Ahdad, an Affghan. An ineffectual attempt, which was repulsed with great slaughter, was made to surprise the city.

What by some of his historians is called the most important event of his life took place in this the sixth year of his reign. It certainly influenced all the after events of his career. This was his marriage with Nour Jehan.* A very romantic tale is told of her birth, abandonment, and being, Moses-like, entrusted by her generous preserver to the cares of her mother; how by his generosity they emerged from privacy and obscurity, till at length, through the magic influence of their paragon of a daughter, they found themselves her companions in the regulation of the greatest as well as the richest then existing empire. Her personal charms were unrivalled; her mental powers of the highest order: indeed, it is said that one of those attractions which captivated her royal spouse was her facility of composing extempore verses. "The magnificence of the emperor's court was increased by her taste, and the expense diminished by her good arrangements."† And to her is attributed the invention of "attar of roses." In becoming the bride of Jehanghire it is also added she had for her husband the murderer of her first. Her ascendancy was soon felt. Her father was made prime-minister, her brother made steward of the household. All affairs of state were entrusted to her management. She sat behind an open lattice whilst many of the nobility paid her obeisance, and the coin was issued in her name. She was in every respect the absolute monarch of the empire. Her influence was exemplified in the conduct of the emperor. Though retaining some of his old vices, he was never after guilty of such monstrous outrages as before.

In 1612 the Affghans of Bengal were defeated, with the loss of their leader, Osman. This chief had been for several years a troublesome foe. On his death all his adherents submitted.

About this time a treaty was concluded with the Portuguese. The envoy brought back with him all the curiosities he could procure, among them several curious birds and beasts, and amongst them Jehanghire describes a turkey cock as a bird that he had never before seen.

The protracted war in the Deccan at length decided Jehanghire on making one well organized effort. In order to understand the state of affairs, it is necessary to recapitulate the events of some years previously. After the taking of Ahmednuggur, and the death of Chand Sultana, the Abyssinian, Malik Amber, whose heroic exploit in cutting his way through the besieging army has been noticed, founded a new city on the site of the present Aurungabad, and through several vicissitudes sustained the wavering fortunes of Nizam Shah. He proved himself an able financier, and as such is remembered still in the Deccan. By him the Moguls were repeatedly defeated, Ahmednuggur recovered, and Khan Khanan obliged to fall back on Berhampore. On the disgrace of this general he was succeeded in the command by Khan Jehan.

Abdullah Khan, viceroy of Gujerat, was directed to penetrate into the Deccan from that province, while Sultan Parveis and Khan Jehan Lodi, reinforced by Rajah Man Singh, were to advance from Candeish and Berar. Though this series of military operations was ably planned, it was entirely frustrated by the imprudence of Abdullah. He ill-advisedly advanced before the appointed time for the arrival of the other armies with whom he was to co-operate. His able adversary did not overlook the mistake. The proximity of the ports possessed by the Europeans enabled him to command a superior train of artillery, and they also afforded him a rallying point on which he could fall back and recruit his army. His tactics, while they enabled him to cut off the enemy's supplies, and to harass them on their march, afforded them no opportunity of coming to a pitched battle. The Moguls were in constant apprehension, and in continual disorder and fear, and were at length reduced to such straits, that they were obliged to resolve on retreat. The consequences may be easily foreseen. With a great loss of troops he reached the hills and jungles of Baglana. Thence his progress to Gujerat was unmolested. When he was falling back his colleagues were advancing. The disasters of the army on whose aid they relied, together with the confidence of their foes, flushed with recent victories, made them consider it the most prudent course to abandon the campaign, and fall back on Berhampore.

Fortune was more favourable elsewhere. The emperor had sent his son Sultan Khorum to command against the Rana of Odeypore. As soon as he arrived at his destination he began to pursue active and skilful measures; he dispatched foraging parties, which soon laid waste the most fertile districts, and drove the detached troops before them into the mountains, and reduced him to such extremities, that he sought earnestly for peace. This was granted in a liberal spirit; and the

* "The light of the world;" also Nour Mahal, "the light of the harem."

† Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 356.

moment that Rana Ameer Singh had tendered his homage, with a stroke of policy worthy of his grandfather Akbar, the prince, laying hold of both his hands, lifted him up, and embraced him, and entered into familiar conversation. All the lands conquered from him during the last sixty years were restored. The advantages secured by this conquest are thus catalogued by Jehanghire himself in his Memoirs:*—"It was agreed to put my lieutenants in possession of the best and most flourishing parts of the country, and, among others, of the city and town of Puttun, celebrated for the manufacture of its cloth of gold, such as is not to be met with elsewhere in all India. Ahmednuggur, the former capital, was also ceded. Khanapore, a district which for verdure of landscape and deliciousness of climate is unequalled, and the province of Berar, a month's journey in compass, and for its numerous and flourishing population, equal to any in India. All these were now transferred to my sovereign authority, together with a train of elephants, four hundred in number, of the highest value for size and courage. These were furnished with caparisons, chains, neck-fastenings, and bells, all of gold," &c. The success of his favourite son was hailed by his delighted father with every demonstration of affection; he was henceforth looked upon as the successor to the throne, and his hopes in that quarter seemed the more probable, as he had recently married the niece of Nour Mahal. Having received the name Shah Jehan, with which he afterwards ruled, that designation shall be employed in all future mention of him.

These events terminated in the year 1614. In the year following Ghoorka was annexed, and the Portuguese, who in 1613 had violated the treaty into which they had recently entered by seizing some merchant ships near the port of Surat, and making several Mussulmans prisoners, attempted to seize the castle of Surat, and were repulsed by the English, who resided there under the emperor's protection. The English, with their fireworks, burnt several of the ships belonging to the Portuguese, and gave them so warm a reception, that they were obliged to retreat. The Portuguese alleged that it was the English who commenced hostilities. In this year it may be also remarked that Sir Thomas Roe arrived at the court of Agra as ambassador from James I. of England. The design was conceived in the reign of his more energetic predecessor Elizabeth. Her death prevented its consummation. He arrived at Ajmeer on the 23rd of December, 1615, and accompanied the emperor to Mandoo and Gujerat, and did not leave till 1618. His observations, during his protracted residence, on the affairs of the empire, from the point of view from which a stranger first introduced to witness a state of things, of which he could have no definite conception, are necessarily interesting, and deserve perusal.*

In the year 1616 the plague, which had never before visited Hindostan, appeared first in the Punjaub, spread to Lahore, and after it had abated in that quarter broke out in the Doab and Delhi, and committed great devastation.

The proceedings of the army in the Deccan, owing to the mismanagement of Sultan Parveis, were daily becoming more unfavourable. The reputation which Shah Jehan had achieved in his late campaign, determined the emperor to assign to him the command in that quarter, whilst he himself advanced to sustain him. On this occasion Shah Jehan was raised to the rank of king, and some writers from this time call him Shah Khosrow, and others Shah Jehan, a dignity hitherto confined to the emperors of the house of Tamerlane. On this occasion both kings rode in carriages made after the English fashion drawn by four horses. The model had been presented by Sir Thomas Roe. On crossing the Nerbuddah Shah Jehan was met by Khan Khanan and the principal chiefs of the army in the Deccan. He entered Berhampore on the 2nd of March, 1617, and was soon after joined by the prince of Bejapore, who had already abandoned the declining fortunes of the brave old chief Malik Amber. Having risen from a private rank in life, Malik's abilities and successes did not ensure him that unanimous support he so richly deserved. His confederates were jealous of him, and even his own officers now began to desert him. Thus abandoned, he was obliged to make submission on the part of Nizam Shah, and to surrender into the hands of the conqueror the city of Ahmednuggur, and all the territories which he had reconquered from the Moguls. As soon as the articles of the treaty were fulfilled Shah Jehan returned to Mandoo, to join his father, in September, 1617. On the Khan Khanan were conferred the governments of Candeish, Berar, and Ahmednuggur. The following particulars are noteworthy.

Tobacco, introduced a few years previously by the Portuguese, was prohibited on the allegation that its use was prejudicial to health. In this proceeding the emperor followed in the footsteps of Shah Abbas, the King of Persia, who had forbidden it throughout his kingdom under the severest penalties. On

* Page 118.

* Roe's Journal, published in Churchill's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. i.

the 26th December, 1618, about an hour and twelve minutes before sunrise, there appeared in the horizon a luminous little cloud. It rose later every morning by twenty-four minutes, till on the sixteenth day it was discovered to be a comet with a dark tail. Its course was from the sign Scorpio to Libra. The Indians, with a superstitious feeling then general, believed that it prognosticated the plague which followed, and the war which was afterwards waged by Shah Jehan against his father. At this time there appeared in Candahar a great swarm of rats, which entirely devoured the produce of the earth, and devastated several of the granaries; great numbers were killed, and the remainder vanished as unaccountably as they had appeared. In the latter end of the year a dreadful disorder made its appearance in Cashmere, and proved fatal to great numbers. Its symptoms were a headache and bleeding at the nose; on the second day it proved fatal. There was also a fever, from which very few escaped, which lasted only two or three days. It totally exhausted the patient's strength, left pains in the joints, but did not prove fatal to any one. The emperor, while at Ahmedabad, had an attack of it, from which he suffered severely.

The marvellous tales which had reached Jehanghire of the ocean, whose broad expanse and marvels had never been seen by him, induced him to visit the maritime province of Gujerat, and particularly the city of Ahmedabad, whose wealth and magnificence were celebrated; he was also desirous of enjoying the sport of wild elephant hunting. He was accompanied by his favourite sultana, who, mounted on her elephant, is said to have killed four tigers with a matchlock; this feat so delighted her enamoured spouse, that he presented her with a pair of emerald bracelets of great value. The viceroyalty of that province was added to the government, already conferred on Shah Jehan. In September, 1618, the emperor quitted Gujerat. The only events which mark the next two years are an insurrection in the Punjaub, the capture of Nagrakote, and the visit to Cashmere, the theme of one of the most exquisite of Moore's beautiful poems, *The Feast of Roses*, in which has been drawn the following exquisite portrait of Nour Mahal:—

There's a beauty, for ever unchangingly bright,
Like the long sunny lapse of a summer day's light,
Shining on, shining on, by no shadow made tender,
Till love falls asleep in its sameness of splendour.
This was not the beauty—oh, nothing like this—
That to young NOUR MAHAL gave such magic of bliss!
But that loveliness, ever in motion, which plays
Like the light upon autumn's soft shadowy days.
Now here and now there, giving warmth as it flies
From the lip to the cheek, from the cheek to the eyes;
Now melting in mist, now breaking in gleams,
Like the glimpses a saint hath of heaven in his dreams.
When pensive, it seemed as if that very grace
That charmed all others was born with her face!
And when angry,—for ev'n in the tranquillest climes
Light breezes will ruffle the blossoms sometimes,—
The short passing anger but seemed to awaken
New beauty, like flowers that are sweetest when shaken.
If tenderness touched, the dark of her eye
At once took a darker, a heav'nlier dye;
From the depths of whose shadow, like holy revealings
From innermost shrines, came the light of her feelings.
Then her mirth—oh, 'twas sportive as ever took wing
From the heart with a burst, like the wild bird in spring;
Illumin'd by a wit that would fascinate sages,
Yet playful as peris' just loosed from their cages;
While her laugh, full of life, without any control
But the sweet of her gracefulness, rang from her soul;
And where it most sparkled no glance could discover,
In lip, cheek, or eyes, for she brightened all over,
Like any fair lake that the sun is upon,
When it breaks into dimples and laughs in the sun.
Such, such were the peerless enchantments that gave
Nour Mahal the proud lord of the East for her slave;
And though bright was his harem,—a living parterre
Of the flowers of this plant,—though treasures were there
For which Solyman's self might have giv'n all the store,
That the navy from Ophir ere winged to his shore—
Yet dim before her were the smiles of them all,
And the light of this harem was young Nour Mahal.

This is the glowing description, clustered with poetical pearls as rich and as rare as any product of the luxuriant East, given by the poet of Ireland, Moore, of the mistress of Jehanghire's affections.

The temporary indulgence and relaxation, upon which he calculated in this charming retreat, was forbidden by a new outbreak in the Deccan, which made him sensible of the ill-effects of being at such a distance from the seat of empire. He resolved to return to Agra. Malik Khan could not tamely brook the humiliation to which he was reduced; and in taking up arms it does not appear that he was stimulated by any act of oppression; he was probably, as Elphinstone observes, tempted by some negligence on the other side, for he had little difficulty in taking possession of the open country, and driving the Mogul commanders into Berhampore, whence they urged Jehanghire for immediate succour. Shah Jehan was sent forward to their relief with a powerful army. He refused to undertake this expedition, unless his brother was placed in his custody, probably from the fear that Khosrow would win, in his absence, the confidence of his father, and thus cut off the chance of ascending the throne to which he aspired. From this war the unfortunate prince never returned. It happened very opportunely, according to human reasoning, for Shah Jehan, as at this time his father was reduced to the last extremities, by an attack of asthma—a complaint to which

he was then subject, and with which he was afflicted during the remainder of his life. "Though it brought," says Elphinstone, "the strongest suspicions of violence against the rival to whose custody he had been given, we ought not, however, too readily believe that a life, not sullied by any other crime, would be stained by one of so deep a dye."*

When Shah Jehan commenced this campaign, he was in his thirtieth year. In its prosecution he justified the confidence reposed in his abilities. In a pitched battle he gained a decisive victory, and forced his able adversary to sue for terms. In consideration of this success, Shah Jehan ordered a stone fort to be built, to which he gave the name, Zufferabad, or the City of Victory. Affairs in the Deccan were now completely settled, and after the rains the conqueror returned with his army to Berhampore.

The very friendly intercourse which had been maintained with the Persian court, and the prompt repudiation a short time previously of the attack made on Candahar by some Persian chief, led Jehanghire to imagine that that province was safe from attack, and consequently but a small force was maintained for its defence. This was a temptation Shah Abbas could not—certainly did not—resist; he unexpectedly marched with a great army against it, and without much trouble became its master. To wipe off this disgrace the conqueror of the Deccan was ordered to Candahar. In reply to those orders he wrote to the emperor, stating that he did not need any reinforcements; but in order to ensure success, it was necessary that he should be invested with the full command of the army, and released from all control. He also requested, that on account of its vicinity to Candahar, the viceroyalty of the Punjaub might be conferred upon him, and the fort of Runtore. These were extraordinary demands, and exposed the prince to the suspicion of aiming at independence; while, on the other hand, they are said to have been merely precautionary, to secure himself from the powerful influence at work to effect his disgrace.

The great court influence of the empress, Nour Mahal, has been already stated. The alliance which Shah Jehan had made with her, by marrying her niece, together with the disgrace in which the eldest son was in with the father, had raised him to the great power and distinction which he had attained, and gave him the hope of being the occupant of the throne, though two elder brothers stood between him and it. The death of the eldest, Khosrow, which seemed to complete his security, led to a chain of circumstances which nearly effected his ruin, and, if accessory to his brother's death, he must have felt the retributive justice. Nour Mahal's father, who, after her marriage, was appointed the chief minister, had recently died. He had been visited by the royal pair while he was on his sick-bed, the day preceding his death. He was a man of considerable ability and wisdom, and had apparently, during his life, controlled the ambitious spirit of his daughter. The sage counsellor being removed, her influence and authority were unbounded; everything was regulated by her advice. The emperor seemed to have surrendered all power into her keeping; promotion and degradation were the results of her judgment or caprice. The dangerous state of the king's health rendered his life precarious. Were he removed, and a prince of the decided character and determination of Shah Jehan placed upon the throne, she must sink from her pinnacle of power into comparative insignificance. Rather than submit to such an alternative, she determined to use her present influence to prevent the succession of Shah Jehan. In these intrigues she could command the co-operation of her brother, who, though the father-in-law of the prince, was the creature of her will.

She knew there was no time to be lost. Her daughter, by her first husband, she had affianced to Sheriar, the fourth and youngest son of the emperor—a connection of itself, irrespective of the considerations mentioned, sufficient to undermine her attachment for a more distant relative. She resolved to raise her son-in-law to the throne, confident, from his weak capacity, that she could always maintain her influence over him; and she calculated that by a liberal distribution of the public treasure, she would be able to effect that object. From this time forward she lost no opportunity of lowering Shah Jehan in his father's estimation. The extraordinary powers with which he sought to be invested, in all probability were required to protect him from the influences which he was assured were at work to his detriment, and for the more effectual exercise of which, he suspected, he was dispatched to such a distant part of the empire. His demands, she warned the king, clearly proved that the prince only wanted absolute power to dethrone him. These suspicions were so insidiously repeated, that the emperor was persuaded of their truth. Having succeeded so far, she proffered to defray the expense of the war from her private purse if Sheriar were invested with the command. This the empress was enabled to do, for it is highly probable that the large estates of her first

* Elphinstone's *India*, vol. ii. p. 368.

husband, after his murder, reverted to her; and recently the emperor had conferred upon her all the wealth of her deceased father. The infatuated Jehanghire complied with all her demands. Shah Jehan was directed to send the greater part of his army to the capital, to accompany Sheriar to Candahar. Orders were also forwarded to the principal officers, commanding their presence in the camp of the latter. The jaghires which he held in Hindostan were also transferred to Sheriar, and Shah Jehan was directed to select for himself equivalents in the Deccan and Gujerat. The youth of her *protégé* and his inexperience did not escape her sagacity or prudence. Her brother, though in her confidence and devoted to her interest, had not capacity. She foresaw how much the success of her after measures would depend upon the *éclat* of this expedition, and she took the necessary precautions that there should be no failure arising from the omission of all that experience could supply. Mohabat Khan, the most rising general of the time, but hitherto inimical to her family, was summoned to court from his government of Cabul, and received with every mark of respect and confidence. Mirza Rustum, for many years governor of Candahar, and who it was supposed would be the best adviser, was appointed *etaleek* to Sheriar, and commander-in-chief of his forces, and was dispatched to Lahore to make the necessary preparations. Jehanghire, who, in consequence of the state of his health, had been to Cashmere, returned on the commencement of these differences, and fixed his court at Lahore, to be at hand in case his presence should be required.

The object of the empress, and of the measures she pursued, was to bring matters to a speedy issue. Should Shah Jehan tamely submit, her ends were achieved without further trouble; should he have recourse to arms he would subject himself to the odium of having commenced an unnatural rebellion, and in that attempt she calculated on her ability to crush him. Her vanity as well as her ambition were now interested in the struggle. Shah Jehan, in a communication to his father, after expatiating upon the dutiful tenor of his life, modestly mentioned the services he had rendered, lamented that he should have incurred his majesty's parental regard without the shadow of offence, for the gratification of the ambition of a base woman and her degenerate son-in-law, and begged leave to retire to Surat, "the door of righteousness to Mecca," where he would employ his whole time in praying for his majesty's health and prosperity.* When the bearer of the despatch returned to Shah Jehan, he assured him that matters were come to a crisis, remonstrances would no longer avail, and abject submission must terminate in utter destruction. It was then decided to act with vigour, and accordingly, without loss of time, the now rebel army marched towards Agra. On intelligence of this movement reaching Lahore Jehanghire led forth his army in person, and arrived within twenty miles of the rebel camp, forty miles to the south of Delhi. The chief command of the imperial troops was conferred on the new favourite Mohabat Khan, and Prince Parveis accompanied him. Shah Jehan retreated, and the usual results followed. The force left to defend the passes in the hills on the Chambal deserted to the enemy; the province of Gujerat expelled its governor; Khan Khanan, hitherto attached to him, abandoned him; he himself was driven across the Nerbuddah, and forced to seek refuge in Berhampore; hence expelled, he retreated to Teligнana, and was deserted by the greatest part of his adherents before he had reached Masulipatam, on his way to Bengal, to which he was retiring. He accomplished this long and wearisome march in the early part of the succeeding year, 1624. He defeated in battle the governor of this province, and thus obtained possession of it, and shortly after of Bahar.

When Shah Jehan was driven from Berhampore the imperialists took possession of it, and were there quartered during the rainy season. On learning the success of Shah Jehan in Bengal, they put themselves in motion in the direction of Allahabad. Shah Jehan crossed the Ganges to meet them, but here received neither aid nor sympathy. His supplies failed; his communication with the river was intercepted; the new levies deserted; he was defeated; his army was dispersed; and he sought an asylum in the Deccan, the scene of so many of his triumphs. Here he was received by his old adversary Malik Amber, who was then in arms against the Moguls. They jointly laid siege to Berhampore, which, on the approach of Mohabat, they abandoned. Deserted by all, and reduced by ill-health as well as adverse fortunes to the greatest exigency, he sought his father's forgiveness, and expressed his willingness to submit to his commands. Jehanghire wrote himself in reply, assuring him that if he would send his two sons, Dara Shekoo and Aurungzebe, to court, and surrender the two forts which were held in his name (Rohtas, in Bahar, and Asirghar, in the Deccan), he would grant him a full pardon, and restore to him the possession of the Deccan. Shah Jehan complied faithfully with the conditions. How far the emperor would have fulfilled his

* Gladwin's *History of Hindostan*, p. 59.

part we are without the means of judging, by an event as unpremeditated as it was successful, and which startled the entire empire, and changed considerably the aspect of affairs. This was nothing less than the seizure of the emperor's person by Mohabat Khan, who, after his eminent services in reducing Shah Jehan, incurred either the enmity or suspicions of Nour Mahal, and fell into disgrace. The ostensible charges against him were the appropriation of the plunder, to account for which he was summoned to court. After some hesitation, he at length made his appearance, but being refused admission to the presence, he saw that he had survived his court influence, and was to be the victim of his enemies. The king was at this conjuncture on the banks of the Chenab, and his army had crossed the river in their advance to Cabul. He remained behind, attended merely by his body-guard and personal attendants. Mohabat had come accompanied by five thousand Rajpoots devoted to his interests. Two thousand of these he detached to burn the bridge, at the head of the remainder he surrounded the emperor's quarters, and with two hundred selected for the occasion he penetrated to the emperor's tent. The royal servants were taken by surprise. The monarch, who had long since abandoned the prudent resolution of moderating his libations, was not quite recovered from the effects of the last night's debauch. Startled by the noise, he looked around in the greatest bewilderment. The presence of Mohabat with his armed retainers at length sharpened his perception, and he now fully understood the peril of his situation, and exclaimed, "Ah! Mohabat Khan! Traitor! what is this?" The traitor protested that he had been driven to this violent step in order to preserve his own life from the machinations of Asof Khan. He threw himself at his majesty's feet, imploring, if the emperor thought him deserving of death, that he might be executed in his presence. The emperor, sorely enraged at the outrage done to his person, could with great difficulty listen to the salutary suggestions of his Turkish attendant, who, in a language unintelligible to the rest, counselled him to conform to present circumstances, and to leave to God the infliction of adequate punishment. The Rajpoots crowded into the tents, and expelled all the king's attendants. Mohabat suggested the propriety of his showing himself to the troops, to disabuse them of any suspicions that might be entertained by the ill-disposed. The emperor requested permission to be allowed to retire into the harem to change his clothes. This was merely a pretext to be allowed to consult his empress, who accompanied him. Mohabat, divining in all probability the object, refused him that favour, and only allowed him to bring a horse from the imperial stable, his captive having disdainfully refused to mount one presented to him. The emperor having made his appearance, was received by the Rajpoots with respectful obeisances. Mohabat, reflecting that he would be in safer custody and more conspicuously seen, placed him on an elephant whose driver could be depended on.

Mohabat committed a serious blunder in not arresting the empress at the same time with her husband. He very soon, but too late, discovered his error. On returning for that purpose, he found she was beyond the reach of his influence. When she ascertained that the king had been taken off, and that there remained to her no means of joining him, with great presence of mind she changed her attire, put on a disguise of the most ordinary description, and got a litter of equally humble pretensions. The guards, who had been left by Mohabat in custody of the bridge, had orders to permit every one to cross over, but to allow no one to return. Nour Mahal had therefore no difficulty in reaching her brother's (Asof Khan's) intrenchments. Her escape greatly disconcerted Mohabat; he next repaired to the tent of Prince Sheriar, but he had also escaped.

The empress, on her arrival among her adherents, summoned a council of the chiefs, and severely inveighed against them, accusing them of cowardice and treachery, and impressed upon them, that there remained no means of redeeming their character but by crossing the river, attacking the traitor, and rescuing their captive monarch. The course which the energetic empress recommended was communicated by some spies to Mohabat, whose representations so alarmed Jehanghire, that he dispatched a trusty messenger, with his signet as a guarantee of his commission, to dissuade his wife and her brother from hazarding such an attempt, which to him, in the hands of an infuriated enemy, might be fraught with the most serious results. Suspecting that the royal captive acted under coercion, no attention was paid to this remonstrance, and it was resolved to cross the river the following morning. During the intervening night a bold but ineffectual effort was made to rescue the emperor by a few gallant spirits, who, finding the bridge destroyed, plunged on horseback into the stream, six were drowned; of the survivors only six, with their chief, succeeded in gaining the opposite shore. They entered the camp, but being discovered, were forced to retreat, and,

after killing four or five of the enemy, recrossed the river.

The following morning the army of the royalists was put in motion, and an attempt made to cross the river. The heroic queen placed herself at the head of her troops, seated on the howdah of a conspicuous elephant, armed with a bow and two quivers of arrows, and her infant granddaughter seated by her side. The bridge having been burned by the Rajpoots, the army attempted to cross by a ford discovered lower down the river. The narrow shoal was bordered on both sides by deep water full of dangerous pools. In this perilous transit many lost their footing, and were swept away by the rapid stream. Great confusion was created by these mishaps, and the risks commensurately increased. Those who escaped had had their powder wetted, and were oppressed with the weight of their saturated garments and armour, and obliged to fight for a landing with the rebels who occupied the bank. Nour Mahal was one of the first to make good her landing, and was surrounded by her brother and the bravest of her chiefs. However, she was unable to make any impression on the rebels, who had the advantage of the ground, and poured down rockets, balls, and arrows, on the troops in the ford, and drove them, sword in hand, back into the water. The ford was choked with men, horses, and elephants, and numbers in their desperation sought safety or death by plunging into the stream. The fiercest attack was made on the empress, nor did she quail before the host of her enemies. The Rajpoots had surrounded her elephant; her devoted guards fell, bravely fighting to the last; the balls and arrows fell in showers around. Hers appeared a charmed life; her granddaughter was wounded; the driver of the elephant was slain; the elephant, having received a cut across the proboscis, maddened to fury, plunged into the stream, and was swept away by the current; he at length providentially reached the shore, and the empress was rescued by her suite, who discovered her howdah stained with blood, and herself coolly busied in extracting the arrow and binding up the wound of the infant.* The fearless chieftain, who led the attack of the previous night, with his division gained the opposite bank, and, driving all before him, repaired to Sheriar's tent. Here a violent conflict ensued, and the missiles fell in the royal tent, and around the throne on which Jehanghire was seated. Unable to effect any service, the brave Fidai Khan retired towards Rohtas, of which he was governor, where he arrived the following day.

* See Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 379; Gladwin's *History of Hindostan*, p. 81.

Nour Mahal having been thus frustrated in her spirited attempt, now resolved on an extraordinary measure. She proceeded to the camp of Mohabat, placed herself a voluntary captive in his hands, and besought to be allowed to share her husband's durance. She trusted to fortune and her own expedients for deliverance. The reliance which she thus apparently placed in her former *protégé* may have revived some of his confidence and devotion. She was well received, and henceforth Jehanghire was treated with all the apparent deference due to his exalted station. Mohabat, as prime-minister, actually regulated the affairs of state. The empress's brother, sons, and many of his friends, fell shortly after into his power, to some of whom he acted with great cruelty. The entire army acknowledged his command, yet his authority was far from being secure. The king's two sons were at large. The Rajpoots were the only column of the army faithful to Mohabat; the indulgence with which they were necessarily treated, made them not only formidable to himself, but odious to the great bulk of the army, and their unrestrained licentiousness outraged the population, and led to some very serious disturbances. On one occasion a party of them proceeded to one of the emperor's hunting-lodges, where the toils were set, and were refused admittance by the Ahdyans who were on guard. The haughty Rajpoots put these men to the sword. The relatives of the victims appealed to the emperor for redress; in his state of restraint he was obliged to temporise with them. They departed, greatly displeased, and on the next morning arose in great force, and attacked the Rajpoots, and killed very nearly one thousand of them. Amongst these were some of Mohabat's most faithful adherents. Mohabat fled during the tumult to the royal pavilion for safety, and it was only by the interference of the sovereign that the affray was terminated, and order restored. As a sequel to this, five hundred of the Rajpoots were seized in the country, and were carried beyond the Hindoo Koosh, and there sold as slaves. The loss of such a number out of five thousand weakened Mohabat very much. He from this time began to feel that his objects were to be accomplished rather by persuasion than fear. Nour Mahal was quite aware of the difficulties of his situation, and prepared to take advantage of them. She counselled the emperor to resign himself to Mohabat's will, and to impress him with the opinion that he was glad of being released from the influence exercised over him by her and her friends, and even to carry his duplicity so far as to warn him against the strong

feelings of jealousy which she entertained for him, and to caution him against the intrigues which were prosecuted to his disadvantage. These artifices were entirely successful, and Mohabat was assured that he possessed the full confidence of his royal captive. He was thus lulled into false security, and paid little or no attention to the designs of others. In other quarters, guided by her masterly mind, agencies were at work to accomplish the ruin of the traitor and the liberation of the emperor. The Omrahs were incited by her emissaries to resent the outrage offered to their sovereign, and, in his person, to themselves, and stimulated to retrieve their character by delivering him from captivity. One of her confidants had privately raised two thousand men in Cabul, who were on their march. Agents were at work in various quarters, whence some were to straggle into camp, as if in search of employment, and others were to await orders. When the two thousand cavalry from Cabul were within a day's march of Rohtas the emperor ordered all his jaghiredars to muster their troops. When they were drawn up, Jehanghire advanced alone to the review; and having approached the centre of the first line, the troops encircled him, and cut off the Rajpoot guard by which he had been attended. Thus the emperor both lost and regained his liberty on the banks of the same river. Mohabat was now conscious of having been duped; he withdrew with his army, and entered into negotiations for his pardon and safety. He shortly after, on the demand of the emperor, delivered up the empress's brother and other men of high rank who were in his power.

The disastrous events of recent occurrences did not extinguish the ambitious aspirations of this wonderful woman. The restoration of the emperor to liberty revived her designs. To achieve the release of Asof Khan she was obliged to come to terms with Mohabat, and she now proposed to herself by his instrumentality to accomplish the destruction of Sultan Shah Jehan. This prince, when he had received intelligence of the rebellion of Mohabat, marched immediately, at the head of one thousand cavalry, to the aid of his father. On the march the most powerful and most faithful of his adherents, Rajah Khan Singh, who commanded five hundred of his troops, died, who all on that occasion dispersed. With the remainder he fled through Ajmeer, Nagore, Juddypore, and thence to Jussulmere and Tatta, in Scinde, as a place of safety. Hence, in despair of brighter fortunes, he would have fled for an asylum to the court of Persia, had he not been prevented by the state of his health. Mohabat was commanded to proceed, and attack him at Tatta, and hastened in that direction, where the unfortunate prince was with a body of only five hundred adherents. The fort was defended with three thousand horse and two thousand infantry. The governor made a sally, and was driven back. Shah Jehan was encouraged by this repulse to make an effort to storm the town, but was unsuccessful. While Mohabat was on his march the progress of events made a change favourable to the future of the unfortunate prince. His brother Parveis, who had been a considerable time in bad health, the result of indulgence, died. Mohabat was again in disgrace; and Nour Mahal had dispatched intelligence to Shah Jehan of his retreat, and advised him to repair to the Deccan, to be ready to defend himself from any attack. Mohabat was endeavouring to escape from a powerful imperial army that was in hot pursuit of him; he entered Hindostan, and in his extremity had resolved to throw himself upon the mercy of his old and recent adversary. Shah Jehan readily accepted his proffered services, and was shortly after joined by him with two thousand cavalry. He was honourably received.

The virulence of the emperor's complaint had so increased, that he was unable to endure the summer heat of Hindostan. He had returned from Cabul to Lahore, and having made the necessary arrangements to enable him to enjoy some relaxation, he retired, not so much as a matter of pleasure as of necessity, to Cashmere. Shortly after his arrival he had a violent attack of his disorder, which it was apprehended would prove fatal. Such was not the case; he escaped for the present, and removed to the warmer climate of Lahore, where his youngest son, Sheriar, was also sojourning for the benefit of his health. On the third day of his journey the emperor had a very severe attack of asthma; he called for a glass of wine, but was not able to swallow it, and was conveyed to his tent, where he shortly after expired, on the 28th of October, 1627, in the sixtieth year of his age, and twenty-second of his reign.

The day-dreams which Nour Mahal had so devotedly cherished were all dissipated on the death of her husband. Her favourite, Sheriar, was absent; her brother declared for his son-in-law, Shah Jehan, to whom, with all his acquiescence in her intrigues, he was secretly attached, and whose pretensions he was now determined to support. He lost no time in summoning him from the Deccan. To afford himself the opportunity of maturing his schemes, he released from prison Dawar, the son of Khosrow, and had

him proclaimed king. Nour Mahal he had placed under temporary restraint. Henceforth, though she survived twenty-four years, she kept aloof from politics, and devoted her widowhood to the memory of her husband. She was granted a liberal allowance —two hundred and fifty thousand pounds a year. She was buried in a magnificent tomb erected at her own expense, close to that of Jehanghire, at Lahore.

## CHAPTER XLI.

### THE REIGNS OF SHAH JEHAN AND AURUNGZEBE.

SHAH JEHAN was in the thirty-seventh year of his age when he ascended the throne of Delhi, on the 1st of February, 1628. His brother Sheriar, who had been led to expect that the succession would devolve upon him, was in Lahore when his father Jehanghire yielded up his spirit. He had with him his two nephews, who had been intrusted to his care through the machinations of his mother-in-law, who had so disposed of them lest, if at large, they might be an impediment to the development of her intentions. In this emergency he formed a coalition with them, seized the public treasury, and by his largesses brought over the soldiery. Asof Khan, at the head of his army, approached to assert the claims of his son-in-law. Sheriar marched out to meet him, and give him battle; he was defeated, and compelled to fly for shelter to the city. He was betrayed by his followers, and, together with his nephews, executed by orders of Shah Jehan.

This prince, as soon he received intelligence that the throne was vacant, without delay, complied with the summons of Asof Khan. He arrived in Agra, accompanied by Mohabat, and took formal possession of the throne. The festival which solemnized his elevation involved an expenditure of one million six hundred thousand pounds.

The first trouble which disturbed his reign was an incursion of the Uzbecks into Cabul. On his approach they retired to the mountains; but Mohabat Khan, who was in command, was then sent into the Deccan to suppress some serious commotions there. Khan Jehan Lodi, an Affghan of low origin, who had been in great favour during the last reign, and held command under the late Sultan Parveis in the Deccan, had recently entered into terms of amity with the son of that brave old veteran, Malik Amber, now at the head of Nizam Shah's government. This man had refused to accompany Jehan on his setting out to assume the government, and marching to Malwa, laid siege to Mandoo, and obviously was preparing, in the unsettled state of the empire, to pave the way for his own independence. The suppression of this threatened opposition, and Shah Jehan's secure tenure of the throne, suggested to him a less offensive course. He returned to his obedience, was for the present restored to his command, but shortly afterwards translated to Malwa, and Mohabat Khan placed over the Mogul territories in the Deccan. He was shortly after invited to court, and treated with every mark of distinction. It was whispered to him that these demonstrations were all assumed, and that preparations were being made for his ruin. Rumours, whether true or false, excited his suspicions, and shortly after, about midnight, with kettle-drums beating at the head of two thousand followers, he marched out of Agra, attended by his twelve sons. He was pursued, and overtaken on the banks of the Chambal. After a hard-fought conflict he crossed the river, and escaped through Rohilcund into the thickets of Gundwana, and in these fastnesses he opened a communication with his old ally, the sovereign of Ahmednuggur. The complicated state of affairs in that quarter demanded the emperor's presence. He proceeded thither at the head of a formidable army, which, when he arrived at Berhampore, he separated into three divisions, and dispatched into various parts of the interior. Each division was fifty thousand strong.

The distractions, which had originated in the treatment of the Sultan Shah Jehan by his father, afforded to the three sovereigns in the Deccan an opportunity of recovering those portions of their dominions of which they had been deprived; and the emperor's sway was confined to the eastern half of Candeish and a portion of Berar. The most powerful of these three kingdoms was Ahmednuggur. Its position it owed to the old Abyssinian chief, Malik Amber, who died a short time previously. His death gave an opportunity to the factious, and in the prosecution of their selfish ends the resources of the country were wasted, and a facility afforded to the foreign enemy of prosecuting his designs. Bejapore was left by its late

sovereign, whose career was contemporaneous with that of Malik Amber, in a flourishing condition; and the king of the third kingdom, Golconda, keeping aloof from the contentions of the Mohammedan princes, was extending his dominions by the appropriation of the territories of the neighbouring Indian rajahs. Khan Jehan, who had for some time eluded a conflict, was at length surprised, and his baggage having fallen into the hands of the Moguls, he was driven to seek safety in the hills. He appealed in vain to the sovereign of Bejapore, but with greater success to the King of Ahmednuggur—unfortunately for the latter, for in an engagement which ensued, he was defeated, and obliged to seek the shelter of his forts, and to have recourse to a guerilla warfare. This disastrous defeat extinguished all the hopes of Khan Jehan in this quarter; he fled to the west, where he had some hopes of support, but was overtaken by his pursuers, and with a few faithful adherents put to the sword. His fate did not terminate the war against his ally, Morteza Nizam Shah, the King of Ahmednuggur. This prince, attributing his misfortunes to his minister, re-called to his counsels Futteh Khan, the son of Malik Amber, who had been disgraced and imprisoned. The new minister, still writhing under the injuries inflicted upon him, turned the opportunity thus presented to the destruction of his sovereign, who, with his attached friends, were soon put to death. The minister then sent an offer of submission and a splendid present to Shah Jehan, and raised to the throne an infant, who avowedly held his dignity in subordination to the emperor.

Adili Shah, the King of Bejapore, who had at first refused to co-operate with Khan Jehan in his opposition to the Moguls, was now sensible of his egregious mistake, and actually sent an army to support the late King of Ahmednuggur. Against him Shah Jehan turned his arms, and the wavering Futteh Khan, forgetful of his late engagements, united his forces with those of Bejapore, but very soon after abandoned the alliance, and joined the imperialists. The King of Bejapore displayed a great amount of intrepidity and skill. The overwhelming force brought to bear against him coerced him to seek shelter within the fortifications of his capital, where he was besieged by Asof Khan. The Mogul commander was artfully diverted by some ingenious artifices, and during this time famine and disease were doing their deadly work among his troops. Through the failure of the periodical rains in 1629, of which there was a recurrence in the following year, a wide-spread famine afflicted Hindostan. Forage failed, cattle perished, and the people died in thousands. The imperial army was visited by these dire scourges, and Asof Khan was at length obliged to raise the siege, and, in revenge for his disappointment, he cruelly ravaged the fertile districts of that kingdom. Shah Jehan left the scene of action, and returned to Agra, leaving Mohabat Khan in command. This able man displayed his usual ability, and the result was that Futteh Khan was shut up in the fort of Dowlatabad, where he defended himself, with occasional assistance from the King of Bejapore. In a battle their combined forces were put to the rout. Futteh Khan surrendered, and entered into the service of Shah Jehan, and the young monarch, his *protégé*, was sent off a prisoner to Gwalior. The fate of the Deccan was apparently decided; all opposition was crushed, and the most formidable opponents of the emperor not only subdued, but attached to his interests. An opposition, which was not apprehended, now manifested itself. The King of Bejapore, deprived of all external aid, made overtures for an accommodation. These were not favourably received. He was then thrown upon his defence, and such was the effective character of his opposition, that all the efforts of Mohabat Khan were frustrated. He was recalled, and the Deccan was divided into two commands. No better success attended his successors. That portion of Hindostan was as far as ever from being subdued, and Shah Jehan saw the necessity of returning in person to make another effort for its reduction.

The King of Bejapore, during the continuance of this war, maintained his reputation, and the imperialists were frequently subjected to inconveniences and defeats by the spirit and activity of his followers. The issue was that a treaty was concluded, by the terms of which he submitted to pay £200,000 a year to Shah Jehan, and in return he received a portion of Shah Nizam's dominions, which considerably extended his own on the north and east. About this time a tribute was imposed upon the King of Golconda, and the kingdom of Ahmednuggur was extinguished.

During these commotions there appeared upon the stage a man who was destined to play no mean part in the Indian drama, this was Shahjee Bonsla, who, during the *régime* of Malik Amber, had risen into notice. After the fall of Dowlatabad, he retired into the west of the Deccan, and there so strengthened his influence, that he was enabled to place on the throne of Ahmednuggur a pre-

tender, and to get possession of all the districts of that kingdom, from the sea to the capital. Shortly after the compromise of Adili Shah, he submitted, gave up the pretender, and with the concurrence of Shah Jehan, transferred his services to the King of Bejapore. He afterwards figures in the history of Hindostan, and his family were the founders of the kingdom of Maharatta.

While the Moguls were thus engaged in the Deccan, some transactions occurred in other parts of the empire which demand notice: among these the principal was the capture of the Portuguese fort of Hoogly, not far from Calcutta, which was taken in 1631, after a siege, by the governor of Bengal. In the chapters devoted to the mission of Francis Xavier, and to the commercial connection between India and the West, mention is made of the arrival of the Portuguese on the coast of Malabar. A short retrospect of their political progress may be necessary to the illustration of this period of Indian history.

The Portuguese, under the celebrated Vasco da Gama, as has been noticed, made their appearance in May, 1498, at the town of Calicut. In 1505, in an engagement fought at Choule, by Lorenzo, the son of Francisco de Almeyda, against the fleet of the Sultan of Egypt, the Portuguese cannon were first heard on the shores of Maharashtra. Choule then belonged to Admednuggur, and with the king of that country the Portuguese maintained a friendly intercourse for several years. On the 30th December, 1508, they entered the river Dabul, and the viceroy, Francisco de Almeyda, plundered and burnt the town. The first territory of which they possessed themselves was the important island on which now stands the town of Goa, which belonged to the kingdom of Bejapore. The Hindoo pirate Timmogee, a native of Canara, suggested to Alphonso de Albuquerque, an attack on Goa. It was surprised on the 27th of February, 1510, but was soon after recovered; again attacked, and finally conquered by Albuquerque, on the 25th November following. In 1533, the Portuguese landed on the coast, burnt all the town from Chicklee-Tarapore to Bassein, destroyed the fortifications recently erected there, and levied contributions from Tannah to Bombay. Two years afterwards they took Damaun, and obliged Sultan Bahador, of Gujerat, then hard pressed by the emperor Hoomayoon, to cede Bassein in perpetuity, to grant permission to build a fort at Diu, and to invest them with the right of levying duties on the trade with the Red Sea; in return for these privileges they assisted him against the Moguls. Their operations in Gujerat and in other quarters occupied the Portuguese for several years; but in 1548 they inflicted great havoc on the coast of Bejapore, and laid waste with fire and sword the whole of the towns from Goa to Bancote. They were solicited for their aid to depose Ibrahim Adili Shah, and to place upon his throne his brother Abdullah, who was then residing at Goa, under their protection; but the attempt was abandoned. In 1571 there was a combined attack made upon the Portuguese by the Kings of Bejapore and Ahmednuggur. Ali Adili Shah besieged Goa, and sustained a mortifying repulse. The defence of Choule, which was besieged by Mortezza Nizam Shah, and defended by Luis Ferara de Andrada, redounded greatly to the credit of the Portuguese. The Mohammedans, as is generally the case when a native army is defeated, attributed their ill-luck to treachery. Ferishta says the officers of Nizam Shah were corrupted by presents of wine. On the eastern frontier Little Thibet was reduced to submission. An army sent to reduce Srinagur was defeated, and another force, which had been dispatched for the conquest of Cooch Bahar, was compelled, by the severity of the climate, to abandon the country after possession had been taken of it, in 1637. In this year Candahar was recovered from the Persians, through the treachery of Ali Merdan Khan, who had been exasperated by some harsh treatment from his sovereign. He rose into favour with his new master, the emperor, and obtained well-merited admiration at court by the public works which he constructed, and the canal in Delhi, which still bears his name.

The provinces of Bactria, Balk, and Badakshan, were attached to the empire, the emperor in person conducting the operations; Ali Merdan and the Rajah Sayat Singh having previously failed. This conquest was soon disturbed, and the emperor's son, Aurungzebe, was sent to re-establish authority there, while his father marched with a powerful army to his support. These preparations were to no purpose, the Moguls were obliged to retreat; and though the prince with some of the troops escaped, the greater portion of the army perished, either by the inclemency of the weather in the mountains, or fell under the repeated assaults of the mountaineers. To aggravate this repulse, the recently recovered province of Candahar was rescued from their hands in 1648. Three well organized expeditions were forwarded for its re-conquest; the two first under the command of Aurungzebe, and the third under his brother, Dara Sheko. The last

campaign was organized at Lahore, in the winter of 1652, and the army marched in the spring of the following year, Shah Jehan himself following to Cabul. Though the siege was prosecuted with great spirit, the Moguls, after several disappointments, were forced to retreat. On their return they suffered severely from the attacks of both Persians and Affghans, and thus ended the last effort for its recovery,

This attempt was followed by two years of uninterrupted tranquillity, during which Shah Jehan endeavoured to organize the territories recently acquired by him. He united the two governments of the Deccan, and Aurungzebe was appointed viceroy. The most important result of the conquest of the Deccan was the completion of a revenue survey of the Mogul possession in that country, which occupied him nearly twenty years, and was conducted by Todar Mal, a financier, whose name is familiar to oriental readers, and whose regulations in the mint department, during the reign of Akbar, had acquired for him a character of no inconsiderable ability.* According to his scheme the land was assessed in proportion to its fertility, varying from one half to one seventh of the gross produce, according to the expense of culture or the produce. The government share was then commuted for a fixed money equivalent, and in time, when a measurement classification and registry had taken place, the regulated assessment was fixed at one fourth of the whole produce of each field throughout the year, and became the permanent rent of the land.

Aurungzebe fixed his seat of government at Khirkee, a town built by Malik Amber, which, after his own name, he called Aurungabad. The tranquillity which prevailed did not suit the temperament of this young prince. In the year 1655 he readily seized an opportunity of intermeddling in the affairs of Golconda. Since the late capitulation, Abdullah Kutb Shah had regularly paid his tribute, and manifested every disposition to secure the favour of Shah Jehan, who, on his part, had no wish to molest him. At this conjuncture Mir Joomleh was the prime-minister of the King of Golconda. He had formerly been a diamond merchant, and in that capacity was known and respected for his ability and integrity throughout the Deccan. In his recent elevation he had won the esteem of every Mohammedan prince in Hindostan. His son, Mohammed Amin, was a young man of dissolute habits, but he possessed his father's confidence. Having incurred the displeasure of his sovereign, he was punished, and the father resented this treatment. An altercation arose between him and the king, and Joomleh at length sought the protection of the emperor. His appeal was backed with all the influence of Aurungzebe. This led to the cultivation of an intimacy which essentially contributed to Aurungzebe's elevation, and served to light up a conflagration which was never effectually suppressed, and was not extinguished till it had consumed the empire.*

Shah Jehan espoused the cause of Joomleh† as ardently as Aurungzebe could have desired, and addressed a peremptory letter to the King of Golconda, who, exasperated by this interference, imprisoned the son and sequestrated the father's property. This conduct Shah Jehan resolved to punish. Aurungzebe was ordered to prepare an army, to insist on the release of Amin, to demand satisfaction for the injury done to Joomleh, and in case of refusal he was directed to invade Golconda. Without any declaration of war, Aurungzebe sent a chosen force on pretence of escorting his eldest son, Mohammed, to Bengal, whither, it was reported, he was proceeding to marry his cousin, the daughter of Sultan Shujah, and followed with the main army. The road from Aurungabad to Bengal wound round by Masulipatam, in order to escape the forests of Gundwana, and approached the city of Hyderabad, the capital of Golconda. Abdullah Shah was so far from suspecting any hostile intentions, that he was actually making preparations for the entertainment of the young prince, and was not sensible of his danger till the enemy was at his gates. He fled to the hill fort of Golconda, six or eight miles from the city. Hyderabad fell into the hands of the Moguls, the citadel was attacked, the place was plundered and half burned, the troops sent by neighbouring states to his aid were intercepted, and the king was reduced to the greatest extremities. Abdullah had, on the prince's arrival, released Amin, and restored the confiscated property. After several attempts to raise the siege by force,

* Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i. p. 125.

* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 409.

† Joomleh was a Persian, born in Ardistan, a village in the neighbourhood of Ispahan. His parents, though of some rank, were extremely poor. He, however, found means to acquire some knowledge of letters, which circumstance procured for him the place of clerk to a diamond merchant, who made frequent visits to Golconda In that kingdom he quitted his master's service and traded on his own account, and became possessed of a considerable fortune, which enabled him to purchase a place at the court of Cuttub, sovereign of Telingana, and of a great part of Golconda. In that station he behaved so well that he attracted the notice of this prince, who raised him to the head of his forces.—Dow.

he was obliged to submit to very stringent terms. He was now compelled to give his daughter in marriage to Sultan Mohammed, to pay up all arrears of tribute fixed by Aurungzebe, and one million pounds as his first instalment.

The neighbouring kingdom of Bejapore next engrossed the attention of the emperor. Since the last treaty (1636) peace had been preserved with that country; Mohammed Adili Shah had cultivated the friendship of the emperor, and had entered into close intimacy with his eldest and favourite son, Dara Sheko. This intimacy was the cause of considerable annoyance to Aurungzebe, who was secretly jealous of his brother. At this time (1656) the King of Bejapore died, and the succession devolved on his son, a young man in the nineteenth year of his age. The resources of Bejapore were considerable; the young king had a well-filled treasury, a fertile territory, and a powerful army, which at this time was very much divided, large divisions of them being employed in reducing the refractory zemindars in the Carnatic. Shah Jehan was induced by his younger son to dispute the legitimacy of the young king, and to assert his own right to nominate a successor to his tributary. Aurungzebe met with very little opposition in the reduction of the kingdom: the fort of Kallian was almost immediately reduced; Bidr, though strongly garrisoned, fell into their hands the first day of the attack, owing, it is said, to an accidental explosion of the principal magazine; Kilburga was carried by assault; and Khan Mohammed, the prime-minister and general of Bejapore, was bribed, and consequently traitorously neglected every opportunity of impeding the progress of the Moguls.

The unfortunate king was coerced to sue for peace on the most humiliating terms. This, however, was refused; Aurungzebe had determined on the complete subjugation of the kingdom, and was pressing on with great vigour the siege of the capital, when an event occurred which suddenly compelled him to change his resolve. His father was seriously ill, and his physicians apprehended that the complaint was fatal. Dara Sheko, the eldest and favourite son, was at the seat of government, and was actually invested with the administration of his father's functions. One of his first acts was to recall Joomleh, and all the principal officers serving in the Deccan. This step he was probably induced to take by his partiality towards Bejapore, as well as by his hatred of Aurungzebe, whom he dreaded. His apprehensions were well founded, that prince was inordinately ambitious, and had made himself the favourite of the Moslems by his zeal in the practice and propagation of his religion. Sheko, on the contrary, inclined to the liberalism of Akbar, and had, by the open profession of his views, offended all the zealots. Aurungzebe, by the advice of Joomleh, decided on accepting the overtures of Ali Adili Shah, from whom he received a large sum of money, and concluded a treaty by which he surrendered the advantages he had gained, and then marched to Agra, to counteract the designs of Sheko.

Shah Jehan had four sons, all of age, and aspiring to the throne. Dara Sheko was in his forty-second year; Shujah was forty, and then viceroy of Bengal; Aurungzebe was thirty-eight; and Morad, the youngest, had long been employed in important commands, and was now governor of Gujerat. Their characters were thus summed up by their father:—"Dara," he said, "had talents for command, the dignity becoming the royal office, but was intolerant of all who had any pretensions to eminence, whence he was 'good to the bad and bad to the good.' Shujah was a mere drunkard, and Morad a glutton and a sensualist; Aurungzebe excelled both in action and counsel, was well fitted to undertake the burthen of public affairs, but full of subtle suspicions, and never likely to find any one whom he could trust."* Each of these princes assembled an army to enforce his pretensions. Aurungzebe had information of the most secret proceedings at court from his favourite sister, Roshunara. His first act was to represent to his brother Morad that he had no ambition to undertake the care of government, and that his determination was at the earliest convenience to devote the remainder of his life to religious seclusion; that his personal safety had forced him to take up arms against their common enemy, Dara, and that he would assist to place him upon the throne. By those wily representations he induced Morad to unite his forces with his own, and in two battles which followed, the royal armies were defeated, Dara became a fugitive, and after another ineffectual effort was betrayed into the hands of Aurungzebe, and by his orders put to death. Shah Jehan unexpectedly recovered, but though he sent repeated commands to his sons to return to their governments, they, pretending to consider these commands as forgeries of Dara, did not obey. Aurungzebe got possession of the person of his father. He then imprisoned his brother Morad, gained over his army, deposed the emperor, and mounted the throne in the year

* "Letter from Aurungzebe to his son, in the Dastur al Amal Agahi."

1658. He shortly after marched against his brother Shujah, defeated him, and compelled him to fly to Arracan. He was there murdered, and thus all competitors being disposed of, Aurungzebe was left in undisputed possession of the empire. Shah Jehan survived his dethronement seven years, and during that period was treated with the greatest respect. His reign was the most prosperous ever known in India, and of all its princes he was the most magnificent. "His retinue," says Elphinstone, "his state establishments, his largesses, and all the pomp of his court, were much increased beyond the excess they had attained under his predecessors. His expenses in these departments can only be palliated by the fact that neither occasioned any increase to his exactions, nor any embarrassment to his finances. The most striking instance of his pomp and his prodigality was the construction of the famous peacock throne. It took its name from a peacock with his tail spread, represented in its natural colours in sapphires, emeralds, rubies, and other appropriate jewels, which formed the chief ornament of a mass of diamonds and precious stones that dazzled every beholder. Tavernier, a jeweller by profession, reports, without apparent distrust, the common belief that it cost near six million and a half sterling."

Shah Jehan reigned thirty years with great popularity. He was sixty-seven years old when he was deposed, and seventy-four when he died.

Aurungzebe, on his accession, assumed the name of Alamgur, Lord of the Universe. As soon as all his competitors were removed out of his way, he directed his arms against the Rajah of Bekanir, who had abandoned his interests, deserted him in the Deccan, and still held out against him. He was soon reduced to submission.

Joomleh, who had remained faithful to Aurungzebe, and had rendered him essential services, now became an object of suspicion. His most recent achievement was the restoration of order in the province of Bengal, and on his return to the capital, further employment was provided for him in the conquest of Assam. This commission Joomleh executed with his usual ability and success; he marched along the course of the river Brahmapootra, subdued the small principality of Cooch Bahar, overran the territories of Assam, and took possession of Ghergong, the capital. He sent to the emperor an exulting description of his campaign, and announced his intention of opening a way into China. These anticipations were never realized; the rainy season set in, all the low country was inundated, provisions and forage were injured or destroyed, and the natives neglected no opportunity of cutting off the detachments, and thus distressed the camp. Sickness broke out amongst the troops, and though Joomleh was reinforced, he was reluctantly compelled to renounce his splendid projects, and it required the exercise of all his ability to retire without disgrace. Though far advanced in years, he shared all the hardships with the humblest soldier. He died on his return, and his son, Mohammed Amin, was raised to the dignities and honours to which his father had attained. "The death of this great man," says Bernier, "as might be expected, produced a great sensation throughout India, and it was now observed by many intelligent persons 'that Aurungzebe was in reality King of Bengal.' Though not insensible to his obligations of gratitude, yet the Mogul was perhaps not sorry to have lost a vicegerent whose power and mental resources had excited so much pain and uneasiness. 'You mourn,' he said to Amin, 'the death of an affectionate parent, and I the loss of the most powerful and most dangerous of my friends.'"

In the fifth year after his ascent to the throne the emperor was seized with an illness which nearly proved fatal, and led to very serious disturbances. During its continuance he was frequently delirious from the violence of the fever, and his tongue became so palsied that he could scarcely articulate. It was generally believed, at one period, that he was dead. In this state of affairs his newly-established power was shaken to its foundation. It was even rumoured that the Rajah Jaswint Singh, governor of Gujerat, was on his march to release Shah Jehan from prison, and that Mohabat Khan, who had for some time disputed Aurungzebe's authority, and had but recently acknowledged it, leaving his government at Cabul, was hastening by forced marches to Agra, for the liberation of the old king. Etabar Khan, in whose custody he was placed, was equally disposed to throw open the gates of his prison. Amongst the sons of the royal invalid there were also dissensions fomented. Sultan Mausum intrigued with the Omrahs, and the Princess Rochinara had enlisted a powerful party in support of Sultan Akbar, Aurungzebe's third son, then in the eighth year of his age. To secure popularity, the partizans of each proclaimed their object to be the release of Shah Jehan. However, there was scarcely a man of influence in the empire in favour of his restoration, with the exception perhaps of Jaswint Singh and Mohabat Khan, all the rest had basely transferred their allegiance to the royal fratricide and usurper.

The severity of his illness did not destroy the interest which the reigning prince had in public affairs. He gave instructions for the conduct of the government and the safe custody of his father. He earnestly advised Sultan Mausum, in the event of his death, to release his grandfather; at the same time he was forwarding urgent despatches to Etabar to keep the strictest watch on his prisoner. On the fifth day of his illness, during the crisis of his disorder, he had himself conveyed into the council of the Omrahs, to convince them that he was still living. The same motive induced him to repeat the visit on the seventh, ninth, and tenth day. On the thirteenth day he fell into a swoon, so deep and long, that his attendants believed him dead. The report was rapidly communicated to the citizens. The king, in the interim, being informed of the currency of the rumour, and apprehending in the popular ferment the liberation of his father, he sent for some of the principal noblemen to verify his existence. Having been propped up on his couch, he called for writing materials, and forwarded a letter to Etabar, commanding him to carefully guard his captive; and he sent for the great seal, which having enclosed in a small bag, he had it impressed with a seal, and kept it carefully attached to his arm, to prevent any sinister use being made of that instrument.

The vigour of mind exhibited in this emergency, and the sage precautions which had frustrated all the projects of his enemies, and of the parties at court, had the effect of conciliating the popular feeling, and also held out the assurance of his convalescence. The intrigues which had been practised during his confinement exposed to him the real state of affairs. He now discovered that Shah Mausum, who was intended by him as his successor, had shown more anxiety to forward his own personal objects than for his recovery. His sister, who exercised great influence over Aurungzebe, and had essentially contributed to his success, was entirely devoted to the interests of her young nephew Akbar. This prince was also the favourite with the Moslem people at large, and particularly with the nobility. The mothers of his elder brothers were daughters only of Hindoo rajahs, and were looked down upon with contempt for their contamination with heathen blood. Akbar, the youngest son, was of the pure blood of the house of Tamerlane, and born of the daughter of Shah Nawaz, descended from the ancient kings of Muscat, and of the imperial house of Sefi. The Persian chiefs, many of whom were in the public service, were his supporters, and in consequence of his brothers' machinations the father's affections were enlisted in his favour, and he resolved to open the way for him to the throne. Of the family of Dara there survived an only daughter. She had, on the destruction of her family, been delivered to the care of her grandfather, and had resided with him and her aunt in Agra. An alliance with this princess would add greatly to Akbar's partizans, and also fortify his right to the throne. On his recovery Aurungzebe wrote a letter full of professions to his father, and concluded with a formal demand of the hand of his niece for his son Akbar. The proposition was rejected with disdain; and the old monarch retorted that the insolence of Aurungzebe was equal to his crimes. The young princess, fearing that force might be substituted for persuasion, concealed a poinard in her bosom, and protested her determination to die by her own hand rather than wed the son of her father's murderer. He was equally unsuccessful in an application which he made about this time for some precious stones for completing some ornamentation of the celebrated peacock's throne. "Let him govern with more justice," said Shah Jehan; "for equity and clemency are the only jewels that can adorn a throne. I am weary of his avarice. Let me hear no more of precious stones. The hammers are ready which will pulverise them should he importune me for them again."* Aurungzebe treated this answer with great coldness, and replied, "That to offend the emperor was far from being the intention of his dutiful son. Let Shah Jehan keep the jewels," said he; "nay, more—let him command all those of Aurungzebe. His amusements constitute a portion of the happiness of his son." On this occasion the father sent a portion of the jewels, accompanied by a brief note. "Take this, which I am destined to wear no more. Your fortune has prevailed, but moderation has more power than your fortune over Shah Jehan. Wear them with dignity, and make some amends to your family for their misfortunes by your own renown." Aurungzebe burst into tears: and let it be hoped his grief was sincere. The spoils of his brother Shujah on the same occasion were laid at his feet. All opposition was extinct: the fearful price had been paid; the feelings of humanity prevailed. He ordered these mournful memories from his sight, and then retired in a melancholy mood from the hall of audience.†

His treatment of his father, though kept closely confined, and every precaution adopted for his safe custody, was indulgent and re-

* Dow's *Hindostan*, vol. iii. p. 350; Bernier's *Travels*, vol. i. p. 141.

† Dow, vol. iii. p. 350.

spectful, as has been before noticed. He was left in possession of his own suite of apartments, and permitted to enjoy the society of his favourite daughter, and the whole of his female establishment, including the singing and dancing women, cooks, and others. Every reasonable demand was complied with; and as the old man in the decline of life had taken a religious turn, the Moollahs were permitted to visit him, and console him by reading and expounding the Koran for him. He had also the privilege of ordering whatever would serve to contribute to his amusement, and had frequently all kinds of animals, horses of state, game, and tame antelopes, brought to him. He was loaded with presents by his son, consulted as an oracle, and frequently written to in expressions of dutiful submission. These attentions had their mollifying effects; his anger and *hauteur* were at length subdued; he frequently wrote to his son on political matters; sent him Dara's daughter; and, as has been related, forwarded to him some of those precious stones which he had threatened to grind to powder.*

During these transactions, which followed immediately after the recovery of Aurungzebe, Sultan Mausum, who had forfeited by his recent effort to form a party for himself the confidence of his father, was sent into the Deccan, to assume the command of the imperial army, in 1664. On his arrival he succeeded the maharajah, on whom the government devolved during the illness of Shaista, the king's uncle, and to whose eloquence and devotion the exaltation of Aurungzebe was in a great measure due.

To understand the state of affairs in the Deccan on the advent of the prince, the new governor, it will be requisite to go farther back, and give a sketch of the history of Shaista Khan. A short time before the battle of Kigwa, when Aurungzebe quitted the capital to encounter Sultan Shujah, Shaista was sent as governor to Agra, and subsequently nominated to the Deccan, and placed in the chief command of the forces of that province. From this post he was removed, on the death of Joomleh, to the more important command of Bengal. Though succeeding to a man of such abilities and enterprise, he proved himself not unworthy of his position, and, indeed, matured a project of aggrandizement of which his predecessor had no conception.

To the east of the Bay of Bengal is situated, between the eighteenth and twenty-first degree of north latitude, the province—formerly the kingdom—of Arracan, bounded on the north by Chittagong, and separated from it by the river Naaf and the Wailli hills, on the east by a chain of mountains, which separates it from Ava, on the south by a part of Pegu, and on the west by the Bay of Bengal. Its extreme length from the pass of Kintalee to its northern extremity is about three hundred miles, and its breadth varies from ninety to fifteen miles. "Between the Kuladyne and Sundoway rivers," says Pemberton, "the whole coast consists of a labyrinth of creeks and tide-nullahs, all of which terminate at the foot of the lower ranges, and receive the contributions of numerous small streams." During many years the Portuguese had settlements on the coast, and a great number of Christian slaves and half-caste Portuguese and off-scourings of Europe had thither collected. The refugees from Goa, Ceylon, Cochin, Malacca, and the other settlements planted by the Portuguese, sought shelter there; and of all this motley crew none received more cordial welcome than those who set at boldest defiance all divine and human law—those who deserted their monasteries, violated their obligations, and had married three or four wives, or had perpetrated other great crimes. They were Christians merely by name. The lives they led in Arracan were the most detestable, massacring and poisoning without compunction or remorse; and Bernier, our authority, states that their priests, *to confess the truth*, were too often not better than these criminals.*

The sovereign of Arracan gave every encouragement to these bravoes, and assigned to them the possession of the port of Chittagong and some adjacent lands. He used them as a frontier guard, to protect his territories from the aggressions of the Moguls. Thus encouraged, they acted with impunity, and their only pursuits were piracy and plunder. With their light galleys (called *galliases*) they commanded all the creeks along the coast, scoured the open seas, entered the numerous arms and canals of the Ganges, often penetrating forty or fifty leagues up the country. They frequently in these predatory expeditions surprised and carried away the entire populations of villages, on festival days, or when they had congregated for the purposes of trade or the celebration of marriage. Their captives were reduced to slavery, and the residue of the booty seized on by them, which could not be removed, was destroyed. This is the reason why, Bernier remarks, that we see so many fine islands in the mouth of the Ganges, once thickly populated, now entirely deserted by human beings, and become the desolate receptacle of tigers and other wild beasts.* The Portuguese of Goa, Ceylon, St. Thomas, and other places,

* Bernier's *Travels*, vol. i. p. 186.

* Bernier, vol. i. p. 195.

† Ibid., p. 196.

purchased these wretched captives, without scruple, and the horrid and inhuman traffic was carried on at Hoogly in Bengal, and in the vicinity of the island of Galles, near Cape das Palmas. The settlement at Hoogly had been made with the permission and under the protection of Jehanghire, whose liberality has been already remarked. He also anticipated the realization of considerable commercial advantages from this establishment. The new settlers had also engaged to free the Gulf of Bengal from all depredations.

Shah Jehan, more devoted than he to the intolerant dogmas of his creed, and, moreover, enraged by the nefarious traffic which these nominal Christians carried on with the manstealers of Arracan, and by their having audaciously refused to emancipate their slaves at his command, inflicted on them a weighty and indiscriminate chastisement. He first exacted from them large sums of money, and then besieged and took their town, and commanded that the whole population should be transported to Agra, and there condemned to slavery. The miseries to which they were subjected is unequalled by any modern proceeding. Children, priests, and monks shared the general fate. The females of any personal attractions, whether married or single, were consigned to the seraglio. Little children were subjected to the rite of circumcision, and made pages; the adults were forced to profess Islam, under the threat of being trampled to death beneath the elephant's feet. Some time before the capture of Hoogly, a formal offer was made by the pirates of surrendering the kingdom of Arracan to the viceroy of Goa. The latter thought it inconsistent with the dignity of his sovereign to become so disreputably possessed of it. About this time, the notorious Fra Joan, an Augustine monk, became the King of Sondiva, an advantageous post commanding the mouth of the Ganges. These freebooters were a source of constant annoyance to the Mogul, and he was under the necessity of maintaining a large force to protect the inlets of the province of Bengal, but this he found insufficient. Such was the skill and daring of the pirates that, with four or five galleys, they never hesitated to attack, destroy, or capture fifteen or twenty vessels of the Mogul.

Shaista Khan had resolved on making a well-organized effort to deliver his government from this scourge; but he had another design, that was to punish the sovereign of Arracan, who was in league with the pirates, and whose daughter had been given in marriage to their celebrated and powerful chief, Bastian Consalvo, and who had, moreover, very recently put to death Sultan Shujah and his family, who, in their adversity, endeavoured to obtain a refuge in that country. Conscious of the difficulty of marching an army into the kingdom of Arracan, owing to the great number of creeks, rivers, and canals which intersect the frontiers, and the naval superiority of the pirates, Shaista, with consummate policy, sought the co-operation of the Dutch, who had a powerful settlement in Batavia. Thither he sent an envoy, with full authority to negotiate with the general commandant for the joint occupation of Arracan. This offer was agreeable to the politic views of the Dutch, who were seeking an opportunity for the further depression of the declining fortunes of the Portuguese. Two ships of war were soon dispatched for the conveyance of the Mogul troops to Chittagong. In the meantime, Shaista opened negotiations with the pirates, and so imposed on them by threats, and assurances that in Bengal they would be allowed as much land as they considered necessary, and receive double their present pay, that they embarked in fifty galleys, and unaccountably passed over to him, with so much precipitation, that they had scarcely time to take their families and valuables on board. Shaista received the infatuated traitors with every demonstration of welcome, gave them large sums of money, and afforded them hospitable accommodation in the town of Dacca. Having, by this liberality gained their confidence, the pirates rendered him effectual services. They assisted at the capture of Sondiva, which had reverted to the King of Arracan, and from that they accompanied the Mogul army to Chittagong. When, at length, the Dutch vessels of war arrived, the pirates were thanked for their kind intentions, and informed that their services were no longer required. "I saw," says Bernier, "these vessels in Bengal, and was in company with the officers, who considered the Indian's thanks a poor compensation for the violation of his engagements. In regard to the Portuguese, Shaista treats them, not perhaps as he ought, but certainly as they deserve. He has drawn them from Chittagong; they and their families are in his power; an occasion for their services no longer exists, he considers it therefore quite unnecessary to fulfil a single promise. He suffers month after month to elapse without giving them any pay; declaring that they are traitors in whom it is folly to confide—wretches who have basely betrayed the prince whose bounty they have experienced." * The defection of the pirates was followed by the reduction of Arracan. Shaista enrolled an army of ten thousand horse and foot at Dacca,

* Bernier, vol. i. p. 203.

to the command of which he appointed his son Ameid Khan. They departed on this expedition in the beginning of the fair season, 1666, and in six days crossed the Phenny, which divides Chittagong from Bengal. The King of Arracan made merely a show of opposition, and then fled to his capital, and shut himself up in the fort. A few days after his fleet was defeated, and the capital, and then the kingdom, fell an easy prey to the victors. Ameid found twelve hundred and twenty-three pieces of cannon in the fort, and a prodigious quantity of stores. He named the town Islamabad, and annexed the whole province to Bengal.

Though Aurungzebe was out of danger on the fifteenth day of his illness, he was greatly enfeebled, and remained in a very weak condition for nearly two months after; he was then advised by his physicians, and importuned by his favourite sister, who was anxious to visit that enchanting land, to retire to Cashmere, in order to recruit his health in its salubrious climate. While indulging in this rural retreat in the north, some events began to transpire in the Deccan, calculated to command his assiduous attention.

Maharashtra, the country of the Mahrattas, is one of the five divisions into which the central portion of India, called the Deccan, is divided. It rises from the Sautpoora Mountains in the north, and extends from Nandode on the west, along those mountains to the Wyne Gunga, east of Nagpore; its eastern boundary is formed by the bank of that river, until it falls into the Wurda; from the confluence of these rivers it may be traced up the east bank of the Wurda to Manikdroog, and thence westward to Mahoor; from this place a waving line may be extended to Goa; while on the west it is bounded by the sea. The whole tract comprises about a hundred and two thousand square miles. The great feature of the country is the mountain chain called the Siadri, or more commonly the Ghauts, which, at an average distance of thirty or forty miles from the sea, runs along the western part. It ranges from three thousand to five thousand feet, and the chief peculiarity is the contrast between the tracts which it separates. On the west it rises abruptly from the sea, and forms an almost inaccessible barrier; but on the east it supports a table-land one thousand five hundred or two thousand feet high, gradually sloping eastward, far beyond the confines of Mahratta to the Bay of Bengal. The Concan is the tract which lies between the Ghauts and the sea. It is in most parts remarkably rugged and broken, interspersed with huge mountains and thick jungles, intersected by rivers and rivulets innumerable, forming fit haunts for the wild animals who frequent those recesses.

The Ghauts and the other mountains frequently terminate in large smooth basaltic rocks, which form natural fortresses, so that in a military point of view there is not, it is asserted, a stronger country in the world. The mass of the population, which amount to about six millions, are Hindoos. The Mahrattas have never figured as a nation in Hindostan, and the early Mohammedan historians do not seem to be aware of their existence. The word itself first occurs in Ferishta, in the transactions of the year 1485. In the middle of the sixteenth century, the King of Bejapore substituted the Mahratta language, in his financial papers, for Persian. He remodelled his army, which had been previously composed of foreigners, and enrolled a large number of Mahrattas. They were at first restricted to the lowest and most laborious grades, and chiefly employed on garrison duty. It was very soon discovered that they were peculiarly qualified to act as light cavalry, and soon rose into estimation in the services of the governments of Bejapore and Ahmednuggur, a few of them were also engaged by the King of Golconda. Several rose to the rank of commanders of divisions, and military jaghires, or lands appropriated to the support of a body of troops, were conferred upon them. The Mahratta chiefs could enrol a body of horse on very short notice, and these they retained or discharged at pleasure. Titles were frequently conferred on those chieftains, chiefly Hindoos—such as rajah, naik, and rao; and though bestowed by their Moslem conquerors, they were received with avidity and gratification, the greater as they were always accompanied with donations of land to sustain their rank.* They were not originally a military tribe, like the Rajpoots, nor do they possess the same grace or dignity of person, being of diminutive stature, and irregular features; and, indeed, they bore rather the character of freebooters than of soldiers. Candeish and a part of Bahar have been claimed as the original seat of the race, while some authorities maintain that they are foreigners, and arrived in Central Hindostan from the western parts of Persia about twelve hundred years ago. Neither love of country, nor a community of language and religion, restrained them from turning their arms against one another. The most deadly hereditary feuds were perpetuated amongst them, fomented artfully by the neighbouring states, which prevented

* Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. iii. p. 82.

them from making common cause to assert and maintain their independence and authority, and left them to be merely the mercenary instruments of him who could afford to bid highest for their service.

The following portrait of the Mahrattas is faithfully and ably drawn :—"They are small, sturdy men, well made though not handsome. They are all active, laborious, hardy, and persevering. If they have none of the pride and dignity of the Rajpoots, they have none of their indolence or want of worldly wisdom. A Rajpoot warrior, as long as he does not dishonour his race, seems almost indifferent to the results of any contest in which he is engaged : a Mahratta thinks only of the results, and cares nothing about the means, provided he attains his object. For this purpose he will strain his wits, renounce his pleasures, and hazard his person, but he has not a conception of sacrificing his life or even risking his safety for a point of honour. This difference of sentiment affects the outward appearance of the two nations. There is something noble in the carriage even of an ordinary Rajpoot, and something vulgar in that of the most distinguished Mahratta. The Rajpoot is the most worthy antagonist, the Mahratta the most formidable enemy, for he will not fail in boldness and enterprise when they are indispensable, and will always support them or supply their place with activity, stratagem, and perseverance. All this applies chiefly to the soldiery, to whom more bad qualities might be fairly ascribed. The mere husbandmen are frugal, sober, and industrious, and though they have a dash of the national cunning, are neither turbulent nor insincere." * Chiefs and serfs are all sudras and of the same caste, though some ambitiously claim an infusion of Rajpoot blood.

The founder of the Mahratta state, or at least the first person who raised the country from obscurity, was Sevajee, who claimed to be descended on very apocryphal authority from the Ranahs of Odeypore. The father of Sevajee, named Shahjee Bonsla, Bhosila, or Bosla, was an officer in the service of the last of the Kings of Bejapore. The father of Shahjee was Malojee. He had acquitted himself well in the several offices to which he had been appointed, and though descended of a family of no great consideration, he rose to distinction in the service of Nizam Shah, the King of Ahmednuggur, and was attached to Jadoo Rao, who had the command of ten thousand horse in the army commanded by Malik Amber, whose exploits have been related. It was by the defection of this chief with that large contingent to Shah Jehan that the defeat of his late commander was effected. When his son Shahjee was about five years old he was a very fine child, and accompanied his father to the celebration of a festival at the house of his chief, Jadoo. Shahjee was, on this occasion, kindly noticed by the host, who good-naturedly called him, and seated him by the side of his daughter Jeejee, then only three years old. The children naturally enjoyed each other's company, and the delighted father, in the height of his joyous glee, exclaimed, "Well, girl, wilt thou take this boy as thy husband?" and turning to the company said in the same strain, "they are a fine pair." To his surprise, and that of the company, Malojee started up and said, "Take notice, friends, Jadoo has this day affianced his daughter to my son." Some assented, Jadoo was mute with astonishment. The next day Jadoo invited him to dine with him, Malojee declined unless he ratified the inadvertent contract of the previous day. This led to a rupture between the chief and his adherent. Malojee was both crafty and persevering, and was now on the high-road to fortune. His riches rapidly accumulated, and the power, which wealth can secure, was soon exercised at the court of the declining kingdom of Ahmednuggur. He was elevated to the command of five thousand, with the title of Malojee Rajah Bonsla, and two jaghires were bestowed on him for the maintenance of his dignity and force, and the forts of Seevneree and Chakun, with their dependent districts, placed in his care. His son was now a suitable match for Jeejee, and the nuptials were solemnized with the consent, and to the satisfaction, of the parents, in 1604. The offspring of this union was Sevajee, the founder of the Mahratta empire.

During the continual wars in the Deccan, Shahjee was engaged successively on the side of Ahmednuggur and Bejapore, still retaining his jaghires. He was subsequently employed in the subjugation of the countries to the south, and obtained a much more considerable jaghire in Mysore, including the towns of Sira and Bangalore.

Sevajee was born in May, 1627, and, in the stormy times in which his infancy was cast, owed his safety on many occasions to maternal solicitude. The Mahratta chiefs of consequence invariably retain a number of Brahmins in their service, as secretaries and men of business. To one of these, Dadajee Condoo, in whom he reposed great confidence, Shahjee entrusted the guardianship of his family, and the education of his son, and sent them to reside on his jaghire at Poonah. The Mahrattas look down with

* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 456.

contempt on scholastic attainments as unworthy of any but clerks and amanuenses. Sevajee was not an exception. He never learnt to write his name, but he acquired great dexterity in handling his arms, was a good archer and marksman, skilled in the use of the spear, and, indeed, of all the weapons of the Deccan. As a horseman, amongst his expert countrymen he had no equal. His mind was stored and fired with the marvellous exploits of the mythic heroes of Hindoo tradition. Carefully instructed in the religion of the Hindoos, he entertained a deadly hatred for the creed and followers of the Arab Prophet, and these feelings supplied the want of a more exalted patriotism. When he attained the age of sixteen his character began to develop itself—his associates were selected from the most daring and reckless; and even thus early he conceived the idea of becoming independent, and openly discussed his projects. He and his followers devoted many of their days to excursions in the mountains, and in hunting down the game that frequented their fastnesses. In these pursuits he became intimately acquainted with all the paths and defiles of the highlands, and studied the condition of the adjoining forts and strongholds. By his engaging manners, personal intrepidity and generosity, he endeared himself, not only to his playmates, but to the inhabitants of that wild tract generally. It was whispered about that he had some share in the proceeds of extensive robberies committed about this time in the Concan. Those proceedings on the part of the young chief alarmed his guardian, who, in order to engage his attention in domestic concerns, confided to him much of the management of the jaghire. This position added to his social status; he received and paid visits amongst the respectable people of his neighbourhood, and it gave him greater influence over the dependents of his own house.

The mountain range north of Poonah was inhabited by a people called the Bheels; that to the south, by the Ramusees; the valleys to the east, called the Mawals, were in the possession of the Mahrattas, who were called from that circumstance the Mawalees. With these Sevajee was extremely popular.

The hill forts under all the Mohammedan governments, particularly those of Bejapore, were greatly neglected. The reason assigned for this was, that they were remote and in an unhealthy situation. At this period they were more neglected than usual. There was not one fort on the jaghire owned by his father, and the principal fort in the district was injudiciously entrusted to the care of men of neither note nor ability. Sevajee had entered into intimate relations with three of the chiefs in the Mawals, who possessed some hereditary rights amongst the hills. These were his first avowed adherents, and with them, by some means not related, he came into the possession of Torna, a hill fort very difficult of access, twenty miles south-west of Poonah, at the source of the Neera River. This event happened in the year 1646. He succeeded in silencing any complaints at court. He prepared to put this fortress in this best state of defence, and to garrison it with a strong force of Mahrattas. While making arrangements for its repair, in digging up some ruins inside the fort, he discovered a large quantity of gold, which had been deposited in remote times. The circumstance was erased from memory probably by the destruction of the keeper in one of the many wars which distracted the country. This lucky circumstance contributed greatly to facilitate his designs; arms and ammunition in abundance were secured, and he was also induced to erect another fortress on the mountain, three miles to the south-east. This he strongly fortified and named Raighur. These energetic measures at length aroused the suspicions of the authorities; his father was communicated with, and from the Carnatic, where he was then engaged in the king's interest, he urgently remonstrated, through Dadajee, and forbade the prosecution of his undertakings. The old guardian, now on the verge of eternity, in his dying moments sent for his ambitious ward, and far from enforcing the cautious advice of his father, with all that uncalculating devotion —characteristic of the Brahmins—to his creed, he conjured him to protect the Brahmins, the kine, and the cultivators, to preserve from violation the Hindoo temples, to prosecute his plans of independence, and to follow the fortune which lay before him. Then, having recommended his family to the young chieftain's care, he expired, leaving a mysterious impression, fixed by the mournful solemnity of the occasion, and harmonizing, perfectly, with the lofty aspirations of his own enthusiasm. These dying injunctions confirmed his designs, and influenced the devotion of the subordinates of the jaghire, and possibly elevated his motives of action. To his father's applications for the payment of the arrears of revenue, after various evasions, he at length replied, "That the expenses of that poor country had so increased, that his father must depend on his more extensive and fertile possessions in the Carnatic." There were two forts in the jaghire commanded by officers devoted to his father's interests; of these it was necessary to get rid; he gained over

the commander of Chakun, and surprised the garrison of Soopa. He obtained, for a large bribe to the Mohammedan killidar, possession of the very important fortress of Kondahneh, and restored to it its ancient name, Singhar, the lion's den; and availing himself of an altercation between the sons of the late governor of Poorandar, a stronger hill fort than any he had yet secured, having been called in as arbitrator, he contrived to make himself master of it, and to retain it. Notwithstanding his treachery and outrageous violation of faith in this transaction, he had the address to reconcile them to their loss, and to induce them to enter into his service, in which they afterwards arrived at some distinction. These proceedings had been conceived and executed without exciting any commotion or attracting further notice than that alluded to; indeed, the sovereign of Bejapore was at this very time engaged in the prosecution of a war in the south, and in the amplification and embellishment of his capital. Having so far strengthened himself, "and like the wily tiger of his own mountain valley, watched and crouched until he had stolen into a situation whence he could at once spring on his prey,"* Sevajee resolved to have recourse to bolder measures, and to defy the power of his sovereign. He had collected and armed a body of Mawalees, and had dispatched some of his Brahmins into the Concan to gain intelligence, and forward his views in that quarter. He shortly after, at the head of three hundred faithful followers, seized on the royal treasures in transit through that district, and conveyed them with all haste to Raighur. This overt act was followed by the surprise and occupation of five of the principal hill forts in the Ghauts. The Mohammedan governor of Concan was then seized, several rich cities plundered, and the proceeds conveyed to the same destination. Sevajee was greatly pleased by these results. He courteously entertained the captive governor, and dismissed him with every mark of respect. The conquered country was soon organized, every means provided for the restitution of the revenues to the temples and endowments to the Brahmins, and the ancient institutions were revived wherever any trace of them survived.

Shahjee was suspected of having suggested these disturbances, and in consequence was placed under arrest; he was confined in a stone dungeon, the door of which was closed with masonry, with the exception of a small opening; and he was assured that, if his son did not return to his obedience, it would be closed, and for ever. This treatment of his father, it is stated, affected Sevajee very forcibly, and he, for a time, entertained the notion of submitting, but was dissuaded from so doing by his wife, who demonstrated to him the dangers of that course. In all his proceedings he cautiously abstained from aggression on the territories or subjects of the Mogul. It is probable that he apprehended, from the beginning, that an occasion might arise, when, unable to resist the opposition of his sovereign, he should have to seek foreign succour, and that this was the cogent reason why he had refrained from provoking the enmity of the emperor. On this occasion he entered into a correspondence with Shah Jehan for his father's liberation. The results were, that the emperor agreed to forgive the former conduct of Shahjee, to receive him into his service, and to place Sevajee in the command of five thousand horse. On what terms these concessions were offered is not on record. Shahjee was released, but retained a prisoner at large for four years afterwards. During this period both parties abstained from hostilities. The probable fate of his father may have restrained Sevajee, whilst the King of Bejapore may have apprehended that any offensive step on his part might induce the surrender of the district, recently occupied, to the Mogul.

In 1653 Shahjee was permitted to return to the Carnatic, owing to the formidable disturbances which then existed in that province, but he was bound by a solemn engagement to refrain from avenging the treachery of Bajee, who, having invited him to a banquet, had sent him a prisoner to Bejapore: whatever promise of forgiveness was extorted from him on this occasion, was not very binding on his conscience, for the first exercise of his freedom was to write to Sevajee, "If you are my son, avenge me," an injunction which was treasured, and faithfully and fearfully executed. His father's release left him again at liberty to pursue the path his ambition had surveyed for him. The district south of Poonah, stretching from the Ghauts to the Upper Kistna, owned the sway of a Hindoo rajah, Chunder Rao, who was too powerful to be openly attacked, and who, though on friendly terms with Sevajee, could never be induced by him to join in any measures adverse to the interest of the King of Bejapore. On the pretence of asking his daughter in marriage, he dispatched assassins to his court, who murdered the unsuspecting prince; his territories were seized on. This crime was followed by the occupation of other forts and possessions. In 1656, he appointed a principal minister named Shamraje Punt, whom

* Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. iii. p. 136.

he honoured with the title of Peishwa. He had hitherto restricted his encroachments to the dominions of the King of Bejapore, but now, emboldened by success, the force at his command, and the distraction with which the empire of the Mogul was torn, he turned his arms in that direction, and persevered in extending his authority, till, as has been mentioned previously, Aurungzebe was sent down in this year, 1655, to assist Joomleh in avenging the injury inflicted upon him by the King of Bejapore, by the imprisonment of his son Amin. On the arrival of Aurungzebe, Sevajee made a profession of his fidelity to the emperor, and was sanctioned in the retention of his late acquisitions, and encouraged to take possession of Dabul and its dependencies on the sea-coast. Aurungzebe was most anxious to have an interview with Sevajee, that he might explain to him how much it would promote their mutual interest to work in harmony. With all his professions of loyalty and obedience, Sevajee cautiously avoided the meeting; and as soon as the imperial army had removed to a distance, and was involved in a war with Golconda, he concluded that a favourable opportunity was presented to himself of further aggrandizement.

In May, 1657, he surprised Jooner, a town in the Mogul territory, and possessed himself of a vast amount of plunder. He made an attempt on Ahmednuggur, which was only partially successful. Of these aggressions he soon repented, on being informed of the rapid progress made by Aurungzebe, and the success which attended his arms. He took the precaution to add considerably to his army, whilst he, at the same time, wrote to the Mogul prince, abjectly begging a condonation of the past, and making fervid professions of fealty for the future. It was the policy of the imperialists to provoke as many enemies as they could against the King of Bejapore. Aurungzebe, therefore, suppressed his resentment, and expressed his forgiveness of past offences; assented to Sevajee's occupying and retaining the Concan; assured him that the hereditary claims which he had to possessions within the Mogul districts should be attended to; and in return stipulated that he should send five hundred cavalry soldiers, and be prepared with the rest of his troops to maintain order and tranquillity in the imperial districts. One part of the arrangement was carried out; the Concan was occupied, and garrisons placed in several fortresses along the coast, where Sevajee afterwards collected vessels for piratical purposes. The illness of Shah Jehan precipitated an accommodation, which was followed by the departure of Aurungzebe to attend to his more immediate interests in this crisis of his father's illness. The insecurity which the reign of a boy generated in Bejapore, and the distractions created by the jarring of factions there, tempted Sevajee to a renewal of his depredations. An army was organized under the command of Afzul Khan, an officer of some reputation, to oppose his designs. On the approach of this chief, by artful negotiations, an avowal of his apprehensions from a man of such reputation, and humiliating proffers of submission, Sevajee succeeded in deceiving his adversary, and induced him to come unarmed and unattended to an interview, at which he was to receive assurances of forgiveness. Fifteen hundred of the imperial army accompanied their chief to the vicinity of the place of meeting, but in consequence of the feigned timidity of the Mahratta, did not approach his presence. Several thousands of Sevajee's troops lay in ambush in the neighbourhood. Lightly clad in thin muslin, and armed with a sword, a mark of dignity more than a weapon of defence, and attended, as pre-arranged, by one armed attendant, Afzul Khan came in his palanquin to an exposed bungalow prepared for the occasion. The Mogul first made his appearance, and while complaining of the delay, Sevajee was seen descending, apparently unarmed, to meet him. The preparations which he made for this interview, serve to show that the crime he treacherously meditated, he looked upon as a meritorious action. He performed with due care and devotion the customary ritual ablutions, and then laid his head at his mother's feet, and piously besought her blessing. Afzul Khan viewed with feelings of contempt the diminutive figure which he saw abjectly approaching, and making repeated obeisances, which were represented to be the effects of his fears. The Mogul advanced a few paces to give him the ceremonial embrace; at that moment the insidious assassin struck a treacherous weapon, called "tiger's claws"*—well known among the Mahrattas, and which he had concealed on the fingers of his left hand—into his bowels. The wounded chief quickly disengaged himself, clapped his hand on his sword, and called out "Treachery, murder!" and, at the same time, made a cut at Sevajee; but the latter had provided for such a result, having concealed under his thin cotton covering a shirt of chain armour, and with a

* This instrument is, by the Indians, called *wagnuck*. It is made of steel to fit on the fore and little finger; it has three crooked blades, which are easily concealed in a half-closed hand.—DUFF, vol. iii. p. 172. This gentleman gives, in his interesting History, a drawing of it.

dagger, which he carried in his right hand, he dispatched his victim. The murder was the work of a few seconds, and the dying man was at his murderer's feet before his attendant could come to his assistance. The latter was faithfully attached to his master, and though offered his life, he refused, and maintained, for some time before he fell, an unequal contest with two such swordsmen as Sevajee and his friend. The imperial army was now attacked by the Mahrattas hitherto concealed, defeated, and put to flight. The victory secured, the captives were treated with great consideration, as was the practice of Sevajee on most occasions. Several of the Mahrattas, who were in the army of Afzul Khan, entered his service, and some of the chiefs who refused to do so, having been hospitably entertained, were dismissed with presents. It is said, "that during his career, though he inflicted death and torture to force confessions of concealed treasure, he was never personally guilty of any *useless* treachery."

The *éclat* of this bold and successful achievement, amongst a people who had no moral scruples as to the means employed to attain an end, gave to Sevajee an unbounded influence; and the liberality with which the spoils were distributed to his victorious troops attached them the more firmly to his interests, and led many to his standard. To himself, the immediate fruits of the victory were four thousand horses, several elephants, a number of camels, a considerable treasure, and the whole train of equipment of the army he had annihilated.

The results of such a decisive blow on his further career may be easily conjectured. He soon established his authority over all the country near the Ghauts, took possession of all the forts, and was engaged in the complete subjugation of the fertile district of the Concan.

The destruction of Afzul Khan and his army, the capture of the forts, and above all, the approach of Sevajee to the gates of the capital of Bejapore, created such an alarm, that even, for the time, the voice of faction was hushed. An officer, whose ability was his only recommendation, was appointed to the command of an army double the number of that recently in the field. Simultaneous attacks were to be made from two quarters on Sevajee's possession in the Concan. The Mahratta was not inactive during these preparations. He divided his army into three columns, and these were sent to operate against similar divisions of the enemy. He threw himself, with a large garrison, into the strong fort of Panalla, which had lately come into his possession, and on the defences of which he too incautiously calculated. After a protracted siege of four months, and when reduced to the greatest straits, cut off from all external communication, he eluded the besiegers, and though hotly pursued, he succeeded in reaching Rangna, a fortress in the Ghauts. The commander of the besieging army was accused of having favoured his escape. The accused indignantly resented the imputation, and withdrew from the service of his embarrassed sovereign.

The King of Bejapore in person took the field (1661) with a force which Sevajee was unable to resist. In this campaign he was stript of almost all his acquisitions, and the issue might have been disastrous had not the disturbances in the Carnatic assumed so serious an aspect as to necessitate the king's presence there. Seedee Johur, who had commanded at the siege of Panalla, and who had recently retired to his jaghire in disgust at the groundless suspicion in which he was held at court, was directed to suppress these disturbances, as the king was then resolved to prosecute the war, in which he was engaged, to a conclusion. Seedee Johur displayed no great zeal in the discharge of these duties, and was again suspected of favouring the insurgents, and of having come to an understanding with Sevajee. It then became a question with the king's advisers, on which arena was his presence most required. While in suspense, an offer was made by the chiefs of Waree to reduce Sevajee if they were properly supported. It was then decided that the king should proceed to the Carnatic. Bahlole Khan and Bajee Ghorepooray, the latter of whom, it will be remembered, in violation of the laws of hospitality, betrayed Sevajee's father into the hands of the king, and whose punishment was enjoined on the son, were left to assist the chiefs of Waree in the prosecution of their engagement.

The king had departed for his future scene of action, and Bajee Ghorepooray proceeded to his jaghire to hasten his arrangements. Sevajee, who had early intelligence of every movement in the enemy's camp, thought this a favourable opportunity for avenging his father's injuries, and performing the task imposed upon him. He marched rapidly across the country, surprised the unsuspicious noble, slew him and his family, plundered his residence and left it in flames, and then returned to his quarters with equal expedition.* The state of affairs in the Carnatic, where Seedee Johur had joined the insurgents, now demanded the presence of all the king's available forces, and the armies organized for the

* Duff, vol. iii. p. 185.

invasion of the Concan were necessarily called off to that quarter. For two years Sevajee was left unmolested, and during that interval he recovered his dominions, and added considerably to them.

The fame of his son's achievements had reached the father, he was gratified by the filial respect paid to him in the summary punishment inflicted on his enemy, and proud of his abilities, bravery, and aggrandizement. Accompanied by his son, the father paid Sevajee a visit, and was received with such demonstrations of respect and affection as must have delighted him. In the Carnatic, where the king was now engaged, Shahjee's influence was considerable, and his loyalty, in the unsettled state of that province, had restored him to royal favour. His influence was successfully exercised to bring about an accommodation. On his return he was commissioned by Sevajee to present presents to the King of Bejapore; hostilities were suspended, a peace concluded, and the territories secured by the Mahratta extended from Kallian to Goa—a length of about two hundred and fifty miles—and above the Ghauts to about a hundred and sixty. Its breadth from Soopa to Jinjeera was about a hundred miles. His army was proportionably larger than his territories; but the predatory character of his expeditions, the wealth which he accumulated, the constant apprehension of reprisals by his aggrieved neighbours, demanded that he should have an organized army of seven thousand horse and fifty thousand foot, the number of which his force is said to have consisted.*

The departure of the Emperor Aurungzebe to Cashmere, for the benefit of his health, occurred at the period in which Sevajee and the King of Bejapore entered into the treaty referred to; and this it was that allowed the former an opportunity of now directing his ambitious designs against the Mogul. The circumstances which led to this rupture are not made public by any of the historians who have treated of these events. All that is known is, that immediately after the peace with Bejapore, the Mahratta cavalry extended their incursions nearly to the walls of Aurungabad, and Sevajee himself captured the forts in the vicinity of Jooner.

Shaista Khan, the maternal uncle of the emperor, and nephew of the celebrated Nour Mahal, was sent into the Deccan to restore order. He marched out of Aurungabad, and repressed the aggressions of the Mahrattas, driving them before him until he approached within twelve miles of Singhar, the hill fort into which Sevajee had retired. Shaista Khan took possession of Poonah, and actually occupied the house in which his adversary was born. Sevajee had resolved to attempt to surprise the Mogul in his quarters, and his design was favoured by the intimate knowledge he had of the place. By the aid of the Brahmins, on whose fidelity he could rely, he won over to his side a Mahratta who was serving in that garrison. This man, on pretence of celebrating a marriage festival, obtained permission from the authorities to use, in procession, those noisy instruments usually brought into requisition on those occasions; he also got leave for some of his companions, who always carried their arms, to join in the fun. Sevajee, as had been concerted, accompanied by a chosen body, joined the revellers. When the boisterous crowd had concluded their merriment, and quiet was restored, the Mahratta chief, to whom every chamber, recess, and passage of the home of his birth and childhood was familiar, with his followers, provided with a few pickaxes, proceeded to the door of the cook-room, above which there was a window slightly built; through this a passage was opened, not, however, without alarming some of the inmates, who roused Shaista from his slumbers; while making his escape he received a blow which severed one of his fingers, his son and most of the guard at his house were slain. Sevajee and his men retired before any force was assembled. When they had proceeded three or four miles on their way back to Singhar, they lighted torches, brought for the purpose, to bewilder the enemy as to their numbers, and to manifest their defiance and derision. In the glare of these lights, with their figures in bold relief distinctly visible to their mortified foe, they exultingly ascended their mountain acclivities. Of all the exploits of this adventurous chief there is none so well remembered or related with such pride as this. On the following day the Mahratta cavalry defeated and pursued the Mogul. This, Duff observes,* is the first time that the Mogul horse were pursued by the Mahratta. This adventurous attack had alarmed Shaista. He feared that there were traitors in his camp; he suspected the Rajah Jaswint Singh of treachery, and wrote to the king expressing his opinion that he had been bought over by Sevajee. This news had just arrived as the emperor was preparing for his journey to Cashmere. In this emergency he recalled both his generals, and sent his son Sultan Mausum as viceroy to the Deccan. He afterwards appointed Jaswint Singh his second in command, and Shaista was intrusted with the government of Bengal.

* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 470; Duff, vol. iii. p. 190.

* Vol. iii. p. 197.

In the meantime Sevajee was making extraordinary preparations—rumour said that these were designed against the Portuguese, who had been suspected, as also had been the English colonists, of supplying his enemies with ammunition.

In his expeditions hitherto he had principally relied upon infantry, but the Maharattas were becoming distinguished for those equestrian qualities which of all the Indians they possess in the highest degree. In the service of the King of Bejapore they were esteemed as light cavalry, and in the recent encounter with the Moguls his body of horse had come off victorious. It was in this capacity he had now resolved to employ them, and in a quarter where there was very little apprehension of their appearance.

Surat, the chief town of the British collectorate of that name, in the presidency of Bombay, is situated on the south of the river Tapty. Though a remote antiquity is claimed for it, the mention of its having been taken and plundered by the Portuguese in 1530 is probably the first authentic notice of it. In 1612 Jehanghire had granted to the English merchants permission to erect a factory there. In 1657 all the possessions of the East India Company were placed under the control of the president and council of Surat. It was the seat of considerable commerce, and held out to Sevajee the prospect of rich booty. It was against this town his preparations were being made. Early in January, 1664, with a body of four thousand horse he set out against this rich and defenceless place, and occupied the streets without opposition. For six days it was surrendered to the mercy of his troops.* Although he was repelled in his attacks on the English and Dutch factories, within whose fortifications several of the native merchants sought and found refuge, the plunder which fell into his hands was enormous, and it was all conveyed in safety to his fort of Raighur, in the Concan. On his return he learned the death of his father, who was killed at a hunt by a fall from his horse. Shahjee had added considerably to the jaghire originally bestowed upon him, and at his death his conquests on the south comprehended the country near Madras and the principality of Tanjore.* In this year, for the first time, Sevajee assumed the title and state of rajah. In the following year he renewed his attacks—which had been discontinued until the death of his father—on Bejapore, made incursions into its territories and plundered some of its towns. He fixed these at of government at Raighur, a seaport in the Concan. He had here already equipped a fleet, formidable in those seas, and seized on many vessels belonging to the Mogul, and led in person a destructive foray into his dominions. Aurungzebe was exasperated by these outrages on his authority, together with the assumption of independent rule and regal rank by Sevajee, and the issue of money coined and stamped in his name; but what provoked him most was the outrage of his religious feelings by the capture of some pilgrims on their way to Mecca, and the violation of Surat, which the Mohammedans revere as sacred, being the port from which the pious followers of the Prophet depart for the holy places. To avenge these crimes a powerful army was dispatched, under the united command of two able and distinguished officers—Mirza Rajah Jei Singh, a Rajpoot prince, and Deeleer Khan, an Affghan. Sevajee was not as well supplied with information on this occasion as he usually was. Apprehending no immediate attack, he was absent on his maritime expedition when the imperial army crossed Nerbuddah in February, 1665. Nettagee Palkur, who had been left to watch the frontiers, was at a great distance with the larger portion of the cavalry, and it is probable that he was bribed by Jei Singh.† Sevajee, though he, for reasons best known to himself, continued him in the command, never forgave him.

Whether it is to be attributed to strong religious temperament, or to his deep politic dissimulation, Sevajee had recently submitted himself unreservedly to the spiritual direction of an eminent Brahmin, and practised all the austerities prescribed for his observance. He pretended, or fancied, he was the recipient of some celestial communications. It was circulated amongst his followers that he had received a mysterious warning not to contend against the Rajah Jei Singh, as he could not prevail against this Hindoo prince. Certain it is, that his policy was not marked with that decision which had supported him in former

* The sack of Surat is minutely described in the records of the English factory, now in the East India House. In consequence of their heroic defence and generous treatment of the natives who sought their protection, Aurungzebe granted the English company exemption from the duties levied on others trading at Surat. Sir George Oxenden was then governor. (See Duff, vol. iii. p. 198; Thornton's *Gazeteer*, article "Surat.") During the pillage Sevajee respected the habitation of the Rev. Father Ambrose, the Capuchin missionary. "The Franquis-padrys are good men," said he, "and shall not be molested." He spared also the house of Delale the Dutch broker, a pagan, because he enjoyed the reputation of being charitable. The dwellings of the English and Dutch likewise escaped, not through any reverential respect for them, but because those people had resolutely defended them.—BERNIER, vol. i. p. 211.

* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 472.

† Duff, on the authority of Catrou, from Manouchi's MS., vol. iii. p. 204.

difficulties. His vacillation was evident to his officers, and though an heroic opposition was given, and with success, by some of his officers to the imperialists, he entered into negotiations with the Hindoo commander, which resulted in his surrendering the greater portion of his conquests, and transferring his services to the Mogul. The springs of human action often defy the keenest and most critical scrutiny, and the most elaborate and probable analysis of motives is at best but a plausible and unsatisfactory conjecture. "He may have looked to some recompence for the temporary sacrifice of his pride, in the advantages he might gain by co-operating with the Moguls against Bejapore."* His reception was cordial and flattering; by the great services he rendered in the succeeding campaign, the greatest confidence was established between him and his co-religionist Jei Singh, and the emperor personally communicated his approval of his conduct, and invited him to court.† In 1666, accompanied by his eldest son, Sambajee, then in the eighth year of his age, he proceeded on this invitation and the assurances of Jei Singh. He was escorted by five hundred chosen horse, and one thousand Mawalees.

The emperor lost the opportunity afforded him of attaching to his interests a man of the courage, resolution, and abilities of the Mahratta. Aurungzebe, on his appearance at court, did not attempt to conceal his contempt for the insignificant figure before him, besides, in all probability he loathed the man whom he believed guilty of sacrilege; he always spoke of him as "the mountain rat." When Sevajee had paid his obeisance, and presented the customary emblems of submission and fealty, instead of being treated with that consideration which he was led to expect, he was received without notice, and ordered to take his place amongst an inferior grade. The sense of his humiliation so preyed on his haughty spirit he could not control his indignation, he retired to the rear of the courtiers, and swooned away. Having recovered, he withdrew without taking leave. He was then placed under surveillance.‡

From this moment he resolved to effect his escape; this was no easy task, as his house was surrounded with guards. On various pretexts he had his faithful followers dismissed to their homes; this measure he the more easily effected as the emperor thought their absence would place him more at his mercy. The wily Mahratta soon effected his escape. His son and he were conveyed through his sentinels in hampers; a servant occupied his bed, to which he had been previously confined by a pretended illness, and a considerable time elapsed ere his flight was detected. A horse was ready for him, this he mounted, with his son behind him, and escaped to Muttra. His arrival was awaited here by some of his chosen friends in various disguises. He changed his dress for that of a Hindoo mendicant, and laying aside his hair and whiskers, and rubbing his face over with ashes, he pursued his way by the least frequented road to the Deccan. He reached his home after nine months of toil and travel.

During the time of his absence a great reverse had befallen the previously successful Jei Singh. Out-generaled by the tactics of the enemy, he was obliged to abandon the

* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 475.

† The original letters of Shah Jehan and Aurungzebe to Sevajee were in the possession of the Rajah of Sattara. Copies of them are lodged with the Literary Society of Bombay.

‡ Bernier says that the cause of Sevajee being so received was that Shaista's wife was then at court, and never ceased to urge the arrest of a man who had killed her son, wounded her husband, and sacked Surat. The son of Jei Singh, who had plighted his faith for the security of the Mahratta chief, favoured his escape. Dow gives a version of this transaction at variance with Elphinstone, Duff, and Bernier. After stating that Sevajee, being reduced to extremity, was obliged to throw himself upon the mercy of his enemy, and was then carried under escort to Delhi, he proceeds:—"Upon his arrival he was ordered into the presence, and ordered by the usher to make the usual obeisance to the emperor; he refused to obey, and looking scornfully upon Aurungzebe, exhibited every mark of complete contempt of his person. The emperor was very much offended at the haughty demeanour of the captive, and ordered him to be instantly carried away from his sight. The principal ladies of the harem, and amongst them the daughter of Aurungzebe, saw from behind a curtain the behaviour of Sevajee. She was struck with the handsomeness of his person, and she admired his pride and haughty deportment. The intrepidity of the man became the subject of much conversation. Some of the nobles interceded in his behalf, and the princess was very warm in her solicitations at the feet of her father. 'Though I despise pomp,' said Aurungzebe, 'I will have those honours which the refractory presume to refuse.' A message was sent by the princess in the warmth of her zeal, and the rajah, without being consulted, was again introduced. When he entered, and was commanded to pay the usual obeisance, 'I was born a prince,' said he, 'and I know not how to act the part of a slave.' 'But the vanquished,' replied Aurungzebe, 'lose all their rights with their fortune. The sword has made Sevajee my servant, and I am resolved to relinquish nothing of what the sword has given.' The rajah turned his back upon the throne; the emperor was enraged. He was about to issue his command against Sevajee, when that prince spoke thus with a haughty tone of voice: 'Give me your daughter in marriage, and I will honour you as her father; but fortune cannot deprive me of my dignity of mind, which nothing shall extinguish but death.' The emperor ordered him as a madman from his presence, and ordered him into close confinement. He found means to escape after some months, in the disguise of a man who was admitted into his apartments with a basket of flowers."—Dow, vol. iii. p. 368. An interesting romance this, but little more.

siege of the capital of Bejapore, and to retreat with loss and difficulty to Aurungabad. He did not long survive the consequent disgrace of his removal from his command. During his struggle and retreat Jei Singh withdrew, from the lately occupied territories—surrendered by Sevajee—the troops stationed there for its defence. Many of the forts were re-occupied by Sevajee's officers before he returned to the Deccan. Jei Singh's successor was a man of more lax principles than his predecessor, and more amenable to the influences at the Mahratta's command. Through his mediation a peace was concluded between the emperor and Sevajee, and the greater portion of his lately forfeited dominions restored to him. His title of rajah was recognized, and an indemnity for all past transgressions granted. The perils of his past life, and the dangers which he recently escaped, appear to have had no repressive effect upon the elastic temperament of Sevajee. His arrangements with the Mogul were immediately followed by an attack on both Bejapore and Golconda. These kingdoms, enfeebled by intestine contentions and apprehensive of a renewal of hostilities by the emperor, thought it advisable to avert the threatened attack by conceding to his demands, and submitting to payment of an annual tribute (1668). Two years of tranquillity succeeded, during which his dominions were governed and organized with a degree of administrative ability which prove him to be as able a statesman as he was a general. This desirable state of things was interrupted by no fault of his. His flight and escape were painfully felt by the astute emperor. The facility with which he agreed to an accommodation, and the liberality with which he confirmed his conquests to Sevajee, were not so much the result of his wish to restore what he could, at that precise period, well defend, as to throw him off his guard, and bring him within his power. He had given orders to his generals in the Deccan to seize on his person, and forward him to Delhi. Sevajee, having discovered these machinations, proved himself an able master of fence. By the magnitude of his bribes he corrupted these chiefs, and by their means he succeeded in deceiving Aurungzebe. The baseness of the imperial officers was soon suspected, and orders were forwarded from court to make an open attempt to seize "the mountain rat." The successes of the Mahratta called for a great increase in the army of the Deccan, forty thousand men were sent to its aid, under the command of one of the young princes and Mohabat Khan. Twenty thousand of these suffered a total defeat by the Mahrattas. This was the first field action won by them, and the first instance of their success in a regular engagement with the imperial troops.* The beaten generals were recalled. Operations in another quarter became of more importance, no active proceedings were taken against Sevajee, and the war languished for several years. The enemy that diverted the Moguls from active measures in the Deccan were the ever-troublesome Affghans of the north-eastern frontier. In 1667 they totally defeated, in a great battle, the son of the celebrated Joomleh, Amin, who was then governor of Cabul. The imperial army was cut to pieces, and the children and women were not restored but on the payment of an exorbitant ransom. So elated by this were the victorious clans, they set up a king and coined money in his name. This war was protracted during two years, and was concluded by the concession to the mountaineers of almost all their demands.†

This unsuccessful expedition was followed by a formidable commotion, excited by some Hindoo fanatics, who obtained the reputation of magicians, and were popularly believed to be invulnerable to shot or sword. It was by great inducement the army was led to encounter them. The defeat of the rebels proved the absurdity of their extraordinary pretensions. The naturally bigoted disposition of the emperor, irritated by this and other kindred circumstances, was so inflamed by sectarian hate, that he henceforth subjected his heathen subjects to unjust and impolitic treatment, and imposed on them a capitation tax. He had recourse to very stringent and offensive measures to suppress the trade in spirituous liquors, to shut up all the gambling houses, and to restrain the ostentatious observance of idol worship. He fanatically abolished all taxes not imposed in the spirit of Mohammedan law, and thus, not only inflicted an injustice by the inequalities produced, but actually exempted from the payment of their taxes a large number of the great capitalists of the empire, and produced a great fall in the revenue returns. He then had recourse to sumptuary laws. He issued an edict against music, dancing, and buffoons, and discharged all the singers and musicians attached to the palace; he forbade astrologers, poets, and historians. The regular records of the empire were not only suspended, but so effectually interrupted that the history

* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 486.

† "This war is commemorated in the poems of one of the principal actors, Khoosh Khal; he has left several poems, written to excite the national enthusiasm. They are remarkable for their high and ardent tone, and for their spirit of independence and patriotism, so unlike the usual character of Asiatics."—ELPHINSTONE.

of public affairs, from the eleventh year of his reign, is only to be summarily gleaned from letters on business, or from the correspondence of private individuals. Fearing that the homage paid to him bordered on adoration, he regulated the ceremonials, and abstained from appearing at the door of his palace, lest he should be a participator in the idolatry. He followed up these political blunders by issuing a public edict, commanding the governors and persons in authority in all parts of his dominions, "to entertain no more Hindoos, but to confer all the offices immediately under them on Mohammedans only."

The mischievous fruits of these measures quickly developed themselves. In the first years of his reign the loyalty and attachment of the Hindoos were as sincere as that of the Mohammedans, and exhibited neither disaffection nor hesitation, when engaged against their own people and co-religionists. The recent arrangements entirely changed the aspect of affairs: the Hindoos were now estranged from the sovereign. The Rajpoots became disaffected, and every man in the Deccan who was not a Mohammedan sympathized with Sevajee, and looked to him for protection and vengeance. With such combustible materials, it required but a spark to cause a conflagration. This the emperor soon supplied. The Rajah Jaswint Singh, whose fidelity, ability, and valour had been approved in various parts of the empire, since he had forsaken the interests of Dara, and adhered to Aurungzebe, died at this crisis in his command in Cabul, to which he had been dispatched from his government in the Deccan, to conduct the war against the Affghans. A widow and two sons survived this prince. The widow, after the funeral obsequies, set out on her return without having taken the precaution of asking for leave or passports. She was therefore stopped at the ford of Attock on the Indus. Her escort forced their passage. Aurungzebe availed himself of this act of insubordination as a pretext to get the mother and children into his possession. The Rajpoots resolved to frustrate his scheme, and though, when they had reached Delhi, they were surrounded by the imperialists, they ingeniously contrived to send safe home the rana and the young princes. The faithful Rajpoots were attacked by an overwhelming force, and though they fought with their usual bravery, and had gallantly repulsed the enemy, they lost the greater portion of their number. The remainder, with their chief, Durga Das, dispersed, and again assembling at a distant and preconcerted point, retired safely to their own country. The rana and her two sons had previously reached their destination, Joudpore, and the elder prince, Ajeet Singh, lived to reign for many years over Marwar, and became a formidable enemy to the emperor for the remainder of his life. All the western part of Rajpootana rose in arms. The emperor marched in person against the formidable conspiracy that was organized in that quarter, and to strengthen his army withdrew his forces from the Deccan and Bengal, and also ordered the viceroy of Gujerat to make an inroad from his confines. His sons Mausum and Akbar served in this campaign.

This war was prosecuted with a truculent spirit, which might have been expected from the gloomy and revolting bigotry which had provoked it. All the supplies were intercepted from the fugitives in the highlands, the plains were devastated, the villages were destroyed, the women and children were carried off, and all the severities that ruthless vengeance could inflict were exercised against the tribes. These cruelties alienated for ever the entire of the Rajpoots, who maintained an army of twenty-four thousand horse, and though not strong enough to encounter the enemy in the field, were capable of giving a great deal of annoyance by cutting off convoys, attacking detachments, defending strongholds, and gaining many advantages by surprise and night attacks.

Durga Das, who during these transactions was playing an active and efficient part, entered into private negotiations with the heir-presumptive, who he endeavoured ineffectually to seduce from his allegiance. He was more successful with the younger brother, Akbar, now only twenty-three years of age, the most impetuous and least reflective period of life. Akbar set up his standard, and was proclaimed emperor. Seventy thousand men formed the army ready to support his pretensions, and Tohavvar Khan and Majahid Khan, two very powerful noblemen, Moslems, deserted to him; the father was then left with a body of one thousand men, his army being scattered on various services. In the absence of force Aurungzebe had recourse, and with desired effect, to intrigue. The Mohammedans, to a man, returned to their duty. The Rajpoots were now left to themselves, and obliged to relinquish all hope of being able to compete with the imperialists. Durga Das remained to protect the prince, who, under his escort, with five hundred Rajpoots, sought refuge amongst the Mahrattas, and eluding pursuit by a march through the hills into Gujerat, made his way into the Concan, and arrived there in safety, June, 1681.

The war of extermination, waged by the

Moguls, provoked at length a spirit as ruthless and intolerant as their own. The exasperated Rajpoots retaliated, plundered the mosques, committed the Koran to the flames, and persecuted the religious. An insincere peace, necessitated by the aggravated state of things in the Deccan, was negotiated, which contributed but in a very small degree to the restoration of tranquillity.*

Although the withdrawal of the armies of the Deccan, in 1672, for the prosecution of the war in the north-west against the Affghans, afforded a favourable opportunity to Sevajee for the renewal of hostilities against the Mogul, he was diverted from availing himself of it by the death, at the same time, of the King of Bejapore—an event which presented a more desirable opportunity, of which he did not fail to avail himself. During the years 1673 and 1674 he obtained possession of the maritime part of the Concan, and the adjoining Ghauts; he also seized on all the southern division, except those parts which were held by the Abyssinians, Portuguese, and English; and of the districts above the Ghauts, stretching eastward beyond the upper course of the Kistna. Sevajee was again crowned, 1674, with greater solemnities than on the former occasion. To give a more national character to his rule, he changed, contrary to the Mohammedan custom, the names of all his officers of state, from the Persian to the Sanscrit, and became a more rigid observer than ever of the duties of his religion, and more scrupulously observant of those rites prescribed to caste.

Shortly after this second coronation, the Moguls made an incursion into his dominions, which they had soon cause to regret. Sevajee entered into an alliance with the King of Golconda, and after that set out to recover the jaghire which his father had held and resided on in the Carnatic, and which, up to this time, had continued in the possession of his younger brother, Vincajee. He led to this expedition an army of seventy thousand men, composed of thirty thousand horse and forty thousand foot. His ally engaged to keep the armies of the emperor and of the King of Bejapore in check. Having made this provision for security from attack in his rear, he crossed the Kistna at Karnool, then marched through Cadassa, and passing close to Madras, presented himself at the gates of Gingee, a distance of six hundred miles from his territories. At an interview, to which he invited his brother, having failed to induce him to partition his possessions between them, he soon overran and occupied the entire jaghire. While thus engaged, news reached him that the Moguls and an army from Bejapore had invaded the territories of his ally. An arrangement was made with his brother, who was to retain the possession of the jaghire by paying half the revenue to him, retaining himself the places which he had wrested from Bejapore. Ere he had reached the seat of war, peace was made with the Moguls, and Sevajee having conquered the districts of Belari and Adoni, returned to Raighur, after an absence of eighteen months, in 1678.

The Regent of Bejapore, who co-operated with the Moguls in their invasion of Golconda, died soon after; and Deeleer Khan, probably the ablest of the imperial generals, succeeded in acquiring a complete ascendancy in the councils of that kingdom. Aurungzebe, always jealous of pre-eminence and suspicious of those in authority, sent his son Mausum as viceroy to the Deccan, and retained Deeleer Khan as second in command. Deeleer renewed the war against Bejapore, and the newly-appointed regent, in his difficulties, sought the alliance and aid of the successful Mahratta. Sevajee, considering that his force was no match for the army which the Mogul could bring into the field, determined on a course of action not less injurious to the enemy, and more safe and advantageous to himself; he utterly devastated the territories of the emperor, and captured several of his strongholds. In the meantime, the enemy were besieging the capital of Bejapore, and had reduced the garrison to such straits, that Sevajee was pressingly urged to hasten to its relief: whilst on his way, the intelligence was conveyed to him, that his son Sambajee had deserted to the enemy, and was well received. He shortly after repented, and became reconciled to his father. Sevajee, by this unexpected incident, was not diverted from his original intention, and Deeleer Khan, finding his supplies cut off, was obliged to desist. In acknowledgment of his services, Sevajee was conceded the tract of country which lies between the rivers Toombudra and Kistna, and all the rights which the king had over the jaghire of Shahjee. This arrangement gave him a sovereign's rights over his brother, much to his mortification. The use which Sevajee might have made of this power is matter of conjecture, for unexpectedly and prematurely his career was ended. On the fifth of April, 1680, in the fifty-third year of his age, he was removed from the scene of his labours and the stage of his ambition.

He was succeeded by his weak, cruel, and debauched son, Sambajee, who soon dissipated the treasures accumulated by his

* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 503.

father, and lost the attachment of his faithful, brave, and experienced chiefs. Akbar came to seek his aid. He kindly received him, but gave him no hopes of assistance. Although new taxes were imposed, the irregularity resulting from the relaxation of those fiscal enactments which the father had so judiciously imposed, deranged the revenues of the empire; and, as an inevitable consequence, "the army, whose pay was in arrear, appropriated the plunder taken in their expeditions, and degenerated, from the comparatively well regulated bands of Sevajee, into hordes of rapacious and destructive freebooters, which they have ever since remained."*

In 1683 the complicated state of affairs in the Deccan influenced the emperor to visit it. One of his sons he sent to reduce the hill forts in the vicinity of the Chandor range and the Ghauts, and the other into the Concan, with orders to penetrate to the south of Sambajee's country, and to the frontiers of Bejapore. No opposition was given in the Concan, but the climate and the physical character of the country effected that which might have defied a powerful army. The invading force was composed chiefly of horse, and these were rendered useless, and eventually destroyed by the difficulties they were obliged to encounter. There were no supplies of forage and provender, nor roads; while their journey lay through rocks and jungles, all communication with the open sea was interrupted by the enemy's fleet. The toils of the march, the pernicious effects of the climate, the unusual character of the food, preyed heavily on the men; and when the advent of the rainy season compelled the army to betake itself to intrenchments, a virulent epidemic broke out, which cut off many. The contingent dispatched against the forts was also unsuccessful.

In the beginning of the next year, with the united remains of all the armies, the attack was renewed on Bejapore. The Mahrattas hung on their rear, and did incalculable injury. The army of Bejapore was ready to meet them face to face, and, thus hemmed in, the imperialists were conducted beyond the Bima.

The Moguls having been summoned to meet some danger in the south, the Mahrattas availed themselves of the opportunity to make an incursion into the territory in their rear, plundered the city of Baroche, and retired, having ravaged the adjacent district of Gujerat.

The emperor in the meantime turned his arms against the kingdom of Golconda, and after having reduced it to a humiliating state, on the payment of a large sum of money, he granted terms, and then directed his entire strength against the King of Bejapore. He captured the city, took the young king prisoner, and destroyed the monarchy (1686). The hollow peace recently entered into with Golconda was fraudulently broken now, without compunction, as soon as Aurungzebe had leisure for the completion of his designs. After a siege of seven months, bravely maintained, though the troops had deserted, Golconda fell by treachery. During this siege, Mausum incurred the displeasure of his father, and was committed to close confinement for a period of nearly seven years.

The destruction of the monarchies in the Deccan did not conduce to the establishment of a fixed and uniform rule, nor to the restoration of social order. The disbanded soldiers of both Golconda and Bejapore crowded to the standard of Sambajee, or formed themselves into predatory bands, who plundered at discretion, and laid waste the fields by their rapacity. An abhorrence of the conquerors pervaded every class of the community, and "from this motive and the new-born feeling of religious opposition, the subjects of these states were always ready to assist the enemies of the state; so that, in spite of a short gleam of prosperity after the fall of Golconda, Aurungzebe might date from that event a train of vexations and disasters which followed him to his grave."*

These transactions, and the predisposition of the natives of the neighbouring conquered kingdoms, did not incite the King of the Mahrattas to that course of action which it was his interest to pursue. The fact is, that Sambajee had ignobly sunk into a stupid state of mental imbecility, produced by a course of drunkenness and debauchery. Akbar, despairing of any aid in this quarter, retired, and repaired to Persia, where he sojourned till 1706. The Mahratta chiefs did not follow the example of their prince; they individually withstood the encroachments of the Mogul, but, in spite of their resistance, Aurungzebe was gradually attaching their territories, and was maturing arrangements for a combined and well-organized attack on their forts. The intrepidity of one of the Mogul officers placed at the mercy of the emperor the unfortunate Sambajee. This prince had retired, with some chosen convivial companions, to one of his favourite pleasure residences at Sangameswar, within fifty miles of one of the Mogul forts. The Mogul officer of this place surprised the Mahratta, who had sufficient intimation of his approach, but being in a state of beastly intoxication, he replied to the messenger by threatening him with punishment

* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 514.

* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 521.

for such insulting intelligence. In the hands of his enemy he was pressed to renounce his religion, but in this extremity he manifested some of the bold spirit of his race, and protested that death was to him preferable to the abnegation of his creed. His tone to the emperor was defiant, and his abuse of the Prophet equally insulting. Aurungzebe could not forgive the blasphemy, as he opined it to be. The unfortunate prince was condemned to death, and his execution was characterized with a barbarity which was foreign to the practice of Aurungzebe. His eyes were destroyed with a hot iron, his tongue cut out, and he was then beheaded. The feeble character of this prince was forgotten in the heartfelt resentment of his people for the atrocities inflicted upon him. His infant son, Saho, under the regency of his uncle, Rajah Ram, was raised to the vacant throne. His capital was shortly after seized by the enemy. He was made captive, and his guardian and a few followers had to fly in disguise to Gingee, in the Carnatic. A system of desultory warfare was ably organized and spiritedly carried on in the territories of the Mahrattas. The imperialists were recruited chiefly from Hindostan. The Mahrattas threw themselves between the Mogul army and that country, and succeeded in intercepting several convoys, defeated more than one detachment, and soon struck terror by the disasters inflicted on the enemy. The young king was, during this time, besieged in his city of Gingee, which held out during a siege of three years. At the expiration of that period, a bold and successful effort was made by the Mahrattas for the relief of their young king. Assembling an army of twenty thousand of their best men, Santajee, Gorpara, and Danajee Jadoo, so rapidly traversed the intervening country, that they surprised the besieging army, and cut off one of its divisions, plundered its camp, and made the commander prisoner, before they could prepare resistance; they then drove in the outposts, destroyed the foragers, and cut off all supplies and intelligence from the camp; the besiegers were soon compelled to blow up their cannon, desert their batteries, and to concentrate their forces on one point, where they threw up intrenchments, and were in turn besieged. This reverse served to stimulate the energies of the Moguls. New forces were embodied, and sent to the support of the imperialists; the consequence was, that Gingee was at length taken, 1698; but Rajah Ram, who had recently assumed the title of regent, had, by the collusion of the commander—his friend—of the enemy, escaped. Rajah Ram made his way back, and had established his court at Sattara, and now assumed the active control of the whole government. He soon organized and led into the field the largest army ever yet embodied by the Mahrattas. He crossed to the north of the Godavery; levied tributes on such places as submitted, and ravaged the rest as far as Jalna in Berar. The emperor placed himself at the head of his army, and after capturing some strongholds, sat down before Sattara, which he, by a dextrous feint, succeeded in taking. Before it fell, the Rajah Ram died, and his son, Sevajee, succeeded, under the regency of his mother, Tara Bai. This event had little influence on the war. Aurungzebe, for the five following years, had taken all the principal forts from the Mahrattas. The vigour and ability displayed by the emperor, especially when his advanced years are considered, give him a claim on admiration. He was near sixty-five years old when he crossed the Nerbuddah to commence this long war, and had attained his eighty-first year before he quitted his cantonment at Beermapoora. His zeal and ability did not, however, enable him to repress the increasing disorders of the realm; the Rajpoots and the Jats were in arms, and defeats and reverses seemed to produce no prejudicial effects upon the Mahrattas. As the imperialists' arms dissolved away, the Mahrattas seemed to multiply; the plains of the Deccan were laid waste, and Malwa and Gujerat had felt the pressure of their arms; the pillaged towns, the ravaged fields, and the smoking ruins of the depopulated villages, marked the track of the fierce invaders. Aurungzebe sought a retreat in Ahmednuggur. In this town he died, on the 21st of February, 1707, in the eighty-ninth year of his age, and fiftieth of his reign. He thus partitioned his empire among his three sons: the elder, Mausum, he recommends to be recognised as emperor, and he left him the northern and eastern provinces, with Delhi for his capital; to the younger Agra, with the countries to the south and south-west of it, including the Deccan, except the kingdoms of Golconda and Bejapore, which were bequeathed to his youngest son.

The treacherous means by which he had secured the throne embittered his declining years with the deepest remorse, and all his actions show that he acutely feared a similar fate. He was suspicious of all his sons. His strong religious bias made him apprehend a merited retribution, and also impelled him to the adoption of those narrow-minded measures which estranged the great mass of his subjects, and generated those disturbances which clouded the last years of his long and eventful reign.

## CHAPTER XLII.

### FROM THE DEATH OF AURUNGZEBE TO THE DISSOLUTION OF THE EMPIRE.

SHORTLY before the death of the Emperor Aurungzebe, his son, Azim Shah, had joined him, and was appointed to the government of Malwa. On the death of his father he, of the three surviving sons, was the nearest to the grand camp, and, in disregard of the superior claims of the elder, was proclaimed king, and his pretensions were maintained, not only by the army of the Deccan, but also by the army engaged against the Mahrattas under the command of Zoolfekar Khan.*

Prince Mausum, under the provisions of his father's will, as well as by the right of seniority, was proclaimed at Cabul, with the title of Bahador Shah. The claims of these rivals were decided in a battle fought to the south of Agra, in which Azim and two of his sons, who had attained their majority, were slain, and his younger, yet in infancy, was taken prisoner. The new emperor treated the defeated adherents of his brother with great clemency. His accession to the throne was hailed with satisfaction by the great body of his subjects, who were disgusted with the arrogance of Azim, and glad to be released from the austere sectarianism, and the expensive wars of the late emperor.

The Rajahs of Marwar and Joypore, having received some cause of offence, withdrew conjointly from the imperial camp, and entered into a league to resist the Mogul authority. Bahador Shah felt the importance of crushing this confederacy before it was matured, and as soon as affairs were arranged in the Deccan, he proceeded to Rajasthan. On his march intelligence reached him that Sirhind had fallen into the hands of the Sikhs, and that the unsettled state of the Punjaub demanded his presence. To conciliate the rajahs previous to his advance was his first concern. In this he succeeded.

The Sikhs, whose successes diverted the emperor's course to the north, were originally a religious sect, founded by Nanik, towards the close of the fifteenth century. Nanik was a deist, and the leading tenet of his creed was universal toleration; he had no other object in view than the reconciliation of the faiths of the Mohammedans and Hindoos.† His principles are contained in the *Adi-Granth*,‡ a work written by him, and highly venerated by his disciples: "the great eminence which he obtained, and the success with which he combated the opposition with which he met, afforded ample reason to conclude that he was a man of more than common genius."* He was succeeded by his son Arjunmal, who, through the envious hostility of the Mohammedans, was persecuted, and is said by some to have died from the severities imposed upon him in his confinement, but according to others he was put to death in the most cruel manner. The Sikhs, who had till then been a quiet and inoffensive sect, looked upon his death as an atrocious murder, and, under the command of his son Har Govind, rose up in arms and fearfully avenged him, and the fiercest hatred was perpetuated between both parties. Govind is stated to have worn two swords in his girdle, and on being interrogated about this singular practice, he replied, "The one is to revenge the death of my father; the other to destroy the miracles of Mohammed." To subserve the aims of his lofty ambition, his efforts were directed to destroy those distinctions of caste which deprive the great mass of the Hindoos of those ennobling stimulants without which man must always be a degraded animal, and the absence of which was the security of the Moslems, who formed but a comparatively small section of the population. He threw open to all the lowest as well as the highest the prospect of distinction, power, and glory. The lowly Sudra, the scavenger, might aspire to the same rank as the highest caste Brahmin. He changed the name of his followers from Sikh to Singh, or lion, a title previously exclusively confined to the noble Rajpoots, the first military class of Hindoos; and thus he succeeded in making every man look upon himself as inferior to no other. Every man was a sworn soldier from the time of his initiation, was bound to carry steel in some form about his person, to wear blue clothes, allow his hair and beard to grow, and neither to clip or remove the hair on any part of his body.

* Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i. p. 416.

† *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xi. p. 206.

‡ *Granth* means book, but in the same way as Bible is applied to the volume which contains the Old and New Testaments, it is emphatically applied to this book. The book was compiled from the writings of Nanik, Anyad, Amera, Das, and Ram Das, by Arjunmal, the son of Nanik. It was enlarged and improved by his own additions and commentaries; some small portions have been subsequently added by thirteen different persons, whose number is, however, reduced to twelve and a half by the Sikh authors—the last contributor, being a woman, is admitted to rank in the list as a fraction only by these ungallant writers!—*Asiatic Researches*, vol. xi. p. 212, note.

* Ibid., p. 208.

The dietary observances, imposed on Hindoo and Moslem, he abolished, with an exception—the slaughter of cows; the customary forms of worship were forbidden; new forms of salutation, and new ceremonies on all memorable occasions were substituted for the old. The habits, manners, and feelings were reformed, and new moral and physical aspects produced, which became singularities, and constituted a distinct national character. Elphinstone describes the Sikhs as tall and thin, dark for a northern people, active horsemen, and good matchlock-men. Their valour has been recently tried, and also their fidelity. They have ceased to be fanatics, and have become soldiers.*

When Bahador Shah had his attention drawn to them they were commanded by an enterprising chief, named Bandoo, who, to the ardour of a zealot, united a most sanguinary temperament and daring counsels. His path proclaimed his ruthless character. The blood of the mullahs crimsoned the smouldering ruins of temples. The young and the old, the feeble and the vigorous, were indiscriminately slaughtered, and their carcasses thrown to satiate the vulture appetites of birds and beasts. Sirhind, as has been said, was the chief arena of these atrocities, but the route of the fanatics, from the Sutlej and Jumna eastward to Seharunpore, was to be traced by similar outrages. Bahador compelled them to seek safety in the tract of country on the upper course of the Sutlej, between Loodiana and the mountains, which it appears was then their settlement. They were pursued to their haunts; Bandoo was compelled at length to seek refuge in one of the mountain forts. Here he was besieged, and all supplies being cut off, was reduced to great extremities. The last faint hope left to the besieged was the desperate chance of cutting their way through the enemy. From this and its consequences they did not shrink; they made a determined sally. Several fell in the encounter; the fort was captured. A person who distinguished himself, and was obviously directing the movements of the besieged, and cheering them on to the conflict, and appeared to be the chief, was made prisoner, and carried off in triumph, but on closer examination he was discovered to be a Hindoo convert, who thus attracted attention to facilitate the escape of Bandoo. Bahador, after achieving this success, retired to Lahore, where he died (1712), in the fifth year of his reign, and seventy-first of his age.

Jehandur Shah, not without opposition from his younger brothers, ascended the throne. He had made an alliance which was offensive to his subjects, and more especially to the nobility; he aggravated his error by bestowing places of the greatest emoluments on the relatives of his wife, who had been a dancing girl. His want of popularity emboldened his ambitious vizier to arrogate to himself much consequence and power, and to treat with haughty indifference his royal master. This prince, to ensure his own safety, according to many Indian precedents, put to death all the princes of the blood within his reach. Among those who were fortunate enough to escape was his nephew, Ferokshere, who was fortunately in Bengal when Bahador Shah died. He sought the protection of Syed Hosein Ali, the governor of Bahar, and was hospitably received. This chief and his brother, Syed Abdullah, governor of Allahabad, warmly espoused the interests of this young prince. An army was soon enrolled, and in a decisive engagement, in which the imperial forces amounted to seventy thousand men, Jehandur and his vizier were defeated. The unfortunate emperor was then delivered by his faithless minister into the hands of the conqueror. The vizier received the recompence he merited: he was strangled before he left the imperial tent, and Jehandur shared the same fate, February 4, 1713.

Ferokshere, whose preservation and success were due to the fidelity and abilities of the two Syeds, was not forgetful of what he owed to them. Abdullah was made vizier, and Hosein, Ameer al Omra* (chief of chiefs). These brothers, as the name Syed denotes, were descendants of the Prophet. This harmony was of short duration, and the emperor soon began to devise means of ruining his benefactors. Hosein was first sent to chastise the Rajah of Marwar, Ajeet Singh, whose escape from Delhi has been previously recorded. The latter was spirited on by the Mogul to an obstinate resistance. Fully apprehensive of the dangers which might be created by his prolonged absence, Hosein offered advantageous terms, and at the same time honourable to himself as to his opponent, who readily accepted them. He then returned to court. Here he soon discovered the insincerity of the king's professions, and that for him and his brother there was no security but in arms. The Syeds assembled their troops about their palaces, and refused to attend the court. They shortly after possessed themselves of the gates of the citadel, in which was the emperor's palace, and then proposed terms of reconciliation. Mir Jumlah, a mean intriguing, but far from able favourite, and detested by the Syeds, was sent from the court as governor to Bahar—Abdullah

* Elphinstone's *India*, vol. ii. p. 564.

* Omrah, chiefs, is the plural of ameer or emir, chief.

was confirmed in his office as vizier; Hosein was appointed to the important government of the Deccan, and proceeded without delay to that distant province. On his departure he threatened the king that, should any hostile proceedings be taken against his brother's authority, he should present himself in Delhi within fifteen weeks of the intelligence reaching him. Daood Khan was nominated to a command in Hosein's army. This man was renowned throughout India for his reckless courage, he was also an enemy to the Syeds, to whom he attributed the death of his friend, the late vizier. He was privately instructed to hasten to Candeish, to carry with him all the troops he could collect, and form an alliance secretly with the Mahratta chiefs, and, on the first opportunity, to compass the destruction of Hosein. The spirit of these instructions he observed, and in a short time set Hosein at open defiance, and met him in the field to decide their quarrel. The victory inclined to Daood. Hosein's troops, disconcerted and thrown into confusion by the impetuosity of the charge, fled in every direction, the person of Hosein was in imminent danger from an attack led by Daood, when a ball through the head of the latter deprived him of victory and life. Hosein concealed his cognizance of the part the emperor had in this matter (1716).

During the interval which elapsed from the lately repressed movements of the Sikhs up to the present time, they had been recovering from their disaster, and maturing their strength for a renewal of the war with the Mohammedans. Bandoo had emerged from his mountain fastnesses, and having succeeded in defeating one of the imperial armies, he pillaged the country, with his usual effect. His progress was soon checked. He suffered repeated defeats from a new force that was sent against him, and eventually, with his chiefs and a great number of his followers, was made prisoner. Seven hundred and forty, with their chief, were forwarded to Delhi. Seated on camels they were paraded through the streets. In derision of their hirsute appearance, they were covered with black sheepskins, with the woolly side out; and having been subjected to the jeers and taunts of the multitude, were beheaded on seven successive days. They maintained their proud bearing to the last, and refused to barter their opinions for their lives. The fate reserved for the chief is too excruciating to be described. The reported atrocities of the late mutiny are no exaggerations of it. Those Sikhs who were still at large were hunted like wolves, and their strength so much reduced that it is only recently they recovered from the blows then inflicted.

When Hosein was at liberty, by the defeat of Daood, to turn his arms against the Mahrattas, internal dissensions raged amongst them; yet parties of them still continued to ravage the Mogul territory, and some of them seized on several of the villages, converted them into forts, and under their shelter plundered the adjoining districts, and had actually intercepted the communication by the great road from Hindostan and the Deccan to Surat. The state of affairs at Delhi demanded Hosein's presence there. He therefore conceded the most favourable terms to the Rajah Saho. By these all the territories possessed by Sevajee, together with those recently acquired, were secured to him; the forts taken from him restored, and a fourth of the revenues of all the Deccan; and further payment of one tenth on the remaining revenue. In return Saho was to pay a tribute of ten lacs of rupees, to supply fifteen thousand horse, to preserve the peace of the country, and to make good any loss occasioned by depredations, by whomsoever made.* Ferokshere indignantly refused to ratify these stipulations (1717).

Abdullah secretly urged his brother to hasten with his forces to Delhi, as his situation was becoming daily more precarious. On his arrival Hosein marched into the city, seized on the vacillating monarch, and privately put him to death.

The Syeds placed on the vacant throne a young prince of the blood, to whom they gave the title of Rafi-u-Dirjat. He died, in three months after, of consumption; and was succeeded by another youth, Rafi-u-Doula, who filled the throne for a shorter period still, and died in May, 1719.

The object which the Syeds proposed to themselves in the elevation of these princes, was to virtually retain in their own hands the sovereign authority, and to use these nominal emperors merely as instruments. They had been both educated in the recesses of the seraglio, had shared the feelings and sympathies of its inmates, and were disqualified to discharge the duties of the crown. The next selection was of a prince of a more robust constitution, and though educated like his predecessors, he had the good fortune of having for his mother a woman of no ordinary ability, and he inherited her better qualities.

Roushen Akhteo was placed on the throne (1719), and assumed the title of Mohammed Shah. The untimely deaths of the two last sovereigns subjected the Syeds to very grave suspicions, in no small degree corroborated

* Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i. p. 445.

by the well-known murder of Ferokshere; in consequence they had become odious, and their destruction was speculated on by the people. The brothers had not the prescience to foresee the coming storm, certainly they did not provide for it; they insanely quarrelled, and many of their adherents withdrew from them, and their weakness began to be felt at home and abroad. The Hindoo governor of Allahabad rebelled. Hosein proceeded against him, and he obliged him to return to his allegiance. In lieu of this government Oude was substituted. There were revolts also in Kosoor and the Punjaub, and a religious war in Cashmere, attended by the loss of several thousand lives, and the sacrifice of a considerable share of property. The aspect of affairs in the Deccan was the most serious of all: an enterprising Turk, with the imposing title of Nizam-ool-Moolk (regulator of the state), established an independent sovereignty. He and his descendants have occupied a distinguished and prominent place among the princes of India in its subsequent history. The successes which attended the arms of this prince, in his successive wars with the Syeds, was viewed with pleasure by Mohammed Shah, who was anxious to be relieved from their restraint. He defeated the imperialists, with the loss of their general, Alam Ali, the nephew of the Syeds, at the battle of Ballapore, in Berar, June, 1720. The emperor, guided by the advice of his mother, prudently refrained from giving any grounds of dissatisfaction or suspicion to the Syeds, and cautiously awaited the opportunity to assert with safety his independence. Privately a party was formed, with the concurrence of the emperor, for his liberation, the chief agents in which were Mohammed Amin Khan and Sadat Khan, originally a merchant of Khorassan, who had risen to a high military post, and was the progenitor of the royal family of Oude. The result of this was, that Hosein was assassinated in his tent, on his march to the Deccan, and the emperor assumed the government. Abdullah, who assembled a formidable army to avenge his brother's fall, was defeated, the same year, in a battle fought between Delhi and Agra, and fell himself into the hands of his enemies. His life was spared, probably in reverence for his presumed descent from the Prophet Mohammed.

The success of the emperor did not secure the peace of the country nor the stability of the throne. The inherent evils of the Mogul government were every day becoming more manifest, and furnishing daily fresh evidence of the rapid decline of that incongruous monarchy. Ajit Singh, who had been removed from his government of Gujerat, took up arms and marched on Delhi, nor was his advance stopped until his demands were conceded and secured to him, in 1721.

In the commencement of the year 1722 Asof Jah* was summoned to court to fill the office of vizier. Although a man of great abilities and promptitude, he was not able to command the confidence of his sovereign, nor the respect of his courtiers. Brought up in the austere observances of the court of Aurungzebe, his manners and dress were the sources of amusement and jest to the dissolute associates of the indolent and effeminate emperor. To remove him from attendance at the seat of government, when his presence had become odious, he was dispatched to chastise the refractory governor of Gujerat. In this mission he was eminently successful; and having reduced the province, he retained the government of it, and returned to Delhi.

Shortly after this Rajah Jei Singh was appointed governor of Agra, to avenge the murder of the deputy-governor of that province by the Jats.

The vizier did not long endure the disagreeabilities of his situation; he threw up his office, and returned to the Deccan. The emperor privately spirited on the governor of Hyderabad to make an attempt to dispossess him; his compliance eventuated in his destruction. He was defeated and slain in 1724.

During these later years the Mahrattas were perseveringly extending their territories, and wisely consolidating their power; the management of their affairs was in very able hands. Saho, the king of the Mahrattas, though placed upon the throne by the Moguls, had incurred their displeasure, and they lent the aid of their arms to his rival Samba, whom they supported from 1713 to 1716. The depressed fortunes of Saho owed their recovery to the consummate ability of his minister, Balajee Wiswanat. He rose from the condition of an accountant to the office of peishwa, the second next to the throne. This able minister obtained the ratification of a treaty from Mohammed Shah in 1720, by which, in addition to other advantages, he had the authority of Saho recognised, and his ascendancy over his rival Samba established; and before his death, which happened in this year, "he had the satisfaction of seeing his sovereign placed above the assaults of enemies either foreign or domestic."†

* *Asof Jah* is a title commonly given to viziers; it signifies in place and rank as Asof, who they say was Solomon's vizier.—FRASER'S *Life of Nadir Shah*, p. 64, note. Second edition.

† Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 596 · Thornton, vol. i. p. 71.

This great man was succeeded by his son, Bajee Rao, a greater man still, and inferior in ability to none of his countrymen except Sevajee. Apprehending some danger by retaining at home the numerous corps of horse, so useful in war, and conscious that the establishment of a military command would insure an efficient internal government, he induced his sovereign to prepare for the invasion of the northern province. He had sagely concluded, from a consideration of the then state of the Mogul empire, that it was rotten to the core. "Let us strike," said he, "the withered trunk, and the branches will fall of themselves." And on another occasion he enthusiastically exclaimed to the rajah, "You shall plant your standard on the Himalaya." Shortly after operations were energetically commenced. He ravaged Malwa, and wrung from the Moguls a grant of the chout and *sirdesmuki*. At the close of the rainy season of 1727 he made an incursion into the territories of Asof, and marched on Boorhanpore. His course was diverted to Gujerat by the approach of Asof, now openly supported by Samba. He devastated that district with fire and sword. Samba was soon after reduced to submission (1730). He left Samba's son, still an infant, under the guardianship of his mother, on condition of the payment of half the produce through the peishwa to the government. Peelajee Geikwar, the ancestor of the present royal family of Gujerat, was left to administer his territories for the infant prince.

It may be well to mention here that, it was about this period most of the great families of the Mahrattas had their origin. When Bajee Rao marched into Malwa, the chief appointments were conferred on Udajee Porar, Malhar Rao Holkar, and Ranajee Scindiah. The first mentioned possessed a territory on the borders of Gujerat and Malwa, about Dhar, but never rose to such power as his colleagues or their descendants. Holkar was a shepherd on the Nira, south of Poonah; and Scindiah, though of a respectable family near Sattara, was in the humble position of a menial servant to the peishwa. None of them was, as was previously, usually, the case in the Mahratta army, the captain of his own followers, but held commissions from, and acting under the orders of, the peishwa.

After a long protracted contest, the peishwa and Asof Khan, convinced that it would subserve their mutual interests, entered into a compromise. In 1732 Bajee Rao entered Malwa in person, and prosecuted the war with such signal success, that, in the second year after, 1734, it was surrendered to him with the tacit consent of the emperor, from whom the territory was, nominally, held. These concessions did not satiate his ambition; he prosecuted his appropriations with increased vigour, and at length insisted on the grant of a jaghire comprising the province of Malwa, and all the country south of the Chambul, together with the sacred cities of Muttra, Allahabad, and Benares. These demands were deemed too exorbitant even by the feeble emperor, and, in all probability, led to the reconciliation between him and Asof Jah, who now began to apprehend that he had more to fear from his weakness than he had formerly from his enmity. During the negotiations which led to this understanding, Bajee Rao was not inactive, he was engaged in ravaging the country beyond the Jumna: and though he received a severe check from Sadat Khan, the governor of Oude, he adroitly managed to escape the observation of the imperial army, and suddenly quitting the neighbourhood of the Jumna, and passing fourteen miles to the right of the Moguls, by extraordinary forced marches he suddenly and unexpectedly appeared before the gates of Delhi. This rapid and alarming approach to the capital, on his own evidence, appears to have been suggested by the fame which Sadat Khan had acquired by his recent victory over him. Nothing was talked of at Delhi but the hero who had, his panegyrists asserted, driven the Mahrattas back to the Deccan. "I was resolved," says Bajee Rao, "to tell the emperor the truth, to prove to him that I was still in Hindostan, and to show him flames and Mahrattas at the gates of his capital."*

The Mahratta on this occasion acted with great moderation. On reflection, he abandoned his intention of surrendering Delhi to the pillage of his soldiers, and withdrew to a distance to deprive them of the opportunity. On his retrograde march he was ill-advisedly attacked by a body of eight thousand imperialists, whom he repelled with the loss of six hundred men. The vizier, who had been reinforced by Sadat Khan, was on his march to the relief of the capital, and Bajee Rao thought it prudent to fall back on the Deccan, where the state of public affairs demanded his presence (1737). After his retreat, Asof Jah was invested with full powers, and the governments of Malwa and Gujerat were conferred on his son. To such a low ebb was the empire, by this time, reduced, that, with the absolute powers entrusted to him, and the prestige of his name, he could press into his service not more than thirty-four thousand men. He resolved to march against the peishwa, who was at the head of eighty thousand. The imperialists were reinforced by several contingents, and were not,

* Duff's, *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i. p. 532.

numerically, inferior to their foes. Though advantageously posted, and under the protection of the strong fort of Bopal, his communications with his reserve were intercepted by the harassing attacks of the Mahrattas, and his losses were severe. To such extremities were the Moguls reduced, that Asof Jah engaged to cede the whole of the Malwa and the sovereignty of the territory between the Nerbuddah and the Chambul, to obtain a confirmation of it from the emperor, and a payment of fifty lacs of rupees to defray Bajee Rao's expenses * (1738). Asof Jah then proceeded unmolested to Delhi, and the peishwa took possession of the territories conceded to him; but before the treaty, he had entered into, could possibly have received the confirmation of the emperor, one of those unexpected visitations which, in the declining state of a distracted and effete government, cap the climax of misrule and disorder, in its overwhelming consequences absorbed all other considerations:—this was the invasion of Nadir Shah, otherwise called Thamas Khoolee Kahn, one of the most savage of the ruthless oriental conquerors.

Nadir Shah, like the founders of Rome, was originally a shepherd, he collected around him a band of freebooters, and appeared as the deliverer of his country. This occurred at the critical time when the Sophis were supplanted on the throne of Persia by the Affghans. The last prince of that dynasty was obliged to seek an asylum amongst the tribe of Kajar, on the confines of the Caspian; and the first gleam of good fortune that fell on his exile, was the adherence of this rising adventurer. As an advocate of the royal cause, he was enabled, without exciting jealousy or suspicion, to enrol an army and prepare the way for the realization of his own dreams of ambition. The ability which he displayed in his new position, the success which crowned his arms, the apparent loyalty of his proceedings and aims, appealed to the national and religious feelings of the Persians, and from a state of abject inactivity he imperceptibly, but successfully, infused into all a spirit of self-reliance, a confidence in their resources, and a passion for military glory and the re-assertion of the supremacy of Persia. The Affghans were fearlessly encountered and signally defeated, in 1729. The consequences were that Ispahan, the capital, was recovered, and the usurpers chased into Affghanistan; Ashref, who had been placed by them upon the throne, was murdered by a Belochee chief near Candahar. He then turned his arms against the Turks, who, during the wane of the power of the Sophis, had acquired large possessions in the western provinces of Persia. He had already recovered Tabreez, when he was called off by a rising in Candahar. After a siege of ten months, he took possession of Herat, and reduced the province; the Abdallees, who predominated there, and whose form of belief he embraced, were ever after the most devoted of his followers. He had now established his influence, and had attached the army, as well as the Abdallees, to his interests; he therefore determined to affect no longer to rule in his master's name. With his victorious army he marched to the plain of Moghan, and there convened an assembly of the leading men of Persia, both civil and military, to the number of one hundred thousand, and by their unanimous suffrages was proclaimed the sovereign of the kingdom (1736).

Soon after his elevation he led an army of eighty thousand men into Candahar, from which he expelled the Kiljees (1738); during this campaign he settled the greater part of the surrounding country, and his son, Reza Culi Mirza, who had marched against the Uzbecks, conquered the province of Balk, and defeated the King of Bokhara in person in an engagement on the Oxus. While Nadir Shah was thus occupied, several of the chiefs, in the decline of their fortunes, sought refuge in Hindostan, whose surrender he repeatedly demanded without any satisfactory result. This was conduct he was not disposed to tolerate; he therefore resolved to march on Ghizni and Cabul. Fraser states that he was encouraged to this invasion by letters from Nizam-ool-Moolk and Sadat Khan.* An ambassador whom he had sent to Delhi was attacked and killed, together with his escort, by the inhabitants of Jellalabad; the hesitation which he may have previously felt, was put to flight by this outrage. Furious with rage, he burst into Lahore at the head of a formidable army. Jellalabad suffered all the punishment he could inflict.† Almost unmolested he passed through the mountain district between Cabul and Peshawur, and met with nothing like opposition till he arrived on the banks of the Jumna, at a place called Kornal, within one hundred miles of Delhi, where he found himself in the face of an army led by the emperor Mohammed Shah in person, attended by the Nizam, Sadat Khan, and the principal nobility. An attempt to intercept Sadat Khan, who had arrived from his viceroyalty of Oude about the same time as Nadir Shah, brought on a partial action, which ended in a general engagement. Their

* Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i. p. 612.

* P. 129. This statement is not at all probable.

† Gleig's *History of India*, vol. i. p. 263.

close order and perfect discipline secured the victory to the Persians; Sadat Khan was taken prisoner, a vizier was mortally wounded, and thousands of the imperialists fell in the fight. The defeat was so complete that the Moguls had neither the courage nor the means to sustain further opposition. Through the treachery of Sadat Khan, whose fidelity seems to have been shaken by the frustration of his designs on the office of vizier by the superior influence of the nizam, the latter, as well as the unfortunate Mohammed, was brought into the enemy's hands, and the conqueror marched on Delhi. Nadir Shah's object seems to have been the acquisition of portable wealth, not of immovable territories; from the commencement of this invasion he professed that he was animated with pure zeal for Islam, and friendship for the emperor; that he could never have imagined the wretches (the Mahrattas) of the Deccan should impose a tribute on the dominions of the king of Mussulmen. He assured the emperor that the object of his approach was, that when the infidels moved towards Hindostan, he would be able to send his victorious army to drive them into the abyss of hell; he reminded him that history is full of instances of the friendship that had subsisted between the princes of his nation and the sovereigns of Delhi. He added a solemn oath that, excepting friendship and a concern for religion, he had no other views; and he concluded the letter here quoted with this assurance, "I always was and will be a friend to your illustrious house." The greatest order was preserved for two days after the capital had been possessed by the Persians, and commands of the most peremptory character were issued, to "spare no punishments, such as cutting off ears and noses, and bambooing to death whoever molested the Indians, for which reason neither high nor low durst injure any of the natives."* On the night of the second a report was spread that Nadir Shah was taken prisoner and poisoned. The Delhians rose *en masse*, made an attack on the detached troops of the Persians, and cut off several of them. The following morning Nadir Shah appeared in the streets, on horseback, to disabuse the people of their false impression, and to quell the mob, who were perpetrating the excesses, by the mildest means possible: while thus engaged, a musket was designedly discharged at him, and killed one of the officers who stood next to him.† His passion being thus excited, permission was given to the soldiers to kill and plunder without restraint. One wide-spread scene of butchery and pillage was presented by the capital. Both sexes were indiscriminately put to the sword; the city was fired in various quarters, and for the space of twelve hours suffered all the miseries an infuriated and avaricious soldiery could, in the vengeance of the worst passions, inflict. A little before sunset Nadir Shah forbade further destruction—such was the discipline of his army, that within a quarter of an hour all outrages had ceased, and not a Persian was to be seen in the street. The number who fell victims, on this occasion, is variously stated at 150,000, 120,000, 30,000, down to 8000; the number must have been enormous, as twenty thousand Persians were engaged in the massacre. The imperial treasures, including the celebrated peacock throne, and the entire effects of several of the nobility, fell into the hands of the plunderers.

Nadir Shah, during his stay of fifty-eight* days, exercised all the rights of a sovereign, and imposed heavy contributions upon all ranks and classes. The amount of the booty in the hands of the conquerors is calculated at thirty-two millions of our money. He reinstated Mohammed on the throne, and addressed firmans to several of the rajahs, and among the rest to Bajee Rao, informing them of this act, and that he considered Mohammed as a brother, whose commands they all should obey, and did they not, he would return with his army and inflict punishment upon them.†

During these transactions, Sadat Khan died of a cancer in the back. This circumstance contributed to the further aggrandizement of his old rival the nizam, whose son was elevated to the distinction of Ameer-ool-Omra, and one of his dependents to the post of vizier. The nizam, however, was obliged to absent himself from court, to check the presumption of his son Nazir Jung, who had asserted his independence; Nazir was overthrown and order restored.

During the Persian campaign and temporary occupation, the Mahrattas, though not immediately involved, abstained from the prosecution of their designs on the empire; nor did Bajee Rao press for the ratification of the treaty so lately completed with Asof Jah. He wisely concluded that all intestine claims should be suspended, while the general safety was threatened by so terrible an antagonist as Nadir Shah. "Our domestic quarrels," he writes, "are now insignificant, there is but one enemy in Hindostan."‡

* Fraser, translation of a letter from Nadir Shah to Mohammed Shah, p. 138.

† Idem, p. 179.

* Craig says thirty-seven. *History of India*, vol. i. p. 266.

† Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i. p. 550.

‡ Duff, vol. i. p. 547.

"Hindoos and Mussulmans, the whole power of the Deccan must assemble." That storm having passed away, he renewed his demands, and insisted on the formal ratification of the agreement with Asof Jah. He selected the Deccan as the theatre on which he would enforce his claim. He was not attended with his usual success. He was defeated, and involved in difficulties from which he was never afterwards extricated; he, on this occasion, describes himself as overwhelmed with debts and disappointments, and thankful if he could meet death.* He was shortly rescued from his troubles in accordance with his wish. Returning to Hindostan, for what object is not told, he expired on the Nerbuddah, April 28th, 1740, and was succeeded by Belajee Rao, as peishwa. This was not effected without strong opposition from some powerful and inveterate enemies of his father, but he baffled their intrigues by the aid of his uncle, Chimnajee, who commanded a portion of the late Bajee Rao's troops. Belajee, though not possessing the abilities of his father, was not his inferior in address, and was his superior as a financier. He soon accomplished the liquidation of all monetary claims upon him, which arose principally from Bajee's embarrassments. When this was arranged, he directed his attention to the recovery of some lands in Hindostan, which had been encroached upon by his enemy and rival, Ragoojee. He crossed the Nerbuddah, but was recalled from a campaign, which he was prosecuting with singular success, by an invasion of Malwa by Damajee Geikwar from Gujerat, another enemy of his house. This expedition was made as a diversion in favour of Ragoojee, and on the approach of Belajee, the invaders speedily retired. Being now in possession of that province, and having an effective and well-appointed force at his command, and no work to do, he thought it a favourable opportunity to exact from the emperor a confirmation of the grant of that province, extorted from Asof Jah by Bajee Rao, his claims to which had remained in suspense during the Persian invasion. The occasion was favourable to the accomplishment of his requirement. Ali Verdi Khan, the viceroy of Bengal, apprehensive of the attacks of Ragoojee, and alarmed for the safety of his government, readily secured the aid of Belajee on his own terms; the grant of Malwa was confirmed, and the peishwa fulfilled his part of the agreement, by immediately marching by Allahabad and Bahar, and met the Ragoojee, approaching from the south-west, in time to save Murshidabad, the capital of the province, from attack. Ragoojee retired at his approach, but was pursued and defeated with the loss of all his baggage. Belajee was now earnestly devoted to the promotion of the emperor's interests, having recently received the payment of an assignment, granted to him by the emperor, on the revenues of Bengal. Having swept his enemies from that quarter, he returned to Malwa and thence to Sattara.

His arrival could not have been more opportune; Ragoojee, with the co-operation of his friend Damajee Geikwar, was on full march to his capital. This confederacy must have been formidable to him, judging by the enormous price which he paid to ensure its dissolution. He conceded to Ragoojee the tribute claimed by him from Bengal, Bahar, Allahabad, and Oude. This negotiation, however, was advantageous to the peishwa; the attention of his most formidable enemy was diverted from his territories to the east, where he soon found occupation enough for himself and his troops. On the side of the Deccan no annoyance was given to the Mahrattas by the Moguls. Asof Khan, after suppressing the revolt of his son, had enough of work to do in the regulation of the affairs of the subordinate government of Arcot, till his death, in 1748, at the advanced age of a hundred and four. The contentions amongst his sons, which succeeded that event, will be noticed in treating of the French and English in India.

Saho Rajah did not long survive this veteran chief. Having no children of his own, he adopted, as is the custom of the Hindoos, the Rajah of Calapore as his successor. This was an arrangement diametrically opposed to the ambitious schemes of the peishwa. Saho had become so imbecile, that, unable to act independently, he had yielded completely to the control of his wife, Sawatree Baee, who detested the peishwa, and was not only a supporter of the Rajah of Calapore's pretensions, but also closely related to him. The peishwa, to counteract these powerful influences, had recourse to a deep-laid and crafty scheme. The widow of Rajah Ram, the old rival claimant of the crown, was still living, and had for a long time spiritedly maintained the pretensions of her son, Sevajee the second, in opposition to Saho; to her Bajee had recourse, and though the old lady was far advanced in years and still retained her animosity against him and his family, her ambition was still sufficiently alive to make her embrace any measure which promised to restore her influence. Information was secretly conveyed to Saho, that a posthumous son of Sevajee was living. The

* Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i. p. 547; Elphinstone's *India*, vol. ii. p. 634.

king communicated his supposed discovery to the peishwa, and suggested the prudence of instituting a strict inquiry into the matter, and, in order to sift it well, to subject Tara Baee to an examination. The evidence of Tara Baee corroborated the story; but the whole was treated as a fiction by the queen and the partizans of the Rajah of Calapore. The queen knew the extent of her power over the king, and had very little apprehension of being circumvented in this matter, as the ceremony of adoption was one which should be performed publicly. She had a man to deal with too cunning of fence for her *finesse*. The peishwa maintained that the rajah had signed an instrument transferring to him all the powers of the government, provided he maintained the royal dignity and title in the house of Sevajee, through the grandson of Tara Baee. On the death of Saho, acting on this authority, he proclaimed the grandson under the title of Ram Rajah. A council of the great chiefs confirmed this proceeding, and favours were liberally bestowed amongst them to insure their adherence. With several others, Ragoojee Bosla, Scindiah, and Holkar, were recipients of those favours to a large amount.

Sawatri Baee, the wife of Saho, was artfully induced, by an appeal to her pride, to immolate herself on the funeral pile of her husband; thus was removed out of Belajee's way an ambitious, intriguing, and dangerous enemy. The peishwa was not enabled to effect this revolution without opposition. Attempts were made at insurrection, and a quarrel provoked between him and his cousin Sedasheo Bhao. A reconciliation was at length effected. One of his first steps, when freed from the apprehended dangers of opposition, was to transfer the seat of government to Poonah, but he left the nominal king, Ram Rajah, at Sattara, in perfect freedom, under the control of Tara Baee; splendid provision was made for his maintenance.

The intrigues at court which preceded and followed the late king's death, had restrained the peishwa from availing himself of the favourable opportunities which, at this crisis, presented of extending his conquests in the Deccan, left completely exposed by the withdrawal of the armies of that province to prosecute the war in the Carnatic. The eldest son of the late Asof Jah, Gazee-ood-Deen, had opened negotiations with him for his support against his younger brother Salabat Jung, who was in possession of the family inheritance. The peishwa agreed to support his pretensions; he marched into the nizam's territories, and was in the neighbourhood of Salabat's army when intelligence, from home, reached him, of such an alarming character that he was obliged to hasten back to encounter the powerful confederacy which threatened the frustration of all his schemes of ambition.

No sooner had Belajee departed on this expedition than the old intriguante, Tara Baee, who had never ceased to entertain the bitterest enmity for him, began to plot his downfall. She first appealed to the young king, and used every persuasion to incite him to vindicate his independence, and get rid of his servant, who, she said, had actually become his master. Finding him impervious to her arguments and incentives, she began to dissimulate, in order to disarm him of his suspicions. She then applied, through her emissaries, to Damajee Geikwar, and suggested to him an immediate march to Sattara. He eagerly listened to her suggestions, led an army into the field, and avowed his intentions of rescuing the rajah and the Mahrattas from the rule of the Brahmins. On Damajee's approach, she seized on the person of the young rajah, reproached him with his pusillanimity, expressed her regret for having rescued him from ignominious obscurity, and ended by branding him as an impostor, and undertook the management of the kingdom.

The adherents of the peishwa, who were ignorant of the negotiations entered into by Tara Baee with Damajee and the march of his army, treated these proceedings as the aberrations of a mad old woman, but when the armed battalions of her ally made their appearance to enforce her authority, they appeared far more serious, and they fled precipitately from the threatened city to the village of Arla, on the banks of the Kistna, where they set up their standard. Although their forces soon reached to twenty thousand fighting men, they were defeated by an inferior number of the army of Gujerat. The character lost, in this discomfiture, was retrieved before the arrival of the peishwa, by an attack on the invaders, which succeeded in forcing them to retire to Jore Khora. In thirteen days Belajee had concluded a march of four hundred miles, and was now at hand. However, the issue was not committed to the sword. Damajee was artfully inveigled, his relatives captured, his camp treacherously stormed, and himself immersed in a dungeon in Poonah.

The defeat of her accomplice did not disarm Tara Baee. She refused to surrender the fort and the rajah, and induced every man in the garrison to bind himself by the most solemn oaths to stand by her to the last. A great majority of the Mahrattas recognising her as the rightful regent, Belajee prudently concluded that it would be politic to abstain

from driving her to extremities. It is more than probable that her escape was in no small degree attributable to the invasion of the territories of the Mahrattas by Salabat Jung, whose system of warfare was conducted on their own model. Since the days of Aurungzebe, a more formidable army was not seen in that quarter. It was accompanied by a French subsidiary force of five hundred men, and of five thousand disciplined and well-appointed sepoys, under the command of M. Bussy, the most distinguished French officer, who has commanded in the far East, and to whose superior skill the Moguls are stated to have entrusted the management of the war. Belajee was no match for this able officer; defeat followed defeat; the enemy were within twenty miles of Poonah; and to aggravate this troubled state of matters, the invaders were in communication with his other enemies, Tara Baee and the Rajah of Calapore. There seemed no hope of escaping the fury of this storm but by abject submission. To a happy combination of fortuitous circumstances, he owed his almost miraculous escape. With his superior abilities, Bussy was dependant on the resources of Prince Salabat, whose finances were now in a state of derangement; the troops were in arrear, and murmuring for their pay; the dissatisfaction became general, and the army was nearly ungovernable. At the same time Ragoojee Bosla, who had previously got possession of Cuttack, and a concession, by the peishwa, of the tribute of Bengal, availing himself of the opportunity of the war raging in Maharashtra, burst into the Deccan, captured Gaweilghoor and Noornala, made himself master of Manikdroog, and the districts dependant on these forts, laid the whole country between the Payn Goonga and the Godavery under contribution, expelled the Moguls and substituted his own subjects. To repel this scourge from his door was an object of far deeper concern to Salabat Jung than the redress of others' wrongs, or the acquisition of foreign territories. An armistice was, unhesitatingly, concluded, and Salabat hastened back to his possessions (1752).

The Deccan was fated to become the busy scene of most important operations, in which the Mahrattas played no indifferent part. In order to be able to comprehend their transactions in that quarter, it is necessary to go back some years and notice events which, though secondary to these more exciting which have been recorded, are important in themselves and in their results.

On the departure of Asof Khan, in 1741, to his government of the Deccan, his eldest son, Gazee-ood-Deen, who was married to the daughter of the vizier, succeeded him in his post at court. On the death of his father, though solicitous to return to his government, permission was not granted; and it is asserted that bribes were liberally bestowed by his brothers, amongst the favourites, to ensure his detention.

It was during this period that the Rohillas had grown into power, and excited the vizier's especial jealousy, as they threatened to overrun and appropriate his possessions in Oude.

The Rohillas were an Affghan colony, which obtained possession of an extensive and fertile district of the peninsula, lying between the rivers Ganges and Goggra, bordering on Oude, Gurwal, and Kumaon, and lying between the twenty-eighth and thirtieth degree of north latitude, and the seventy-eighth and the eightieth east longitude.* The Ganges and its tributaries, as also the Ramgunga, after traversing the country through its whole extent, before it pours its tributary waters into the sacred river, irrigate its plains. This tract is intersected by numerous canals and reservoirs, and springs are found a foot beneath the surface. With such natural and artificial advantages, it was, under the rule of its native sovereigns, in a high state of cultivation; though, when it was ceded to the British, in 1801, by the Nabob of Oude, it was neglected and desolate, in consequence of his tyranny and exactions. Being the scene of many of the incidents of the recent mutiny and revolt, it has become better known to the English reader. It may be pertinent to state that within this district are situated the following towns: Bareilly, Bissouly, Budaon, Mooradabad, Owlah, Pillibut, Rampore, Sambul, and Jehanpore. The various remains of magnificent edifices, palaces, gardens, mosques, colleges, and mausoleums are evidences that, in former times, it was in a very flourishing condition, and of great political importance. In the decline of the Mogul power, subjected to the vicissitudes of the various armed commotions which distracted the empire, it shared the general deterioration, and in the more recent times was overrun by the restless and warlike adventurers of the tribe of Roh or Rohillas. The founders of this state were two brothers, Shah Alum and Hosein Khan, who, about the year 1673, settled in this district, and were engaged in the performance of duties of great importance by Aurungzebe. Their descendants inherited the ability, ambition, and, it may be added, good fortune of their predecessors; they extended their dominions, cultivated their lands to a

* Its exact limits are from lat. 27° 15′—29° 51′; and from long. 78° 3′—80° 30′.—THORNTON'S *Gazetteer*.

high state of perfection, and liberally encouraged all those enterprises calculated to develop the resources of the country, and ruled with moderation and prudence.

About the year 1726, two of the Rohilla chiefs, Bisharoot Khan and Daood Khan, set out as military adventurers to find employment for their arms. They entered the service of Madhoo Sah, the zemindar of Serowly, who lived by his depredations on the surrounding districts. Amongst the most daring of his banditti, these were very soon distinguished by their daring exploits. In the sack of one of the neighbouring towns, Daood Khan captured a youth of the Jat tribe, whom he converted to Mohammedanism, named Ali Mohammed, and adopted as his heir, nor was he unworthy of this distinction. As a volunteer, Ali soon joined his martial brethren, and by his feats of courage and tact, was speedily placed in command of a troop of Affghans, who were engaged in the service of the vizier, and thus employed he acquitted himself with such satisfaction that he was introduced to the notice of the emperor, who bestowed on him a jaghire, and entrusted to his command several districts. During the confusion attendant on the invasion of Nadir Shah, he so adroitly availed himself of the opportunity presented, that he established an independent state of sovereignty in Rohilcund. A power rising into such great importance, necessarily soon arrested the attention of the court of Delhi. By the vizier, Gazee-ood-Deen, whose province of Oude was conterminous with the newly-created kingdom, the danger must have been felt. He resolved to crush it before it should have acquired further extension. He thought the matter of such great moment, that he sent an army against Ali Mohammed, and publicly proclaimed that the object of the war was, not merely to enforce the payment of arrears of revenue, but to remove him altogether from his office. The latter did not quiescently await the explosion; he prepared for his defence. He met the imperialists in open conflict, he put them to flight, and amongst the slain was the chief who was named as his successor. The daring rebel was not only continued in his command, but greater powers were conferred upon him. Elated by his success, he carried his pretensions so far as to threaten the invasion and appropriation of some of the territories of Oude. The emperor was induced by Gazee-ood-Deen to take the field in person against him. After an unsuccessful resistance in the open country, Ali was obliged to seek the shelter of one of his strong forts. Reduced to extremities, on the intercession of the vizier, he received a full pardon, but the conditions were entirely in favour of the vizier, to whom, apprehensive of his proximity, it was apparently of the greatest importance to have him removed to a distance. Ali agreed to accept the government of Sirhind, a small and barren spot to the north-west of Delhi, in exchange for his own fertile province. In removing thither he merely yielded to the exigency of the occasion, and was resolved, as the issue serves to prove, to abide a favourable opportunity of effecting his restoration. Thus was the foundation laid of a power destined at no distant period to give an emperor to India, and to dispute its sovereignty with the armies of Great Britain.

At the time of these transactions another portion of the Affghans was engaged in forming a more important combination within their ancestral territories. The consequences resulting from the death of Nadir Shah, who died in 1747, were not less serious to the empire of Delhi than those which followed his invasion of that country.

Nadir Shah, eight years after evacuating India, was assassinated in his tent, at Meshed, in Khorassan. His fate was provoked by the cruelty of his proceedings. On some vague suspicions he had put out the eyes of his eldest son, and such was the intensity of his remorse, that he reproached every one who sought his mercy with having neglected to intercede for him when in danger. His conduct became so savage and capricious that he may be pronounced an enemy to his species.* "His cruelties were equalled by his extortions, and both were accompanied by threats and expressions of hatred against his subjects. These oppressions led to revolts, which drew on fresh enormities, whole cities were depopulated, and towers of heads raised to commemorate their ruin; eyes were torn out, tortures inflicted, and no man could count for a moment on his exemption from death in torments. During the two last years of his life his rage was increased by his bodily sickness, until it partook of frenzy, and until his subjects were compelled to lay plots for ridding themselves of a tyrant whose existence was incompatible with their own. In his distrust of his countrymen he had thrown himself, without reserve, on the Affghans, and took a pleasure in mortifying his old soldiers, by a marked preference for their former enemies and his own. On the day before his death, while labouring under some presentiment of evil, he leaped on his horse in the midst of his camp, and was on the point of flying from his own army to take refuge in a fortress, when his mind was some-

* Elphinstone's *India*, vol. ii. p. 652.

what calmed. After this act of madness he sent for the Affghan chiefs, appealed to their fidelity for the preservation of his life, and concluded by instructing them to disperse his Persian guards, and to seize on his principal nobles." These orders were not so secretly communicated as to escape the knowledge of the intended victims of his bloodthirsty caprice, and during the night which intervened between the instructions and the hour named, he was assassinated by some of the chiefs of his own tribe, and thus perished—"the beast, the terror, and the execration of his country." *

At the hour appointed by Nadir Shah, the Affghans, under the command of Ahmed Khan Abdalee made, as arranged, an assault on the Persians. Their immediate withdrawal to their own country shows that, though frustrated in the attempt, they had strength enough to secure their retreat to their own country, where their chief proclaimed himself king of Affghanistan, and effectively sustained his position.

Ahmed Shah Abdalee was the son of an Affghan chief, who was made prisoner at Herat, and was subsequently in the family of Nadir Shah, and by the aid of his superior abilities, rose from this humiliating grade to a high rank and reputation in the army. On the fall of his master he placed himself at the head of his countrymen, and his authority was acknowledged by many of the chiefs of his nation. On his journey homeward he fortunately fell in with a convoy of treasure, which, without scruple, he appropriated to his own purposes. In a short space of time he annexed Candahar and Cabul, and Lahore was treacherously delivered to him. These encroachments produced great terror and alarm at Delhi. The vizier, accompanied by Prince Ahmed, was sent to oppose him. An action was fought not far from the town of Sirhind, in which both sides suffered severely. The vizier was killed with a cannon-ball, and his disheartened followers took to flight, and the Affghans were thrown into great confusion by the explosion of a powder magazine, by which many lives were lost. The victory was claimed by neither. The Affghans retreated, and the imperialists did not molest by too close pursuit. Prince Ahmed returned to Delhi, but before he reached the end of his journey his father Mohammed Shah expired, in 1747, after a reign of twenty-nine years, and in the forty-ninth of his age.

The empire, which had been for some time in a state of decline, gave in this reign evidences of its approaching fall. Every day was disclosing its growing weakness. In 1738 Bengal had declared its independence, and was soon after invaded by a powerful army of Mahrattas; the Rohillas founded an independent state within eighty miles of the capital; and some of the best provinces on the east were wrested from it.

Ahmed Shah succeeded to the throne of Delhi vacated by the death of his father. The retreat, from Persia, of the Affghans to the Punjaub, and the energetic character of their young king, were the sources of much anxiety to the Moguls. Instead of fulfilling the high expectations which the capacity he displayed in the late campaign generated, the emperor ingloriously surrendered himself to the indulgence of low debauchery, and sacrificed his independence for the purpose of conciliating such allies as he thought could secure him from aggression. The office of vizier was proffered to Asof Jah, and declined on account of his great age. The old chief died very shortly after this offer had been made to him. On the rumoured approach of the Affghans, Nazir Jung, who, though the second son, had seized on the Deccan in violation of his elder brother's rights, was commanded to hasten to the assistance of the empire with all the forces which he could assemble. While these troops were on their way the court learned that there was no immediate danger to be apprehended from the Affghans, as their king was engaged in the western part of his dominions. Before Nazir Jung had yet reached the banks of the Nerbuddah he was ordered back to his province, fortunately for him, as his nephew, Muzzuffer Jung, during his absence, aided by Chunda Sahib and a body of French troops, had risen in rebellion against his authority. Safder Jung, the son of Sadat Khan, a man who had no qualification for that very important office, was viceroy of Oude; his ambition was unbounded, and to this fault in a minister was joined a greater still, the absence of all discretion.

During the confusion created by the invasion of Ahmed Abdalee, Ali Mohammed managed to escape from Sirhind, and having been well received in Rohilcund, re-established his authority though with difficulty. The first effort of the new vizier's government was directed to suppress the attempt, and this seemed the more easy of accomplishment as the Rohilla chief had recently expired, and left his authority, not yet well established, in the hands of a minor. To execute his designs he selected an Affghan of some distinction, Kaim Jung, the chief of the Bangasti tribe, and Nabob of Ferokabad. Risking an engagement under unfavourable circumstances, Kaim Jung sustained a defeat, and was left amongst

* Père Bazin, *Lettres Edifiantes*, vol. iv. This Jesuit was his physician in the later years of his life, and gives the best account of this prince.

the slain. It would appear from the sequel that the vizier was animated by feelings of the purest selfishness in setting Affghan against Affghan, for the misfortune of his ally he turned to his own account. As soon as he learned the death of Kaim Jung he marched a force into his territories, and dispossessed the widow of the greater part of them. His treacherous conduct met with its well-merited retribution; the brother of Kaim having made terms with the Rohillas, raised an army with which he encountered the vizier, and totally routed his army. The victors in their turn became the aggressors, they invaded his territories, and with occasional reverses succeeded in penetrating to Allahabad, and defied his power, and that of the emperor. Safder Jung was driven from place to place, and eventually was obliged to seek refuge in Delhi. In this difficulty, with all his resources exhausted, he was left no hope but the humiliating one of seeking the aid of the Mahrattas. He induced, by presents and promises, Holkar, Scindiah, and the Jat prince, Sooraj Mal, to support his cause. They eagerly entered into the arrangements; Rohilcund was invaded by an overwhelming force; the Rohillas were defeated in a pitched battle, their country was laid waste, and the population were driven to the lower branches of the Himalaya for protection. Having thus accomplished his purpose by the aid of his auxiliaries, he found that it was not in his power to induce or force them to withdraw from the conquered country, he was obliged to consign to the Mahrattas, in lieu of subsidies, the greater part of it. By the ravages of these plunderers it was reduced to the state in which it was a half century afterwards found by the English.

The arms of the Mahrattas had achieved these successful results in Rohilcund, triumphing over all opposition; but in their absence, their capital in the Deccan, as has been noticed, was threatened by the advance of Salabat Khan. The peishwa, Belajee Rao, sent the most pressing letters to hasten to the Deccan. Holkar immediately marched southward, and had crossed the Ganges, when despatches from the vizier informed him that peace had been concluded in that province. Holkar wrote to the peishwa, assuring him of his readiness to submit to his orders, but in consequence of this intelligence would await further instructions.

The successes achieved in Rohilcund were overbalanced by the advantages which the Rajpoots of Ajmeer had gained by taking forcible possession of some fertile districts to which they had no legitimate claim. An attempt to expel them was ended in the defeat of the Moguls, and their expulsion with disgrace from the province. Contemporaneously with these events was the appearance in Hindostan of Ahmed Abdalee, who had recruited his army in Cabul, and having crossed the Indus, was subjugating Lahore. Mir Munnoo, the vizier's eldest son, had offered considerable resistance to the invaders, but after the loss of the bravest of his officers and several of his men, he was at length forced to submit, and to accept the government of Mooltan and Lahore under the conqueror. The vizier, in this emergency, was summoned to Delhi. On his arrival he found that these provinces had been, without consulting him, and at the instigation of a new favourite, conceded to the Affghans by the emperor, and thus the integrity of the empire was sacrificed. Had it not been for this precipitate arrangement, the vizier professed that with the aid of the Mahrattas he would have been able to expel the invaders.

Safder Khan was seriously disappointed in finding that his return did not restore his authority, and that the new favourite still continued to direct the king. He however suppressed his wounded feelings, and having invited the unsuspecting eunuch to an entertainment, had him put to death. The king was greatly offended by this undue stretch of authority, and devised means of revenging the outrage.

Allusion has been to the results which followed in his family the death of Asof Jah; how his second son Nasir Jung seized upon the Deccan. Gazee-ood-deen, the eldest, remained at the court of Delhi, and as soon as an opportunity presented itself of prosecuting his legitimate claims, he secured the support of the peishwa, and set off for the Deccan, accompanied by Holkar and Scindiah. After his arrival at Aurungabad he was attacked with a fit of illness which proved fatal. On his death his disorderly bands instantly dispersed. He left a son, a mere youth, of singular audacity, and of considerable ability, as reckless of consequences as he was regardless of principles, who, through the influence of the vizier, had been raised to the title of Gazee-ood-deen, enjoyed by his father, and appointed commander-in-chief. It was this young man who was made the instrument of accomplishing the designs of the sovereign.

The vizier saw clearly that his ruin was intended, and applied for permission to return to his government of Oude. This favour was denied. But seeing that his safety depended on his withdrawal from the power of his enemies, with a large body of armed retainers he resolved to force his way home. The emperor made preparations to intercept his

march, upon which the late vizier sought the aid of one of the rajahs of the Jats, whose friendship in days past he had secured. Thus strengthened he decided on aggressive measures to set up a rival to the throne, and marching on Delhi he shut up, in the castle, the emperor and his new favourite. After a siege of six months, on the reported approach of the Mahrattas under Malhar Rao, he consented to make terms, and was secured in the possession of Oude and Allahabad.

Gazee-ood-Deen did not wish that the Mahrattas should retire without having rendered some services. He therefore marched against the Jat rajah, Sooraj Mal, the partizan of the late vizier. The latter retired within his forts, but the former pursued him into his retreat, and sought from the emperor a train of artillery for his reduction. This request was refused through the influence of the vizier Intizam-ood-Dowlah, his uncle, who owed his elevation entirely to his influence. In this step the vizier was influenced by his knowledge of the unprincipled character of his ambitious nephew, and his advice was supported by the strong political remonstrances of Sooraj Mal. An envoy was sent by Gazee-ood-Deen to press his suit, who, finding all his entreaties fruitless, seduced several of the artillery from their duty, and began to plunder the environs of the city. The emperor took the field, but was unexpectedly attacked, and no preparations had been made for defence. A few rockets were thrown into the camp, the army, in the greatest alarm fled, precipitately, in every direction, leaving to the enemy all the baggage and camp equipments. The victorious troops hastened on to the capital, and Gazee-ood-Deen obtained the office of vizier, to the exclusion of Intizam-ood-Dowlah. He next deposed the unfortunate prince, deprived him and his mother of their eyesight, cast them into prison, and raised a grandson of Jehandar Shah to the throne, by the title of Alumgeer II., in the end of May, 1754. Safder Jung soon after died, and was succeeded by his son, Soojah-ood-Dowlah.*

The condition of the empire was at this crisis most pitiable. The long continuance of intestine broils, and the gradual assumption of independence by several chiefs, had reduced it to the verge of disorganization. Those viceroys, who had not asserted their independence, considered themselves entitled to regulate their provinces as they pleased. Mooltan and Lahore were, formally, separated from the empire, the Mahrattas were in actual possession of a large portion of it, the Deccan had, to all intents and purposes, become an independent state, and the Europeans were fast rising into power.

After the appointment of Gazee-ood-Deen to the office of vizier, a longer period of tranquillity ensued than might have been expected under the administration of a man of his restless ambition. His internal government was as arbitrary as ever, and produced a military revolt, which very nearly led to his murder. He was seized by the infuriated soldiery, and, ignominiously, dragged through the streets, without his slippers or turban. In the midst of the danger he did not lose his presence of mind nor abate his arrogant tone; he reviled his assailants, and threatened that they should answer with their heads for their insolent audacity. When rescued from these indignities by the interposition of the officers, he commanded the instant massacre of the whole body of mutineers, and gave up their tents, horses, and property to plunder. Not a vestige of the corps was suffered to survive.

This dangerous revolt occurred as he was on his way to Lahore, on the pretence of celebrating his marriage with the daughter of Mir Manoo, the governor of the Punjaub, to whom he had been affianced previously to the death of his father. His present journey was influenced by other motives than those avowed. Without the slightest provocation he seized on the town, made the widow and regent prisoner in her bed, seized on all her treasures, and had them conveyed to Delhi. The injured princess broke into invectives against her faithless son-in-law, and prophesied the ruin of India, and the slaughter of its inhabitants, as the certain consequences of the vengeance of her sovereign, Ahmed Shah, whose arms had twice before been felt in the peninsula. Her forebodings were soon verified: Ahmed Shah Abdalee was enraged at this outrage on his authority, and speedily led an army across the Indus, and as he proceeded he expelled the inefficient garrisons lately placed in the forts of Lahore, and expeditiously arrived before the gates of Delhi.

In the interval, Gazee-ood-Deen had contrived to conciliate his mother-in-law, and to procure her intercession. He then presented himself to Ahmed Shah, and received pardon. But Delhi was subjected to the most cruel exactions; neither age nor sex was respected, and all were indiscriminately involved in one common ruin. The victor was not content with the plunder of the capital. The Doab was laid under heavy contributions, and the country of the Jats was pillaged to the walls of Agra. By this time the summer was far advanced, and a pestilence broke out amongst his troops, who were incapable of enduring the Indian heat; he was thus obliged to abandon the

* Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. ii. p. 79.

siege of Agra, and to be content with the money he had levied, and to quit Hindostan. During his stay in Delhi, he had married one of the princesses, and had contracted another to his son, Timoor Shah. The unfortunate emperor having entreated Ahmed not to commit him to the mercy of Gazee-ood-Deen, he entrusted the care of his person to Najeeb-ood-Dowlah, a Rohillah chief of ability and character. These events occurred in 1757.

No sooner had the Rohillas vacated the kingdom, than the vizier set Ahmed's power at defiance. He first of all secured the attachment and support of Ahmed Khan Bangash, the chief of Ferokabad, whose father had lost his life in a struggle with the Rohillas, whom he nominated to the office of commander-in-chief, of which he deprived Najeeb-ood-Dowlah; in addition he called in the aid of the Mahrattas, now in the zenith of their power.

Although Belajee had entered into terms of peace, as has been related, with Salabat Jung, 1752, this did not hinder him from establishing similar relations at a subsequent period with his elder brother and antagonist, Gazee-ood-Deen. This combination proved so powerful, that in all probability, though supported by Bussy, Salabat Jung could not have made head against the storm, had he not been rescued by the premature death of his adversary. After this occurrence, Belajee's attention was called off to the south, where he became involved in the disputes between the French and English, as will be hereafter recorded.*

Belajee's brother, Ragoba,† had distinguished himself in the subjugation of the province of Gujerat, 1755, and was sent in the following year into Malwa. It was to this chief that the vizier had now recourse, and supported by him, he advanced on Delhi, and laid siege to the fortified palace, which resisted his assaults for over a month. The Najeeb secured a safe passage to his own country—adjacent Seharunpore, to the north of Delhi, and divided by the Ganges from Rohilcund—by the payment of a large sum to Holkar; the emperor had already taken the precaution of sending his son, afterwards Shah Alum, to a place of safety, and then threw open his gates and received Gazee-ood-Deen as his vizier.

Ragoba continued for some time in the neighbourhood of the capital, till he was called away to an important and easy conquest. Although a splendid one, to it is fairly attributable the first check which the progress of the Mahrattas encountered, and from it dates their decline. Before Ahmed Shah Abdalee quitted India, 1757, he left his son Timoor in the government of the Punjaub, and appointed, as his minister and counsellor, Jehan Khan. The latter intended to avail himself of the experience and wisdom of Adina Khan Beg, a man of a turbulent and an artful character, who had been deputy to Mir Manoo. Adina Beg was pressingly invited to Lahore, the seat of government of the viceroyalty of the Punjaub, but his suspicious temperament apprehended some sinister purpose in this solicitude, and he not only declined the invitation, but also withdrew to the mountains, and was denounced as a rebel. The attempts made to arrest him he successfully resisted with the aid of the Sikhs. The presence of the Mahrattas at Delhi led him into negotiations with them. His advances in this quarter were warmly embraced by Ragoba, who marched to his assistance, and shortly after his arrival, encountered and defeated the Abdallee governor of Sirhind, overran the country, and entered Lahore as conqueror in the month of May, 1758. The government of the conquered province was confided to Adina Beg, and on his death, shortly after, a Mahratta was appointed to fill the vacancy. Previously to this Ragoba had departed for the Deccan, leaving the Punjaub in apparent security, and the influence of the Mahrattas respected and feared throughout the peninsula. Datajee Scindiah had gone in pursuit of Najeeb-ood-Dowlah, who, unable to offer resistance, left his territories a prey to the invaders, and took up a strong position at Sakertel, a defensible post on the Ganges, and successfully maintained himself there during the rainy season. He also engaged in the task of organizing a confederacy of the neighbouring princes to repel the common danger. Soojah-ood-Dowlah, although he detested the Rohillas, was induced, by the magnitude of the danger, to sacrifice his enmities, and to unite with the Najeeb, as his only chance of resisting the Mahrattas, who now, publicly, avowed that nothing, less than the complete conquest of Hindostan, would satisfy them. When Datajee Scindiah was informed of this alliance, he sent Govind Rao, with a sufficient force, to lay waste the territories of the Rohillas. This order was executed with the greatest severity, and the whole of the chiefs were compelled to seek refuge in the recesses of the Kumaon hills.

Thirteen hundred villages were plundered and destroyed in little more than a month. The wretched condition to which the inhabitants were reduced, having been conveyed to Soojah-ood-Dowlah, he marched to their relief; and

* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 669.

† Ragoba is the familiar name of Ragonath, or Rugonalto.

having encountered the enemy, routed them with great slaughter, and drove them in great confusion across the river Jumna, in which many of them lost their lives. This was a severe defeat to Gazee-ood-Deen, but a more alarming danger was now approaching, and threatened his complete discomfiture. This was the fact that Ahmed Shah was in full march to support the Rohillas; and still further to aggravate his difficulties, it was discovered that Alumgeer was in correspondence with the enemy, and was laying schemes in co-operation with them for his destruction. Gazee-ood-Deen had recourse to very vigorous measures; he seized on the person of the unfortunate sovereign, and had him murdered; he extended a like fate to his uncle Intizam-ood-Dowlah, and he raised to the throne a son of Kaum Bukhsh, the youngest son of Aurungzebe, by the title of Shah Jehan. Shah Alum the son of the late nominal sovereign, having applied in vain for assistance to the Mahrattas, became a tool in the hands of Soojah-ood-Dowlah, and the nominal head of a confederacy against Mir Jaffier and the English, in the well-known warfare in Bengal,* the particulars of which will be hereafter supplied. After the murder of Alumgeer II., Gazee-ood-deen sought the protection of Sooraj Mal, the rajah of the Jats, who generously, but imprudently, received him into one of his forts. In this asylum he waited the issue of the coming contest between the Mahrattas and the Abdallees. The force which the Mahrattas had left in Lahore, was attacked and defeated by the Affghans before Datajee and Scindiah had timely intelligence of their approach. They had inflicted such cruelties on the natives of the country recently overran and occupied by them, that they were execrated, and intelligence was purposely intercepted. The Mahrattas, though unaided, had at this time an army composed of thirty thousand horse in the field; but, unfortunately for them, it was divided into two bodies, which were at some distance from each other. Immediately after the affair in Lahore, Ahmed Shah led his victorious troops across the Jumna. The Mahrattas, who were negotiating with the rajah of the Jats for his assistance, retreated along the west bank of that river, without making an effort for the junction of their forces.

Ahmed Shah, having left a portion of his troops to engage the attention of the Mahrattas in the front, assisted by the local knowledge and intrepidity of Najeeb-ood-Dowlah, unexpectedly crossed the Jumna, near Delhi, and attacked the division commanded by Datajee Scindiah in the flank. Not prepared for this vigorous attack, the Mahrattas were, signally, defeated. One-third of their number did not escape from the field of battle, and Datajee was among the slain. Holkar, informed of this disaster, hastened towards Agra, and the country south of the Chambul. He was diverted from his direct route by the temptation of intercepting a large convoy of supplies intended for the Abdallees. In this attempt he was successful; he took or destroyed a greater portion of it, and then retired to Secunder, east of the Jumna, and south of the Chambul. He, while felicitating himself on his success and safety, was attacked by a detachment of the enemy, which had performed a most extraordinary march, and was defeated with great slaughter.

Ragoba, at the time of these reverses, was encamped on the banks of the Manjera, having concluded a treaty by which a large portion of the Deccan was conceded to him. More honour than emolument was gained by this success. The Mahrattas, who had returned from previous expeditions loaded with spoil, were embarrassed at the end of this campaign, in Bengal, by a debt of one million. The glory of the conquest did not reconcile the Mahrattas to the financial difficulty. Their disappointment was aggravated by contrast. The Peishwa's cousin Sedasheo Rao Bhao, best known in India as the Bhao, had remained at home as minister and commander-in-chief in the Deccan, he had recently obtained possession of Ahmednuggur, and was completing negotiations with Salabat Jung, by which he secured territorial and pecuniary advantages of great value, and so embarrassed the Mogul government by his impositions, that the Deccan never recovered from them. Elated by his success, he indulged in some invidious comments on the ill-success of the peishwa, and his own extraordinary good fortune. On one of these occasions, spurred on by his pride and jealousy, Ragoba retorted on his relative, and concluded by saying that "he had better undertake the next expedition, when he would find the difference between that and serving in the Deccan." Blinded by his successes, Sedasheo took him at his word. His force was a respectable one, composed of the Deccan army, amounting to about twenty thousand horse and ten thousand men, artillery and disciplined infantry, commanded by Ibrahim Khan Gardee, who had distinguished himself in the war against Salabat Jung. The equipment of this army was more splendid in appearance than that of any Mahratta force that ever entered on a campaign. The following description of it is given by Grant Duff, furnished to him by a highly respectable old Brahmin, employed in

* Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas.*

the judicial department at Sattara, who was two days in the camp:—"The equipage, which in the former expensive campaign had been brought back from Hindostan by Rugonalto Rao, was employed as part of the decoration. The lofty and spacious tents, lined with silks and broadcloths, were surmounted by large gilded ornaments, conspicuous at a great distance. Immense particoloured walls of canvas enclosed each suite of tents belonging to the principal officers. Vast numbers of elephants, flags of every description, the finest horses, magnificently caparisoned, and all those accompaniments of an Indian army which give such an imposing effect to its appearance, seemed to be collected from every quarter in the Bhao's camp. Cloth of gold was the dress of the officers; and all seemed to vie in that profuse and gorgeous display characteristic of wealth lightly acquired. It was in this instance an imitation of the more becoming and tasteful array of the magnificent Moguls in the zenith of their glory." *

The power of the Mahrattas was now at its culmination. The Indus and the range of the Himalayas formed the northern boundary of their empire, and to the south it extended nearly to the Indian Ocean. All the territories within those distant limits that were not subject to their direct rule paid them tribute; and the peishwa, who had adjusted his differences with Tara Baee, and consigned the rajah to a minister, but one in name only, governed with uncontrolled authority.

Sedasheo Bhao was accompanied by Wiswas Rao, the son and heir of the peishwa, and all the great Brahmin and Mahratta chiefs without exception. Many of the Rajpoot chiefs sent bodies of horse; and crowds of Pindarries, and irregulars of all descriptions, hastened to swell the increasing host; and Sooraj Mal, at the suggestion of Holkar, reinforced them with thirty thousand men.

Sooraj Mal, whose caution for a long time prevented his taking a part against the Affghans, advised the Bhao to disencumber himself of the unwieldy impediments to an active prosecution of the war, and to leave behind him his infantry, artillery, and heavy baggage, in the Jat country, under protection of his strong forts, and to rely on his cavalry, and to confine himself to the Mahratta practice of harassing the enemy, and protract the conflict till the Abdallees, who had already been several months in the peninsula, would be coerced to withdraw to their native homes. This Fabian counsel, though supported and enforced by the matured experience of Holkar, was rejected. The pride of the commander-in-chief, inflated by the success of his late campaign, irritated by the defeats of the two armies, and having an aversion to Holkar, which extended to his friend the Jat rajah, led him to place too much confidence in his own perceptions. He also had great reliance on Ibrahim Khan, and attached undue importance to his regular infantry and the train of artillery. He led his army towards Delhi, which was held by a small garrison of the Abdallees and their partizans, who had occupied it when it was abandoned by Gazee-ood-Deen. The Mahrattas obtained easy possession. Contrary to the remonstrances of many of the principal chiefs, Sedasheo seized on the gold and silver ornaments of the hall of audience, destroyed the throne, plundered the palaces, shrines, and tombs, which had been spared by the Persians and Affghans, and was inclined to proclaim Wiswas Rao Emperor of India, and to make Soojah-ood-Dowlah his vizier. Though the remonstrances against this latter act did not induce him to abandon the idea, it prevailed upon him to postpone the proclamation till the enemy should have been driven across the Indus. Sooraj Mal, displeased by these extreme measures, withdrew to his own dominions. His defection the Mahratta treated with apparent indifference. The Rajpoot princes followed his example.

Ahmed Shah was encamped on the Ganges at Anoopshere, on the borders of Oude. Though in this situation he passed the rainy season, he was not led thither by that purpose. He awaited the assistance of the Rohillas, and wanted, by means of Najeeb, to secure the co-operation of Soojah-ood-Dowlah. This prince was too conscientious to declare war against the Mohammedans; he was also restrained both by his interests and the rankling remembrance of the hostility which existed between his father, Safder Jung, and Ahmed Shah. The influence of Najeeb-ood-Dowlah brought about a reconciliation; and he gave his adhesion to the Abdallees, and was made the medium of public negotiation, which continued to be carried on for several months between the belligerents.

Sedasheo had Mirza, the son of the absent Shah Alum, proclaimed emperor, and Soojah-ood-Dowlah as his vizier, and then set out for Kunjpoora, a strongly fortified town on the Jumna, about sixty miles above Delhi, which he took by storm almost under the eyes of Ahmed Shah, who hastened to its assistance, and on his arrival had the mortification to learn its fate, and that the garrison, all Rohillas, had perished by the sword. Enraged at the result, the emperor resolved to pass the river.

* Grant Duff, vol. ii. p. 140.

On the 17th October, 1760, Ahmed set out from his camp, and marching all night encamped next day at the ford of Bangpoot, about twenty miles from Delhi; not being able to find a footing, several horsemen who attempted to cross lost their lives. On the third day a ford was discovered, but very narrow, and of such depth on each side as to drown those who should lose their footing. With the aid of this, and by swimming, the whole army passed over in two days, but several lives were sacrificed in the execution of this bold undertaking. The Mahrattas who had stormed Kunjpoora, in order to command the passage of the river and to attack the Abdallees, confounded by this daring and successful feat, retired from their position and fell back on Paniput, having previously sustained an attack with the loss of two thousand on their side, and of half that number of the enemy. Here they pitched their camp, and enclosed both it and the town with a trench sixty feet wide and twelve feet deep, and threw up a formidable rampart, on which was planted the cannon. Ahmed Shah encamped at a distance of a few miles, and fortified his intrenchments at night with felled trees.

The army of Ahmed Shah was made up of forty-one thousand eight hundred horse, thirty-eight thousand foot, and seventy pieces of cannon. The irregulars not mustered were very numerous.

The Mahrattas amounted to fifty-five thousand horse and fifteen thousand foot, including Ibrahim Khan's sepoys. There were also two hundred pieces of cannon, besides Pindarries and followers, of whom there are supposed to have been over two hundred thousand.*

The inequality of the forces forbade an engagement on the part of the Affghans, and during this period of suspense the affairs of the Mahrattas were becoming daily more embarrassed. Govind Rao Bondela, who, with ten thousand men, was ordered to hang on the rear of the enemy in order to intercept all supplies, rendered effective service, and produced a great scarcity of provisions, and consequently an exorbitant price was offered for them in the camp, until he was surprised, his men put to the sword, and his head brought to Ahmed Shah. This misfortune did not come alone; two thousand horse, who were sent to Delhi to convey some treasures to the camp, having lost their way, fell in with the enemy, were dispersed, and put to the sword. Every day, during the three months they continued in this situation, the armies were drawn up in line and the cannon placed, followed by a distant cannonade and frequent skirmishes between the cavalry. During this interval the armies had some spirited though partial engagements. The Mahrattas were the aggressors. Three of these actions deserve notice. On the 29th of November, about fifteen thousand made an attack on the left of the Affghan camp, where the vizier was posted. His men were broken, and two thousand of them fell. The whole camp being roused and led to his assistance, the assailants, with the loss of one thousand, had to seek the protection of their intrenchments. Holkar commanded on this occasion. The second action was on the twenty-third of the following month, when the vizier was proceeding, to perform his devotions, to a mosque in the neighbourhood, and was attacked by a large body of Mahrattas with so much vigour that the strong guard, which accompanied him, was broken, and only fifty horsemen remained to defend him. With these he bravely maintained his ground, till a reinforcement, led by some of the most distinguished chiefs, advanced to the rescue. The Mahrattas fought with their accustomed bravery, and were on the point of victory when their leader was shot at the close of the day with a musket-ball. His friends, in the greatest affliction, retired to their intrenchments, bearing with them the corpse of their chief, but not until three thousand of the enemy had covered the field with their lifeless bodies. The third encounter was similar in its provocation and results.

Ahmed Shah fully sustained his reputation. He did everything that an able general, skilful and confident in his abilities, could achieve in his circumstances. The highest discipline was maintained, and his orders were obeyed, says the historian, like destiny, no man daring to hesitate or delay one moment in executing them. Thus were the two armies employed from morning to nine or ten at night. The Indian chiefs, harassed by these delays, at length became impatient, and besought the shah to come to a decisive engagement; his constant reply was "This is a matter of war with which you are not acquainted. In other affairs do as you please, but leave this to me; military operations must not be precipitated. You will see how I will manage this affair, and at a proper opportunity will bring it to a conclusion." During the whole of the time spent before the Mahrattas, he had a small red tent, nearly a mile in advance of his camp, to which he proceeded every morning at sunrise to offer up his prayers. Having performed this duty, he mounted his horse, and accompanied by his son, Timoor Shah, and a small guard, visited every post, and

* *Asiatic Researches*; Grant Duff.

reconnoitred the enemy. Everything was submitted to his personal inspection; he remained all day in his saddle, and before he retired for the night he had ridden fifty or sixty miles. At night a body of five thousand horse was placed within a convenient distance of the enemy's camp, as a corps of observation. They remained there till dawn under arms, others were sent round the whole encampment, and Ahmed used to say to the Hindostanee chiefs, "Do you sleep, I will take care that no harm befalls you."* The persevering resolution to resist those importunities which urged an immediate engagement, was shown in the sequel to have been the best policy, and that he was acquainted both with men's minds and the science of war. The embarrassments in which he was involved displayed to him the severe straits to which his more helpless antagonist was reduced, and that a short delay would deliver him into his hands. In these extremities, the Mahratta commander saw the impossibility of avoiding any longer a general engagement, as all the attempts which he had made, through Soojah-ood-Dowlah, had been unavailing; the repeated reply of Ahmed to these proposals being, "I am only an auxiliary, and have no views of my own. I claim the entire management of the war, but leave to the Indian princes the negotiations." Several of the latter were disposed to an accommodation; it was energetically opposed by a few, who were of opinion that they would be exposed to utter destruction if the Affghans withdrew leaving the Mahratta power in its integrity.

The camp of the Mahrattas was strictly watched to prevent the approach of any convoys, and both provisions for man and beast had failed. One night about twenty thousand of the camp followers had gone out to seek some supplies; they were attacked by the enemy, and cut to pieces. This sad news quickly circulated, and the chiefs and soldiers in a body surrounded their commander, and vociferously demanded to be led to battle, as death itself was preferable to their misery. He approved of their resolve, and with his usual composure distributed the usual pan and betel at the breaking up of the assembly, and orders were issued to prepare for the attack the next morning before daybreak. All the grain in store was then prepared to supply a full meal that night. An hour before daybreak on the 7th of January the troops were in motion, with their artillery stationed in the van. They were all prepared for the worst, and their countenances exhibited the fixity of hopeless despair rather than steady resolution; the ends of their turbans were loose, and, just before the final order for marching was issued, Sedasheo dispatched the following laconic note to Casi Rao, Pundit, a native of the Deccan, acquainted with the Mahratta language, and who had some friends in the Mahratta army, and was then in the service of Soojah-ood-Dowlah. "The cup is now full to the brim, and cannot hold another drop. If anything can be done, do it, or else answer me plainly at once: hereafter there will be no time for speaking or writing."

This note reached its destination about three in the morning. It was forwarded to Ahmed Shah, and accompanied with the startling intelligence that his enemy was advancing to the charge. He instantly mounted his steed, which stood caparisoned at the door of his tent, and in the dress he then had on rode in front of his camp, and as he proceeded he ordered the troops under arms. He then commanded Casi Rao to his presence, who confirmed the authenticity of the information previously communicated, and assured him that the Mahrattas had quitted their lines, and would attack his army as soon as it was light. At the moment this conversation had ended some of the Abdallees passed by with their horses loaded with plunder from the enemy's camp, and reported that its late occupants had taken flight. A sudden peal of artillery in front revealed the true state of affairs. Upon hearing this discharge the shah, who was in his saddle smoking a Persian killian, handed it to his servant, and with great calmness remarked that Casi Rao's information was true. He then sent for the grand vizier, Shah Wullee Khan, and Shah Pussund Khan. The latter he ordered to lead his division to the left of Najeeb-ood-Dowlah, and form the extreme of the line in that direction, and the vizier he directed to take post in the centre, and Berkhordan Khan, with some other chiefs, he placed on the right. The whole were divided into nine divisions in line, with the Persian musketeers and artillery drawn up in advance. Their faces were to the westward. The Mahratta force was drawn up in eight divisions, with their artillery, as has been said, also in front, with their faces to the east. Ibrahim Khan, with his mercenaries, was posted on the extreme left; Scindiah on the right; Sedasheo, with Wiswas Rao and Jaswint Rao Powar, were opposite the grand vizier. The great *bhugwa jenda*, or standard of the nation, was displayed in the front. The dispersion of the night mists disclosed the colours of the advancing columns, as they marched slowly and regularly to the encounter. Ahmed took his stand at his little

* Casi Rao; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. p. 110; Grant Duff, vol. ii. p. 14.

red tent, which, by the approximation of the armies, was now in the rear of his. As the armies were closing Ibrahim Khan rode up to Sedasheo, and, having saluted him, thus addressed him:—"You have been long displeased with me for insisting on the regular payment of my men; this day I will convince you that we have not been paid so long without meriting it:" he then seized a colour, and, commanding the artillery and musketry of his division to cease firing, at the head of his battalions, with fixed bayonets, he advanced fearlessly to the charge, while the battle-cry of the Mahrattas, "Hur, Hurree! Hur, Hurree!" rang in the ears of the Mohammedans. This tremendous charge was directed against the centre, where the troops of the vizier—ten thousand of whom were cavalry—were posted. These were Rohillas. They received the charge with undaunted resolution, and maintained the conflict hand to hand. Their undisciplined courage added to their loss; near eight thousand were killed or wounded; and such was the carnage, that after this exploit few remained with their chiefs. The flanks of the mercenaries during this conflict were defended with equal intrepidity by two battalions which Ibrahim had ordered on that service, and though repeated efforts were directed against them, they repeatedly repulsed the Affghan columns. They broke through and laid open the right of the grand vizier, who was now attacked by Sedasheo and Wiswas Rao, with the flower of the army. A fierce contest was here maintained, the combatants confusedly mingled together, and involved in a cloud of dust, could not be distinguished from each other but by the iteration of their respective war-cries: the Mohammedan Allah! and Deen! and the Mahratta Hurree! Mahdeo! which rent the air. The vizier leaped from his horse to inspirit the few faltering survivors; the bravest of his men followed his example. To some who endeavoured to seek safety in flight he cried, "Our country is far off, my friends; whither do ye fly?" Attai Khan, his brave nephew, fell by his side; his men were forced to give way; he still maintained his ground with three or four hundred horsemen, the broken remnant of his force. Such was the vigour and desperation of the attack, which lasted for three hours, that six out of ten of Ibrahim's battalions were almost destroyed, and the brave chief received several spear wounds and one musket ball. Soojah-ood-Dowlah, to whom the vizier sent for assistance, with the assurance that if he did not hasten to his support he should perish, though commanding the next division, was prevented from doing so, as he alleged "that the enemy being so near, and likely to charge him, the worst consequences might follow to the whole army if he made any movement at that time which might enable the enemy to pass through the line." The left wing of the Mohammedans remained still unbroken. The action was maintained till noon, and then the victory inclined to the Mahrattas. At this hour the shah learned the critical state of affairs in the centre and on the right, and the perilous position of his brave vizier. In this emergency he displayed his great military capabilities, and made the necessary disposition of his forces to remedy the evils which threatened. From his reserve he sent ten thousand to the support of the vizier, and four thousand to cover the right flank; the former column was instructed to charge in close order, at full gallop, and sword in hand; at the same time he gave directions to the two divisions on the remote left to attack the enemy's flank as often as the vizier should charge them in front. These directions were faithfully executed. At once the vizier was in a position to become the assailant, though his onsets were repeatedly repelled. In the meantime Ahmed dispatched five hundred of his personal guards to his own camp, with orders to drive out of their tents all the armed people, and fifteen hundred to intercept the fugitives from the battle, and to put to the sword every man who refused to return to the charge. By this precaution the return of eight thousand men was enforced. The battle was stationary for near an hour, and maintained on both sides with spears, swords, battle-axes, and even daggers. Though the slight frames of the Mahrattas rendered them an unequal match for the more muscularly developed Affghans, they fought valiantly on this terrible day; and none of their chiefs subjected himself to animadversion, except Holkar, whose courage no one could question, but whose fidelity to the cause of his nation several have impugned. All agreed that he did not do his duty to his prince in this critical affair. Between two and three o'clock Wiswas Rao was mortally wounded, and dismounted from his horse. Sedasheo had him placed upon his elephant, while he himself mounted his famous Arab charger, and encouraged his troops; sustaining the fight near half an hour longer at their head, and shunning no danger, in the confusion of the fight he disappeared, and was seen no more. All at once, for no perceptible cause that has been related, as if by enchantment, the whole Mahratta army turned their backs and fled with the greatest precipitation. The field of battle was covered with the slain. They were pursued with the greatest fury in

every direction for a space of fifteen or twenty miles; no quarter was given, and thousands were mercilessly slaughtered. The men, women, and children, who had indiscriminately fled to the shelter of Paniput, on the following day were led prisoners to the Affghan: the men were butchered, the women and children doomed to slavery. The heads of the fallen were reared in ghastly and revolting piles to commemorate the victory. A spectator of the carnage states, "There were five hundred thousand souls in the Mahratta camp, of whom the greater part were killed or taken prisoners, and of those who escaped from the field and the pursuit, many were destroyed by the zemindars." The Affghans accounted for their cruelty by saying "that when they were leaving their own country, their mothers, sisters, and wives desired that whenever they should defeat the unbelievers they would kill a few of them on their account, that they might also possess a merit in the sight of God."

The plunder found in the camp was enormous. A common soldier, with ten camels laden with valuable effects was not an exceptional sight; horses were brought away in flocks, like sheep, and great numbers of elephants were also taken. The inferior officers and privates were left to continue the plunder and pursuit at discretion.

Ahmed Shah, to his everlasting infamy, made no effort to check these enormities; he rather sanctioned them by his acts as well as connivance. He instituted a rigid search for Jancojee Scindiah, who, he had heard, was concealed by one of the Affghans. To save him from being discovered he was put to death. He compelled Soojah-ood-Dowlah to surrender the gallant Ibrahim Khan, and meanly descended to reproach a warrior whose deeds should have won respect, and his misfortunes sympathy. He then confined him; death saved him from further indignity; in a week he died of his wounds. Wiswas Rao's body was found, and Ahmed Shah, having demanded it from Soojah-ood-Dowlah, who had ransomed it for the sum of two thousand rupees, ordered that it should be taken care of, and exhibited it to all the army before his tent. The Affghans exclaimed, "This is the body of the king of the unbelievers, we will have it dried and stuffed to take back to Cabul;" this demand the shah conceded, but Soojah-ood-Dowlah afterwards prevailed on him to permit it to be burned. Over twenty miles from the scene of battle a decapitated trunk was found, and a few days after the supposed head, which were identified, by several private marks, as the remains of Sedasheo.

The chiefs of the Mahrattas nearly all perished. The survivors, beside those who had been left with a force at Delhi, were Holkar, accused of treachery; Mahajee Scindiah, who afterwards founded a great state; and Nana Farnavis, whose services were for a long time the principal support of the peishwa. Sooraj Mal hospitably entertained the fugitives who reached his territory, and to this day the memory of that kindness is cherished, and the Jats are revered by the Mahrattas.

The following letter, which reached the peishwa when crossing the Nerbuddah, communicated the news of the defeat: "Two pearls have been dissolved, twenty-seven gold mohurs have been lost, and of the silver and copper the total cannot be cast up." From these words the fate of Sedasheo, Wiswas Rao, the officers and soldiers, was understood. The consternation when the disastrous intelligence reached home was universal, every family had a loss to mourn. The peishwa never recovered the shock. By very slow marches he retraced his steps to Poonah. His faculties began to fail; his physical powers rapidly decayed; he expired in the end of June, in the temple of Parbuttee, which he had erected in the environs of the city of Poonah.

The wreck of the once magnificent army retired beyond the Nerbuddah, and the acquisitions in Hindostan proper were evacuated. The power of the peishwa never recovered this blow. Ahmed Shah, had he been inclined to reap the advantages of his victory, was frustrated by the dissensions in his camp, and the mutinous demands for arrears and the immediate return to Cabul. He received forty lacs of rupees in compensation for his services. No sooner had the native Mohammedan princes been released from the formidable danger which threatened their independence, than the coalition, lately so successful, was dissolved. The Mogul empire, after this period, ceased to exist as an independent power. The title of emperor was only a name. In the history of the British empire in India we must seek the subsequent history of the kingdom of Delhi, as well as that of the other nations of the great eastern peninsula.

## CHAPTER XLIII.

### REVIEW OF THE MOHAMMEDAN PERIOD.

THE character of this period of Indian history has been very variously estimated at different periods, and by diverse schools of European politicians. Some modern authors have panegyrized it in terms which had they not been blinded by the motives which impelled them thus to write, could hardly fail to discover their own errors of statement and extravagance. The disposition to laud the Mohammedan rulers of India, and to give exaggerated descriptions of whatever was favourable in the condition of the country during that period, proceeded in a large degree from personal, commercial, or political hostility to the East India Company. That once mighty corporation has been dissolved since the commencement of this History, and the descriptions given in these pages of the constitution and government of that body belongs already to the past. No motive could remain—if such had existed—for vindicating the company's character or administration but the love of justice and truth. Thus uninfluenced, the historian cannot fail to compare, favourably to the company, India under its *régime*, and the genius and spirit of its government, with India under the dominion of its Mohammedan conquerors, and with the government they administered. The commercial jealousy of the East India Company made many enemies among British merchants, and its valuable privileges created among that class extensive envy, as well as conflicting interests. To this cause chiefly the dissolution of the company in the session of the British parliament, which closed in August, 1858, may be attributed, after a long-sustained opposition to its monopoly, both of trade and power, by numerous sections of English mercantile men. The grievances inflicted upon traders and residents in India by the jealousy which the company felt towards independent British settlers, especially if connected with the press, created intense animosities in England against many of its superior officers personally, and against the continuance of its power. These animosities grew in England with the facilities of communication with the East, the knowledge of the resources and value of British India, the enterprise of modern commerce, and the freedom of modern opinion; every personal injustice which the company visited upon intrusive settlers or travellers, and which, without its authority, was inflicted by its officers, was related in the English newspapers, and spread upon the pages of the cheap press, ever multiplying its issues, and extending its influence, until a public sentiment, adverse to the justice of the company, grew up among the middle classes. The ultra-liberal sections of English politicians eagerly decried the policy of the company, and reviled with an indignant spirit of nationality the sway of a corporation over an empire where the British nation, represented by its sovereign, alone should reign. All these circumstances procured a favourable audience for any lecturer or orator who had anything to say against the company. Associations were formed to employ such men; eloquent speakers were paid to lecture against the company; India stock was purchased in the name of certain of these popular lecturers, by which they were entitled to attend the meetings of proprietors, and inveigh against the directors, their management at home, and what was called their tyranny, peculation, and aggressive policy abroad. Efforts, occasionally successful, to place some of these advocates of "free trade and free government in India," in the House of Commons, were made. The members of the Peace Society considered the company too warlike, and opposed it on that ground. The Quakers, with whom "the peace principle" is a religious tenet, joined those who, in this "agitation, entertained it as a policy." The Manchester school, hating war on grounds of political economy, and on the utilitarian principle of maintaining commercial intercourse with nations, however those nations might inflict personal injury on individual British subjects, or insult on British dignity, naturally associated themselves with the other sections of English citizens just named, and charged the company with the wars and misgovernment of India, even when the Board of Control had, in spite of the company, carried out the policy for which it was censured. As many of the leaders of these classes of the English people which opposed the company were wealthy, and took an active part in local or imperial politics, and were men of intelligence and virtue, they exercised an influence, upon public opinion at large, formidable to the company, and were unintentionally the means of creating a numerous class of needy adventurers, who to obtain places or employment, which there was no hope of gaining at the India-house, libelled unscrupulously the government and character of the company; nor were individual members of the "committee" at Leadenhall

street, or the council and presidential governments of India, spared in this venal and truthless warfare. It was under such circumstances that contrasts between Mohammedan and British India were drawn in favour of the former. The European press in India, for the most part illiberally treated by the local governments and great officers of the company, and therefore hostile, furnished in its columns ample materials for the opponents of the company to work with. Editors and writers, and proprietors of Indian newspapers, who returned to England, circulated accounts highly prejudicial to the company—generally true as it regarded the treatment they personally experienced, generally false or perverted as to the principles and procedure of the company in the civil or military transactions of the times. To meet these injured or interested opponents, confute the calumnies of hirelings, the mistakes, and erroneous, imperfect, or exaggerated information of those who employed them, the company made no adequate exertion. Now and then some *employé* at Leadenhall Street wrote a leader for the London daily press; or a civil or military officer, fresh from the neighbourhood where some misdeed of the company's was represented as having taken place, wrote a pamphlet contradicting the falsehood. Books were occasionally published on the great historical events passing in the East, such as the Sikh or Affghan war, by actors on the great stage; and in these an *exposé* was made of the calumnies circulated against the company; but the writers of these works were generally too ignorant of the state of society at home—especially political and commercial society—to comprehend the animus with which the attacks upon the company proceeded from different quarters. Thus a bad character of the company gradually spread among all ranks in England, but especially among the classes who resided in the great commercial cities of England, and possessed the elective franchise. Among these pamphlets, written *ad populum*, were circulated, showing what good rulers the great Moguls were, how well Saracen and Affghan governed, how stupendous their public works, and how much they cared for their people. The changes were rung upon the phrase paternal government, as applied to those despotic Mohammedan rulers, by men who professed to teach at other times that people needed not paternal sovereigns, that they were able to walk alone, or must learn to do so; and that for princes to treat citizens as children, to be petted or chastised at their will or pleasure, was a usurpation of government, which belonged to the people, whose will and law constitutional princes should feel themselves honoured in faithfully administering.

On the continent of Europe, and in the United States, the grand military triumphs of the company excited an intense envy, but more especially in France and Russia than anywhere else. The press of those countries culled articles from that of India and of England, written under the circumstances and from the causes just named, and perverted those materials, working out from them attacks upon the justice, integrity, and humanity of the company, and of the English government and people at large. These were reproduced in the English press, and very frequently consisted of ingenious and specious contrasts between the grandeur, dignity, glory, greatness, and comfort of Mohammedan India, and the tyranny, meanness, excessive taxation, and general wretchedness exhibited in the condition of British India. In this way false ideas of both Mohammedan and British India were propagated in Europe. The British people were unjust to themselves, and to their countrymen, men whose part in life was played in their most magnificent possession; while a truthless homage was paid to the character, government, and civilization, of as ruthless and tyrannous a race as ever stained the earth with blood, or bound its inhabitants in the chains of despotic government. The perusal of the chapters of this History immediately preceding the present, can hardly fail to remove much of this popular and unjust prejudice in favour of the Mohammedan conquerors of India, although in writing them the author has scrupulously adhered to the obligation of an historian—"Nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice."

Indeed there is a considerable difficulty in unravelling the skein of Mohammedan history in the East, so entirely faithless are the Mohammedan chroniclers themselves. It was justly said by Elphinstone concerning the history of Akbar, written by a Mohammedan writer, now commonly quoted, Abul Fazel, "An uniform strain of panegyric and triumph is kept up, which disgusts the reader with the author, and almost with the hero. Amidst these unmeaning flourishes, the real merits of Akbar disappear, and it is from other authors we learn the motives of his actions, the difficulties he had to contend with, and the resources by which they were surmounted."

It has been very much the fashion to rely upon all early writings which treat of Mohammedan history; this strange indiscriminate confidence, where the utmost caution and the soundest criticism were necessary, has contributed also to a more favourable judgment upon the Mohammedans in India,

and in Asia generally, than comports with an enlightened opinion. Dr. Sprenger correctly says: "There has been a time when every Arabic, Persian, or Turkish work, containing the history of Mohammed and his successors, or any part of the history of the East, was considered as a source of information, the authority of which was above all doubt and question." There is a tendency to commit the fault censured by Dr. Sprenger, not only by the writers of Mohammedan history, but by those also who relate the history of other nations. The eagerness to obtain the narratives of contemporary authors, induces a forgetfulness of the facts that all contemporary history is not equally trustworthy, and that the kinds of testimony given concerning contemporaneous events are, however reliable, of different relative value. "Our scholars have written Greek history as if every contemporary record were of equal value; and they have drawn their conclusions from the sneers of the satirist as unhesitatingly as from the gravest statesmen. To the historian satires and libels are invaluable aids; they may sometimes throw a new light on a period, and they will always illustrate its manners and views. Thus every classical scholar who has read Thucydides and Aristophanes, hand in hand, taking each comedy in its order, as he reached the corresponding year of the Peloponnesian war, will know how vivid the interest is which the comedy will throw on the sober history. . . . . But satire and comedy are to illustrate, not to prove; and if we use them as evidence they must mislead. Mr. Grote's chapter on the Sophists is a memorable illustration of this. For ages men have accepted satire as proof, and of course it has prejudiced their views. The *Punch* of our day will be an invaluable aid to the future historian, as representing the present time in its lighter traits and feelings; but alas for historic truth if he forgets what *Punch* is, and treats it as many a scholar has treated Aristophanes."*

In judging of the character of Mohammedan princes in India, of their governments, and the condition of the people under them, it seems to have been very much forgotten by modern historians that the writers of such accounts as are handed down to us were influenced by fanaticism, policy, and interest, to place all matters in a light favourable to their party, as of course they regarded all subjects from a Mohammedan point of view. Where conquerors write accounts of their own deeds and motives, which the vanquished dare not controvert, or know not how to do so, it is absurd to rely upon such relations. "To this class belongs Mohammedan history: even at its best we have only the records of Islam, not of the nationalities which Islam crushed. Thus the great blank in the history of Mohammedan India is the absence of any Hindoo account of the struggle; we have only the annals of the invader. Not one voice from the millions which were conquered has dared to tell us of his countrymen's struggles or despair. Even when a Hindoo has written he only writes as a Mohammedan."* "From one of that nation we might have expected to learn what were the hopes, fears, yearnings, and efforts of his subject race; but, unfortunately, he rarely writes except according to order or dictation, and every phrase is studiously turned to flatter the vanity of an imperious Mohammedan patron. There is nothing to betray his religion or his nation, except, perhaps, a certain stiffness and affectation of style, which show how ill the foreign garb befits him."†

When the accounts given to us by Mohammedan writers are subjected to just principles of historical criticism, the laudations bestowed by so many modern writers on the continent of Europe, in America, in England, and even in India, upon the Mohammedan rulers and their works, will vanish as empty declamation, or praise invidiously bestowed. From the earliest advent of the Arab armies on the western confines of India—during the latter part of the seventh century—to the time when the glory of the Mohammedan rule faded with the reign of the treacherous and unfilial Aurungzebe, or perished utterly when the late sanguinary and crownless King of Delhi was sent a convict from the palace whose marbles he stained with the blood of English women and children, the Mohammedans have been rapacious, perfidious, bigoted, sanguinary, cruel, and vindictive. Their history is a story of fanaticism, lust, and slaughter; and their traces in India will soon sink from view, except as the memory of their misdeeds shall continue, or the Christian philosopher shall point out the purposes for which an all-wise Providence overruled their career.

When the Arab armies penetrated to Cabul, and pushed their conquering way down to Mooltan, penetrating into Scinde, and along the banks of the Indus, their valour and military capacity were proved to be far superior to those of the natives. At times a chivalrous patriotism was shown by the Hindoo people, especially when the Rajpoots came into conflict with the impetuous intruders, but gene-

* *Calcutta Review.*

* *Calcutta Review.*

† Sir H. Elliot's *Biographical Index*, Introduction, p. xviii.

rally this quality was confined to those to whom defeat was the loss of honour and riches, territory and power. The Arab conquests were, on the whole, easily effected—a few of the invaders sometimes making fugitives a native host. In the struggles between the Rajpoots and the intruders, by which the latter were eventually driven out of Scinde, a most unequal contest was maintained, the Arab cavalry bravely encountering all odds, charging ten times their number, and achieving prodigies of valour. They were greatly gallant during the conflicts which issued in their expulsion, as well as in those which made them conquerors of Scinde.

The various hordes which subsequently, under chiefs of mixed Turkish and Mogul descent, swept fiercely over the northern provinces of India, were scarcely less brave, and showed even more address in war than the armies of the caliphs. When eventually the founders of the Mohammedan empire in India laid the basis of a dominion which, for long after, was the wonder of the world, the same military capacity and heroism which characterized their predecessors was displayed. It was not until after the European period had commenced, and especially during the sway of the British, that the lofty courage and adaptation for military enterprise of the Mohammedan conquerors of India abated. Then, however, such qualities rapidly disappeared, until a "handful" of British soldiers could chase ten times their number of Mussulman troops or fanatics from the field.

A few of the Mohammedan princes of India governed well; their fiscal regulations were wise; their concessions to the vanquished were politic; clemency shone brightly where generally a ruthless vengeance had reigned; and public works, ornamental and useful, were carried on in the great cities and rural districts. Notwithstanding all the care with which it is necessary to approach the narratives of partial Mohammedan and hypocritical Hindoo writers, it is to be credited that several of the great Mohammedan princes were not only men of genius, but of justice and of mercy. At the close of the tenth century Sebektegin, who ascended the throne of Affghanistan from the condition of a slave to the former ruler, and whose name is favourably identified with the Mohammedan history of the period, was one of those chiefs who knew how to conduct war, and employ the advantages of peace. "A story is told of Sebektegin, while yet a private soldier, which proves the humanity of the historian, if not of the hero. One day, in hunting, he succeeded in riding down a fawn; but when he was bringing off his prize in triumph, he observed the dam following his horse, and showing such evident marks of distress, that he was touched with compassion, and at last released his captive, pleasing himself with the gratitude of the mother, which often turned back to gaze at him as she went off to the forest with her fawn. That night the Prophet appeared to him in a dream, told him that God had given to him a kingdom as a reward for his humanity, and enjoined him not to forget his feelings of mercy when he came to the exercise of power." * By narratives such as this the illustrious deeds of the Mohammedan princes are obscured, and rendered less credible. The great objects pursued by most of them were renown, plunder, and fanaticism. The glory of conquest had as great a charm for the Mohammedan victors of India as for a modern Frenchman; and Napoleon the Great did not more indiscriminately seize the objects of art, or quarter his troops upon the people of unoffending provinces of Europe, than did the greatest heroes of the various Mohammedan dynasties seize upon the palaces and treasures of the vanquished.

When Mahmood, the successor of Sebektegin, made his first incursions as far as the Jumna, he stormed cities and razed fortresses, putting their garrisons promiscuously to the sword, and marking his whole route by rapine, returned to Ghizni laden with the riches and spoils of extreme northern India. He had been as zealous for religion as avaricious of gold, or vainglorious of conquest, for he struck down idols, and defaced, desecrated, or destroyed all the temples in the line of his marches. The career and conduct of this man will furnish the reader with a fair estimate of the character of even the best of the victorious leaders of the hordes of Mohammedan cavalry which poured down like a living torrent upon north-western India during the eleventh and succeeding century.

"Mahmood, if not the greatest sovereign the world ever saw—as maintained by most Mohammedan writers — was assuredly the most famous of his age. Uniting in his person many brilliant and estimable qualities, he possessed but few of the failings so peculiar to the time in which he lived. To the character of a great general he added that of a liberal encourager of literature and the arts; and although he was not wanting in religious zeal, and lost no opportunity of humbling the power of Hindoo authority, he cannot be charged with any acts of cruelty against his heathen adversaries; and it is said that he never took the life of a Hindoo save in battle, or during the storming of a fortress. This, it must be remembered, is the character of a

* Elphinstone, vol. i. p. 526.

prince who lived in an age when imprisonment and murder were ordinary steps in a royal career. Perhaps his great failing, and one which grew with his years, was that of avarice. His Indian conquests helped to fill his treasury to an extent unknown in any previous or future reign. It is reported that upon his hearing of the great wealth of some contemporary monarch, who had managed to amass a considerable treasure, more especially in precious stones, he expressed it to be a source of pious consolation to him that he was possessed of yet superior treasures.*

As among the earlier sovereigns, so among the later, the passion for aggrandizement, and the indulgence of an unprincipled ambition, which disdained no means, however unworthy, and abhorred no instruments, however cruel and sanguinary, which might be employed for its gratification, in most instances were cherished. The picture given by Sir Thomas Roe, who was dispatched by King James I. at the beginning of 1615 as *Ambassador to the Great Mogul, or King of India*, portrays how vicious and tyrannical was the court of one of the best specimens of the more modern Mohammedan emperors. When Sir Thomas reached Berhampore he found the emperor's third son, Sultan Parveiz, the chief person in authority, and presented himself, that, as the ambassador of England, he might pay his respects. Among the presents which he brought was a case of European wine, which the prince opened immediately after the state audience terminated, and continued to drink until he became too much intoxicated even to speak to the representative of King James.

As the son, so the father, whom Sir Thomas describes as addicted to intoxication, to the serious injury of his health and capacity for business. This was the great Jehanghire. The family of the emperor lived, among one another and with the emperor himself, in a state of continual feud. Sir Thomas found that the eldest prince, and heir-apparent to the throne, was a prisoner, having been guilty of rebellion; and every member of the family was in some manner committed to an intrigue as to the succession. Sir Thomas, admitting the talent for governing and for the home direction of military affairs possessed by this great padishaw of India, complains of his petulance, puerility, meanness, cruelty, and bigotry,—"flattered by some, envied by others, loved by none." As one of the objects of the British minister was to form a commercial treaty, his accomplishment of that object brought out the character of Mohammedan princes and a Mohammedan court. It was only by bribery the most open that he could obtain the necessary signatures and formalities to give validity to the agreements actually made by the padishaw. The Portuguese were rivals, and their bribes appear to have been more skilfully dispersed—the venial court caring nothing for its dignity, truth, and honour, but anxious only to stimulate the rivalry of the two European powers, so as to secure the largest possible amount of bribes. Sir Thomas at one time despaired of success, because of the "rubies, ballaces, emeralds, and jewels, which so much contented the king and his great men, that we were for a time nearly eclipsed." The Prince Khurram, afterwards known as Shah Jehan, and holding so distinguished a place in Mohammedan Indian history, was among those towards whom the process of bribery was as necessary as to those who bore no royal blood in their veins. By dint of presents Sir Thomas succeeded at last. The following description of one of his interviews will show the folly, meanness, falsehood, and treachery which characterized the Mohammedan imperial court at a time when it was at the acme of its glory and renown, and tend to remove, if anything can, the allegations made in Western Europe and America of the justice of Mohammedan rule, and the glories of its civilization:—"The thirteenth at night I went to the Gussell Chan, where is best opportunitie to doe businesse, and tooke with mee the Italian, determining to walke no longer in darknesse, but to proove the king, being in all other wayes delayed and refused; I was sent for in with my old broaker, but my interpreter was kept out, Asaph Chan mistrusting I would utter more than he was willing to heare. When I came to the king, he appointed mee a place to stand just before him, and sent to aske mee many questions about the King of Englande, and of the present I gave the day before, to some of which I answered, but at last I said, my interpreter was kept out, I could speake no Portugall, and so wanted means to satisfie his maiestie, whereat (much against Asaph Chan's desire) he was admitted. I bad him tell the king I desired to speake to him; he answered willingly, whereat Asaph Chan's sonne-in-law pulled him away by force, and that faction hedged the king so, that I could scarce see him, nor the other approach him. So I commanded the Italian to speake aloud, that I craved audience of the king, whereat the king called me, and they made me way. Asaph Chan stood on one side of my interpreter, and I on the other; I to enforme him in mine owne cause, he to awe him with winking and jogging. I bad him say, that I now

* Elphinstone, vol. i

had been here two moneths, whereof more than one was passed in sicknesse, the other in compliments, and nothing effected toward the ende for which my master had employed mee, which was to conclude a firme and constant love and peace between their maiesties, and to establish a faire and secure trade and residence for my countreymen. He answered, that was already granted. I replyed, it was true, but it depended yet on so light a thred, on so weake conditions, that being of such importance, it required an agreement cleare in all points, and a more formall and authentique confirmation, then it had by ordinary firmans, which were temporary commands, and respected accordingly. He asked me what presents we would bring him. I answered, the league was yet new, and very weake; that many curiosities were to be found in our country of rare price and estimation, which the king would send, and the merchants seeke out in all parts of the world, if they were once made secure of a quiet trade and protection on honourable conditions, having been heretofore many wayes wronged. He asked what kind of curiosities those were I mentioned; whether I meant jewels and rich stones. I answered, no; that we did not think them fit presents to send backe which were brought first from these parts, whereof he was chiefe lord; that we esteemed them common here, and of much more price with us, but that we sought to finde such things for his maiestie as were rare here and unseene, as excellent artifices in painting, carving, cutting, enamelling, figures in brasse, copper, or stones, rich embroyderies, stuffes of gold and silver. He said it was very well, but that hee desired an English horse. I answered, it was impossible by sea and by land: the Turke would not suffer passage. He replyed, that hee thought it not impossible by sea; I told him the dangers of stormes and varietties of weather would proove it. He answered, if sixe were put into a ship, one might live, and though it came leane, he would fat it. I replied, I was confident it could not be in so long a voyage, but that for his maiestie's satisfaction I would write to advise of his request. So he asked, what was it then I demanded? I said, that hee would bee pleased to signe certaine reasonable conditions which I had conceived for the confirmation of the league, and for the securitie of our nation, and their quiet trade, for that they had beene often wronged, and could not continue on such termes, which I forbeare to complaine of, hoping by faire means to procure amendment. At this word Asaph Chan offered to pull my interpreter, but I held him, suffering him onely to winke, and make unprofitable signes. The king hereat grew suddenly in to choller, pressing to know who had wronged us, with such fury, that I was loath to follow it, and speaking in broken Spanish to my interpreter to an answer, that with what was passed I would not trouble his maiestie, but would seeke justice of his sonne, the prince, of whose favour I doubted not." *

The foregoing quotation shows the Mogul in his relation to the ambassadors of other states and the princes whom they represented; the following picture of his relation to his own people is drawn with equal fidelity and graphic effect:—"The king hath no man but eunuchs that comes within the lodgings or retyring roomes of his house: his women watch within, and guard him with manly weapons; they doe justice one upon another for offences. Hee comes every morning to a window called the *jaruco*, looking into a plaine before his gate, and shewes himselfe to the common people. At noone he returns thither, and sits some houres to see the fight of elephants and wilde beasts. Under him within the raile attended the men of ranke; from whence he retyres to sleep among his women. At afternoone he returns to the durbar before mentioned. At eight after supper he comes downe to the guzelcan, a faire court, wherein in the middest is a throne erected of free stone, wherein he sits, but sometimes below in a chaire, to which are none admitted but of great quality, and few of these, without leave, where hee discourses of all matters with much affabilitie. There is no businesse done with him concerning the state, government, disposition of war or peace, but at one of these two last places, where it is publickely propounded and resolved, and so registered, which, if it were worth the curiositie, might be seene for two shillings; but the common base people knew as much as the councel, and the newes every day is the king's new resolutions, tossed and censured by every rascall. This course is unchangeable, except sicknesse or drinke prevent it; which must be knowne, for as all his subjects are slave, so is he in a kind of reciprocall bondage; for he is tyed to observe these houres and customs so precisely, that if he were unseene one day, and no sufficient reason rendered, the people would mutinie; two days no reason can excuse, but that he must consent to open his doores, and be seene

* These statements are confirmed by the chaplain of Sir Thomas, in a work entitled, *A Voyage to the East Indies*, observed by Edward Terry, then Chaplain to the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Roe, Knight, Lord Ambassador to the Great Mogul. Reprinted from the edition of 1655. London, 1777.

by some to satisfie others. On Tuesday at the jaruco he sits in judgment, never refusing the poorest man's complaint, where he heares with patience both parts, and sometimes sees, with too much delight in blood, the execution done by his elephants. *Illi meruere, sed quid tu ut adesses.*"

An able reviewer has justly estimated the testimony of the witness, and the character and civilization of the courts of the Moguls at that particular period, and since then until the most recent period of their tyranny, in the following paragraph:—"Sir Thomas's account is amusing and valuable, as the evidence of an honest and intelligible witness, relative to the habits, forms, customs of the court and camp at that period, when the Mogul empire was nearly at the zenith of its prosperity and splendour. It shows how little it differed, save in wealth and power, from the native courts of more modern date. He dwells continually on the same exhibitions of display and meanness, childishness and intrigue, cruelty and weakness, rigid formalities and gross ignorance, which constitute the record of more recent travellers who have visited the durbars of the descendants of Jehanghire, or of the independent successors of his powerful viceroys."

The atrocious cruelties practised upon their people by the Great Moguls have their counterpart in those perpetrated by the more modern Mohammedan princes. The inexorable severity ever characteristic of Mohammedan rule was displayed to Sir Thomas on various occasions. A few of these instances depict the spirit of Mohammedan government in a light at once so true and so striking, that one may believe it impossible to peruse the like, and yet compare the government of the Moguls with that of the East India Company. "This day a gentle-woman of Normall's was taken in the king's house in some action with an eunuch: another capon that loved her killed him; the poore woman was set up to the armepits in the earth, hard rammed, her feet tied to a stake, to abide three days and two nights without any sustenance, her head and armes exposed to the sunne's violence; if shee dyed not in that time, shee should be pardoned: the eunuch was condemned to the elephants. This damsell yielded in pearles, jewels, and ready money, sixteen hundred thousand rupies."

While on his journey he made the following entries in his journal:—"I remooved foure course to *Ramsor*, where the king had left the bodies of an hundred naked men slaine in the fields for robbery. . . . . I overtooke in the way a camell laden with three hundred men's heads, sent from Candahar by the governor, in present to the king, that were out in rebellion." In an earlier entry in his journal he records that "a hundred thieves were brought chained before the Mogul with their accusation: without further ceremony, as in all such cases is the custom, he ordered them to be carried away, the chiefe of them to be torne in pieces by dogges, the rest put to death. This was all the process and form. The prisoners were divided into several quarters of the town, and executed in the streets, as in one by my house, where twelve dogges tore the chiefe of them in pieces, and thirteen of his fellowes, having their hands tied down to their feet, had their necks cut with a sword, but not quite off, being so left naked, bloody, and stinking, to the view of all men, and the annoyance of the neighbourhood."

Shah Jehan, the mighty successor of this monarch, was frequently, while yet bearing the name of Sultan Khurram, as well as subsequently, brought into diplomatic contact with Sir Thomas Roe, and his descriptions of his character and administration present features of tyranny and cruelty characteristic of the race. In the narrative given in a previous chapter in this History of the reign of these princes, the events of chief importance have been brought out in consecutive order, and such notice taken of their character as was necessary to a proper appreciation of the incidents recorded. The sketches given by Sir Thomas Roe afford an insight as to the spirit and genius of the men and their government as both appeared at the time to an acute English observer, and afford valuable assistance in tracing the comparative claims of Mogul and British rule. Sir Thomas says of Shah Jehan—"The prince sate in the same magnificence, order, and greatneese, that I mentioned of the king; his throne being plated over with silver, inlaid with flowers of gold, and the canopie over it square, borne on foure pillars covered with silver, his armes, sword, buckler, bowe, arrowes, and launce on a table before him. The watch was set, for it was evening when he came abroad. I observed now he was absolute and curious in his fashion and actions: he received two letters, read them standing, before he ascended his throne. I never saw so settled a countenance, nor any man keepe so constant a gravitie, never smiling, nor in face shewing any respect or difference of men, but mingled with extreame pride and contempt of all; yet I found some inward trouble now and then assaile him, and a kind of brokenesse and distraction in his thoughts, unprovidedly and amazedly answering suitors, or not hearing. If I can judge any thing, he has left

his heart among his father's women, with whom hee hath liberty of conversation. Normahall, in the English coach,* the day before visited him, and took leave; she gave him a cloack all imbroydered with pearles, diamonds, and rubies, and carried away, if I erre not, his attention to all other businesse."

When the Rev. Mr. Terry, who had been sent out from England, arrived in India, he proceeded to join Sir Thomas, and brought with him a considerable convoy of necessaries for the ambassador, and presents to the padishaw. At Berhampore both Mr. Terry and his treasures were stopped by Shah Jehan, the future Great Mogul, who simply acted as a common robber, appropriating to himself whatever he desired, however necessary to the chaplain or the ambassador; in fact, whatever was not designated as a present for the emperor, his father, he made more or less a spoil for himself. Even the royal gifts were not sent on until the complaints of the ambassador to the padishaw led to the transmission of commands from the latter. When the treasures arrived at the camp of the emperor, the latter, no more honest than his son, seized the packages, opened and examined them, and would have retained them, had not the boldness and firmness of the ambassador either awed or shamed him. The great padishaw was then as despicable in his flattery and poor artifices of conciliation as he had previously been in his curiosity and cupidity.

With Aurungzebe the glory of the Moguls may be said to have departed. He was the last of the *Great* Moguls; and whatever the splendour of his career, it was equalled by his guilt: to his sire and king, treacherous, unfilial, and disloyal; to his brothers, deceitful and unnatural, ambitious, tyrannical, and unscrupulous, his name and life are stains upon the reputation of Mohammedan India.

The rise, progress, and decline of the Mahrattas, related on their appropriate pages in this History, further exemplify the sanguinary, tyrannical, and unprincipled character of Indian chiefs, heathen and Mohammedan; for the struggles of those times, whether Moslem or Hindoo bore the sword in triumph, reveal the blood-thirsty, rapacious, and perfidious character of all Indian courts and peoples. The stratagems, excesses of cruelty, and breaches of faith, practised by the Mohammedan emperors towards the Mahratta chiefs, and the wild lawlessness and violence of the latter, form a strange chapter in Indian and in human history.

It has been sometimes argued against the wisdom and humanity of the East India Company's administration that frequent famines have prevailed, from the like of which the people of India were exempt during the Mohammedan rule. This is simply false as to the period of Mohammedan sway. One of the few redeeming features of the character and conduct of Aurungzebe was his solicitude to mitigate the horrors of a famine which broke out during his reign, from which, nevertheless, multitudes perished. The same causes which operated in producing these terrible visitations during the sway of the East India Company also existed during that of the various Mohammedan dynasties. Notwithstanding the devotion of their subjects, especially when a sense of religious obligation existed, Mohammedan princes, whether petty rajahs, or seated on the throne of empire, have been often heartlessly indifferent to the welfare of the people, whom they professed to be bound by the most sacred ties of religion and political duty to protect and cherish. To the Hindoos they were generally fiercely intolerant. Aurungzebe especially illustrates this fact. His father was often forbearing, his grandfather indifferent, on religious matters, but Aurungzebe himself, with less religion than either, was a persecutor. The fiercest robber of the Mahrattas was in many things more to be commended than Aurungzebe. The code of military honour that prevailed among that rude and low caste people was much higher than what was practised or acknowledged at the court and camp of the emperor. The people of all classes groaned beneath the sway of the most glorious of the Moguls. Raj Singh of Odeypore described the true condition of the people when he addressed the emperor in these terms:—"Your subjects are trampled under foot, and every province of your empire is impoverished; depopulation spreads, and difficulties accumulate; the soldiers are murmuring; the merchants complaining; the Mohammedans discontented; the Hindoos destitute; and multitudes of people, wretched, even to the want of their nightly meal, are beating their heads throughout the day from destitution. How can the dignity of the sovereign be preserved who employs his power in exacting tribute from a people thus miserably reduced?"* This state of things was not so very different from what existed under others, even the most magnificent of the Moguls, as to require much variety in describing the condition of their subjects; yet it suits the purpose of certain parties and classes in England to degrade their country by lowering British rule and British rulers in

* An English carriage which was presented by Sir Thomas to the emperor, and which, he relates, cost one hundred and fifty pounds.

* Orme's *Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire.*

India to the level of Mohammedan princes and the despotism which they exercised.

The architectural taste and zeal displayed by some of the Mohammedan princes are justly entitled to praise. It should, however, be understood that an intense fanaticism led them to lavish upon gorgeous mosques the wealth plundered from heathen temples. The injunctions of the Koran caused a vast expenditure upon tombs; hence the resting-place of the dead is peculiarly dear to the Mohammedan, and is exhibited in this age as well as by the remains of past centuries. Whether in the care bestowed upon the turbaned tombs of Smyrna and Stamboul, or in the costly tombs reared for their deceased relatives by modern princes, the Mohammedans prove their veneration for their beloved dead. In the crisis of his ruin, the heir of the fallen house of Onde built in 1858 a beautiful tomb at Paris, in the picturesque burial-ground of Père-la-Chaise, for his mother.

The pride of power, as well as religious and filial piety, originated many of the great structures of Mohammedan India. The palatial glories of Ghizni, Delhi, Agra, and Lucknow, had their origin in the towering ambition and love of despotic splendour characteristic of Mohammedan kings and conquerors.

The means for executing the vast and brilliant works which were accomplished in the Mohammedan ages of India, were found in the oppressive taxation or plunder of the people. Frequently the costly glories of the rajahs caused such extensive suffering among even the Mohammedan people, that sedition and bloodshed ensued; or, in spite of the dazzling results, the gorgeous rulers were cursed in the midst of the glittering cities they created or decorated with a taste so ornate and peculiar. It was in the countries of India subject to Mohammedan power, with rare exceptions, as it is in Turkey to-day, where the extravagance of the court is maintained amidst the decay of the empire, humiliation of the government, and imminent perils of the state. The following quotation from the Constantinople correspondent of a London journal presents, in the state of the sultan's court and government, a striking illustration of the way in which mighty festivals and enterprises of grandeur in Mohammedan India, were proofs of weakness, of the presence of elements of social and political decline, and of the inherent viciousness and self-destroying tendency of that especial form of political despotism which the Mohammedan religion creates. The communication was made from Constantinople in August, 1858.

"'The sultan's expenditure has increased, is increasing, and ought to be cut down.' Such is the universal cry which resounds through the whole empire. The minister, who is at the end of his wits and financial legerdemains, whispers it with a sigh; the *employé*, who gets paid in paper, murmurs it cautiously; the army, which is months—not to say years—in arrear, raises it loudly; the people, who see the sweat of their brows squandered, utter it indignantly; and even the usurer, who makes a fortune by this recklessness, afraid of the consequences, has begun to join in it clamorously. Never was the *vox populi* more clearly heard, and never was it more justly raised. Before it all mincing and delicacy would be out of place. It is high time to speak out plainly, and expose the cancer which is consuming the vital forces of this empire. There is no secret about it, for it has become table-talk, and the evil has reached such a point, that, unless some remedy be found for it, the most serious consequences must follow.

"No sovereign in Europe has a larger civil list than the Sultan of Turkey. According to the last arrangement, made about two years ago, it amounts to £1,200,000 sterling in round numbers, which surpasses by far that of any other sovereign, if we compare it with the whole revenue of the empire, which is between £7,000,000 and £8,000,000 sterling. However formidable this proportion must appear to European minds, it might pass without comment in a country which might have the cheapest administration of any if it were strictly adhered to. But this civil list represents only the nominal expenditure of the palace. In reality, the latter knows no bounds except the impossibility of finding money. As the revenues come in the civil list lays its hand on them, under the title of 'advances,' which are never repaid; and, if this resource fails, loans are contracted, for which the government becomes answerable. The consequences of this system, which has been going on for the last five years, are of course felt. A considerable part of the revenues has been anticipated; both the military and naval departments are in arrear; in the army alone a sum of well-nigh a million of money is owing; the officials have been paid for the last two months in treasury bonds, which had to be discounted at seven per cent. loss against paper money, which was itself at a discount of sixty to seventy per cent. against coin. At the beginning of this year two millions' worth of these treasury bonds had to be issued to pay the most urgent debts of the civil list, and in spite of all this the obligations of this department are estimated at more than twice that amount·

articles of the first necessity required for the palace are left unpaid-for for months; and most of the jewels have taken a pilgrimage to one or other wearer, and are hawked about by the brokers. All these miseries, instead of producing a lucid interval, seem only to heighten the folly of extravagance. While one set of jewels is pawned, another, richer, is bought on credit from adventurous individuals. Two nuptials were celebrated this year, for which the bill will not fall far short of from £700,000 to £800,000 sterling, and two others are under consideration which will not cost much less.

"Besides, and far above all this, stands the building mania. If the thing were not patent it would be incredible, but at this moment no less than eight palaces and five kiosks and other smaller buildings are in process of construction. Among the first is the new palace of Tcheragan, on the spot where the old wooden building stood, and for which the estimate amounts to £2,500,000; a palace near it for guests of distinction; two palaces for the newly-married daughters at Sali Bazaar; another for the eldest sultana at Arnaut Koi, for which several large pieces of ground had to be bought at an extravagant price; one at Arnaut Koi for the two daughters of the late Fethi Ahmed Pasha; one at Kandili for the sister of the sultan; and one which is to grace or disgrace the shores of Therapia. Of the five kiosks one is at the old seraglio, on the spot where the old one was burnt down; another on the top of the hill of Tcheragan; another at the Sweet Waters of Asia; and a music-hall and theatre, which are almost finished, at the new palace of Dolma Bakshi. These buildings, if they are now completed, will cost at least from £8,000,000 to £10,000,000 sterling. You will naturally ask, How could this evil attain such a point without some one trying to stop it? The answer to it is simple. There is not sufficient union and moral courage in the leading men to do anything effectual. Nay, more than one man is responsible for having encouraged this recklessness to promote his own private interests.

"In 1845 the civil list was fixed by the sultan himself at about £500,000 sterling, and, in spite of this smaller revenue, the civil list was more than once enabled to make advances to the other departments. It is difficult enough to follow the changes which take place in the character of our most intimate friends; it is almost impossible to follow the changes in the mind of an absolute sovereign so removed from contact with the world as the sultan is. It may have been the habit of uncontrolled power, or bad counsels, or false ideas suggested by flatterers; at any rate, a great change has taken place. In the continual rivalry between the competitors for power he had full liberty to follow a growing disposition for extravagance. Anxious to secure their places, those in office took good care not to jeopardize their position by an untimely resistance, while those out of power thought of coming in by showing the necessary pliancy. Thus a disposition, which, perhaps, might have been stopped in the beginning, was developed until it has led to such appalling results. This could go on as long as there was a possibility of meeting the demands; but the thing has lately assumed such proportions, that the ministry, despairing of being able to do so, decided on making an attempt to check it.

"The first step took place some weeks ago, when a memorandum, signed by all the ministers, was given in, to ask for a reduction of the pay of divers functionaries, and for the abolition of certain other posts which were unnecessary. This was a measure affecting only indirectly the expenditure of the palace. It had become the habit to send away palace officials, and order a place to be given to them in some government office. The councils attached to the different departments were by this means augmented to an enormous extent, without gaining thereby in efficiency. Each of these councils ought to have six members and a secretary, and most of them have now from twenty to thirty, and every one of them is paid at the rate of £2000 to £3000 a year. It was represented that a great saving could be effected by the suppression of such a number of useless officials, and that consequently more money could be made available for the purposes of government. The representation was graciously received, and an answer promised. A few days after the minister of finance was called in, and informed that his majesty had a running account with his French *fournisseur*, who had furnished the new palace, and was now finishing the theatre. His account was one hundred and fifty thousand purses, or about £500,000, of which one-third was to be paid now, and it was hoped the faithful minister would provide the necessary sum. The next day a loan of sixty million piastres was hawked about Galata, and part of the sum found."

This account so strikingly exhibits the character of the sovereigns, courts, and people in Mohammedan India during the waning splendour of their power, that it is scarcely possible for the philosopher and the politician to avoid seeing that like causes produced the effects so strikingly displayed

at Constantinople now, and formerly in the great Moslem capitals of India.

Whatever may have been the magnificence of the Mohammedan courts in India, the people seldom caught the infection. Few buildings of magnitude or taste, except mosques and tombs, and occasionally tanks, were erected anywhere by the citizens or zemindars. In this respect also the western Mohammedan nations exemplify the condition of India from the advent of the first hordes of Saracen robbers to the fall of the last of the Moguls. Occasionally the architectural enterprise of particular princes would spread as an infection among the people, and buildings for private enjoyment would spring up, resembling in their degree those erected by the monarch, but no lasting impressions of taste and skill remained as the result. When Mahmood of Ghizni expended in that place in a manner so gorgeous the vast plunder he brought thither from India proper, his people emulated his splendour and architectural ambition, but the effort was fitful, and the community soon collapsed into the coarse apathy and sensual sloth from which Mohammedan peoples are seldom aroused but by the voice of fanaticism, and the lust of carnage, which their fanaticism so deeply fosters.

The condition of the kingdom of Oude, previous to its annexation under the administration of Lord Dalhousie, was, with all its tyranny, corruption, and anarchy, a correct representation of the tendencies of Mohammedan government, and bore a family resemblance to the Mohammedan states throughout India, ancient and modern. Sir W. H. Sleeman, who had opportunities of becoming well acquainted with Oude, its court, land tenures, talookdars, soldiery, and people, represents rapacity and corruption as reigning everywhere. The extravagance of the court, the oppressive collection of taxes, the remorseless tyranny of the feudal chiefs and officers of government, as he describes them, corresponds so closely with the records of the Mohammedan people in the annals handed down to us, even by the hands of "the faithful," as to make it wonderful how the power of Mohammedan dynasties and governments held so tenacious an existence in regions where so large a portion of the inhabitants hated its sway. Notwithstanding exceptional instances of good government, and impartial administration of justice, the general current of Mohammedan affairs resembled that which had so long prevailed in Oude until the suppression of its native government. The officer* just named gives an instance of the anarchy, cruelty, treachery, and faithless government of that ancient kingdom, illustrating the condition of the people of India under the yoke of Islam during the greater portion of the Mohammedan period. In a particular district Sir William met with a certain nizam, a rajah (of Bulrampore), and a banker, one Ramdut Pandee. The nizam by his extravagance became a debtor to the banker for a large amount, but requiring more, he invited the money-lender to his camp, and with him the Rajah of Bulrampore. The sequence is thus related by General Sleeman:—"The nizam and Ramdut talked for some time together, seemingly on the most friendly and cordial terms; but the nizam at last asked him for a further loan of money, and further securities for landholders of doubtful character, before he went to bathe. The banker told him that he could lend him no more money till he came back from bathing, as he had lent him eighty thousand rupees only the day before, and that he could not increase his pledges of security without further consultation with the landholders, as he had not recovered more than four out of the seven lacs of rupees which he had been obliged to advance to the treasury on the securities given for them during the last year. He then took leave, and rose to depart. The nizam turned, and made some sign to his deputy, Jafir Allee, who rose, presented his gun, and shot Ramdut through the right side, close under the armpit. Exclaiming, '*Ram, Ram!*' (God, God!) the banker fell, and the nizam, seizing and drawing the sword which lay on the carpet before him, cut the fallen banker across the forehead. His nephew and deputy drew theirs, and together they inflicted no less than twenty-two cuts upon the body of Ramdut. The banker's three attendants, seeing their master thus shot down, and hacked to pieces, called out for help; but one of the three ruffians cut Towahir, the Brahmin lad, across the shoulder with his sword, and all ran off and sought shelter across the border in British territory. The nizam and his attendants then buried the body hastily near the tent, and ordered the troops and artillery to advance towards and fire into the two camps. They did so; and the Bulrampore rajah had only just reached his tents when the shot came showering in upon them from the nizam's guns. He galloped off as fast as he could towards the British border, about twenty miles distant, attended only by a few mounted followers, some of whom he sent off to Bulrampore, to bring his family, as fast as possible, across the border to him. The rest he ordered to follow him. His followers, and those of the

* *A Journey through the Kingdom of Oude.* By Sir W. H. Sleeman.

murdered banker, fled before the nizam's forces, which had been concentrated for this atrocious purpose, and both their camps were plundered. Before the rajah fled, however, the murdered banker's son-in-law, who had been left in the camp, ran to him with a small casket, containing Ramdut's seals, the bond for the eighty thousand rupees, as also the written pledges given by the nizam and his commanding officers of corps for the banker's and the rajah's personal security. He mounted him on one of his horses, and took both him and the casket off to the British territory." After these transactions the nizam attacked the banker's villages, and plundered from them property to the value of £100,000. He then complained to the King of Oude that the banker had attacked and plundered him, and was rewarded by the chief potentate of the realm for his good conduct by presents of honour! Soon after the nizam was defeated by the banker's brother, and became a fugitive, but found by bribery at the court of Lucknow protection and immunity. Thus, in every part of India, and in every century since it was invaded by the Saracens, the Mohammedan rule has been a curse to the people, socially and politically, as it has been in every other part of the world subjected to its baleful power. In sweeping away idolatry, and, to a certain extent, in abolishing caste, the religion of the false prophet was better than that which it superseded; but its inexorable tyranny, and that of the political system it fostered, crushed the people, deluged the land with blood, and familiarized those dignified as "true believers" with rapine, treachery, and injustice, in every form.

The conduct of the princes to one another, whether rulers of great states or petty rajahs, was utterly perfidious. The rules of the Koran, which obliged them to do justice, and show hospitality and alliance to princes of their own faith, were so loosely laid down, that great latitude of interpretation was a consequence, and this was stretched to the uttermost by the kings and rajahs of India. The moral obligations of their religion being so propounded, and of such a nature as not to press very sternly upon conscience, every advantage was taken of this fact by those sovereigns who affected or felt religious principle. There are no cruelties recorded upon the page of history as practised by monarchs against monarchs, which have not been rivalled by those of India, and generally the latter far surpass in atrocity the most appalling deeds perpetrated by the most ruthless tyrants in any other part of the world. The history of the various dynasties recorded in previous chapters reveals a sad narrative of turpitude and faithlessness on the part of many of the proudest, and, religiously, the most zealous of the princes of Islam, to one another. No treachery appears to have been too base for a Mohammedan king, zealous for his religion, to practise against another equally zealous; and when war decided their relations to one another, as victor and vanquished, with a few generous exceptions, the former exacted from the latter the most shameful humiliations, and inflicted cruelties, from the mention of which humanity shudders. Here again we perceive the genius of Mohammedanism in India, illustrated by its phenomena in more western regions. The history of the sovereigns of Turkey, Egypt, and Persia, during the memory of living men, has displayed the same utter want of principle, where honour, treaty, and the most sacred pledges, given on the Koran, might have been expected to bind; and the same cruel disposition has been shown so far as the nature of the events, and the proximity of the rival sultans and pashas to Europe, permitted. During the wars of the present century between Turkey and Russia, the latter succeeded in forming alliances with various Asiatic chiefs, who treacherously sold their allegiance, and inflicted upon the loyal who fell into their hands, in defiance of the Koran, all manner of indignities and cruelties. The habit of mind which the religion of the Arabian prophet begets in his votaries, of hating all who differ from them in religion with an implacable and remorseless enmity, extends itself to all who differ from them in any way politically or socially, and even to such as have opposing commercial interests; and thus Mohammedan is made to suffer from Mohammedan in the result of the spirit of hatred so keenly nursed in the bosom of every Mussulman to members of an alien creed. There is a moral retribution thus brought home to the abettors of this most bigoted of all religions, showing in a striking manner the retributive principle of God's moral government, which brings upon every man, or association of men, the consequences of the evils they perpetrate upon others. As the electric spark travels back by the quickest media to the spot from which it issued, so the hostilities and evil deeds of men come back again, under the influence of another law, not less sure, to their own breasts.

The spirit of the Mohammedan invaders, and the consequences of their invasion, have been thus faithfully described by an old author:*—"The invasions of the Mogul Tartars overturned the Hindoo empire, and,

* *Sketches of the History, &c., of the Hindoos.* London, 1792.

besides the calamities which immediately attend conquest, fixed on succeeding generations a lasting train of miseries. They brought along with them the spirit of a haughty superstition; they exacted the conversion of the vanquished; and they came to conquer and to remain. The success of the first invaders invited many to follow them; but we may consider the expedition of Tamerlane as that which completed the ruin of the Hindoo government. Wherever he appeared he was victorious; neither Mussulman nor Hindoo could resist his fortune, nor could any one who opposed him expect mercy. The march of his army was marked with blood, from the banks of the Attock to the eastern side of the Ganges, and from thence back by a different route to Samarcand. The disappearance of this angry meteor was followed by a long scene of warfare among the Mohammedan invaders themselves."

It has been the fashion of late years with a certain class of writers, especially in connection with the periodical press, to laud the policy of the Mohammedan rulers of India towards the vanquished Hindoos. The foregoing chapters, written with impartiality, disclose a different state of things, even when the settled government of the conquerors had existed for centuries, and there was no prospect of any extensive revolt. It is true that some of the wisest of the settled monarchs of the various dynasties brought in by the sword were just and tolerant to the Hindoo population. During the long reign of Akbar this was to a great extent the case. "He endeavoured," said the author last quoted, "to correct the ferocity of his co-religionists; was indulgent to the religion and customs of the Hindoos; and wishing to revive the learning of the Brahmins, which had been persecuted as profane by the ignorant Muftis, he ordered the celebrated observatory at Benares to be repaired, invited the Brahmins to return to their studies, and assured them of his protection."

Although there are other instances of the haughty princes of the new faith not only showing tolerance to Hindooism, but appearing to sympathize with it personally, they were generally restrained by the fanatical spirit of the people, and thus, against their own judgment, driven into an intolerant and inhuman policy by the multitude of "the faithful." The mild enactments of Akbar excited a deep jealousy in the minds of his subjects of his own creed. Elphinstone,* beyond all comparison the best authority generally on the condition of Mohammedan India and its history, says, "Akbar's innovations had shocked most Mohammedans, who, beside the usual dislike of the vulgar to toleration, felt that a direct attack was made upon their own faith." It is doubtful whether the tolerant spirit of some of the Mussulman sovereigns was any mitigation of the miserable state of the Hindoos under their yoke, for the indulgence thus shown them provoked the bigotry of the mass of the conquering race, who left no opportunity unused that might otherwise have passed, for purposes of indignity and injury against the subject people. Elphinstone represents the toleration of Akbar as affecting the throne of his successors, and for generation promoting civil war among them, as well as inciting the furious fanaticism of their more immediate subjects.

In the journal of Sir Thomas Roe this fact in reference to the celebrated Jehanghire is fully brought out. The hypocrisy of the monarch in the toleration he affected, the prostitution of religion to ends merely political, the jealousy of his own children, the utter want of confidence between him and the heir to the throne, and the shrewd recognition in his policy of the relentless bigotry of his people, are all characteristic of the Mohammedan princes and policy in India. Sir Thomas, after alluding to the lax opinions of Akbar on this subject, who at one time contemplated establishing a new religion, with himself as its head, observes that Jehanghire, "being the issue of this new fancie, and never circumcised, bred up without any religion at all, continues so to this houre, and is an atheist." He describes him as very liberal, not only in his own opinions, but towards those of others, and with an equal dislike to proselytism and apostasy. "He is content with all religions, only he loves none that changeth." He is represented as observing all the festivals of the Hindoos, and invariably paying marked respect to the Christian doctrines, granting perfect freedom of worship; ample privileges to the ministers and followers of that faith, both Protestant and Catholic, and frequently encouraging disputations between the professors of different creeds, "often casting out doubtfull words of his conversion, but to wicked purpose." He further mentions that Jehanghire sent two of his own nephews to a school kept at Agra for some years by Francisco Corsie, a Portuguese priest, where they were not only taught the Portuguese language, but instructed in the Christian religion, and finally "were solemnly baptized in the church of Agra with great pomp, being carryed first up and down all the citie on elephants in triumph, and this by the king's expresse order, who often

* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 521.

would examine them in their progression, and seemed much contented in them." Sir Thomas adds, however, that many considered this a measure of policy intended to render the young princes, who might at any time become rivals and aspirants for the throne, odious, and incapacitated for government, in the eyes of a Mohammedan population.*

The history of the sovereigns, votaries of Islam, viewed in relation to one another, and to their people, verified the just remarks—"Under a despotic monarch, while the liberty and life of the subject are constantly exposed to danger, the crown totters on the head of the monarch; he who is the most absolute is frequently the least secure; and the annals of Turkey, of Persia, and of the Mohammedan conquerors of Hindostan, teem with tragic stories of dethroned and murdered princes."† It is remarkable that, notwithstanding the lust of conquest for its own sake, and of rapine, the iconoclastic spirit of the conquerors, and the fanatical enthusiasm they entertained for the spread of their religion, they were never able entirely to subjugate the native communities. What was described as the case three-quarters of a century ago was true when the British wrenched, during the recent rebellion, the remnant of power from the Moslem tyrants. "Throughout Hindostan there are many rajahs to be found who still enjoy the territories of their ancestors. Some, happily, never were subdued, and owe their independence to the natural situation of their possessions, which renders invasion difficult. Others were permitted, from policy or necessity, to retain them on condition of paying a stipulated tribute."

One of the causes of the ultimate decline of the Mohammedan rulers, as will be shown in those chapters which record the European period, especially during the progress to power of the British, was the want of good faith always cherished, and sometimes openly displayed to the Europeans. The Portuguese had many pretexts afforded to them for cruelty and rapacity by the breach of engagements by princes with whom in peace and war they came in contact. The Dutch had fewer transactions with the rajahs, and managed with better policy than the Portuguese, but they also found the sirdars faithless. The British are frequently accused by writers among themselves of having acted without faith to Mohammedan princes from whom they had experienced justice and truth, and from whom they had every reason to expect such virtues. That some of the agents of the British government stood no higher than the Mohammedan rajahs in political morality is, unfortunately, too true, and that presidential governors, the governor-general at Calcutta, the East India Company, and the British cabinet, have all in turn not only erred in judgment, but proved themselves deficient in justice and candour, are facts, unhappily, beyond dispute; but such impeachments were of exceptional application, while the rule of Mohammedan government, as well as of heathen government, in India, was unprincipled and perfidious. This was shown in the treatment of the first English ambassador by the Great Mogul in the beginning of our Indian career, and recently by the reckless violation of treaty and honourable obligation by the King of Oude, whose deposition was one cause of the violent catastrophe which befel India in our own time. A glance at the treatment received by a British ambassador from the Great Mogul and his heir, has already been given in this chapter. The reader desirous of following out the subject can have further proof by consulting Purchas* and Churchill.† Astonishment may well be felt upon the perusal of these and other true narratives of the spirit and character of Mohammedan princes, that the British were able to maintain with them any alliances, treaties, or negotiations whatever. In a letter directed to the company by Sir Thomas Roe, a brief but correct picture is given of the utter want of honour and truth which he found in the emperor to whom he was accredited, and in the princes, one of whom soon ascended the imperial throne. Sir Thomas also shows the general spirit of insolence as well as chicanery which, towards Europeans especially, pervaded the Mogul court. "This I repeate for instruction, to warne the company, and him that shall succede me, to be very wary what they send may be subject to no ill interpretation, for in that point this king and people are very pregnant and scrupulous, full of jealousie and trickes. . . . . I must plead against myself that an ambassador lives not in fit honour here. I would sooner die than be content with the slavery the Persian is content with. A meaner agent would, amongst these proud Moors, better effect your business. My qualitie often for ceremonies either begets you enemies or suffers unworthilie. The king has often demanded an ambassadour from Spain, but could never obtain one, for two causes: first, because they would not give presents unworthy their king's greatness; next, they knew his recep-

* *Calcutta Review.*

† *History of Hindostan.* 1792.

* *Purchas his Pilgrimes.* London, St. Paul's Churchyard, at the sign of the "Rose." 1625.

† Churchill's *Collection of Voyages and Travels.* London, at the "Golden Ball," Paternoster Row. 1744.

tion should not answer his qualitia. I have moderated according to my discretion, but with a swollen heart. *Half my charge shall corrupt all to be your slaves.*"

The Mohammedan people, in spite of the policy of several of their princes, never amalgamated with the Hindoos. Their habits and customs were always distinct, and so even were the callings which they pursued, when choice influenced the selection. "The Hindoos are the only cultivators of the land, and the only manufacturers. The Mohammedans who came into India were soldiers, or followers of a camp, and even now are never to be found employed in the labours of husbandry or the loom." Such was the testimony of an observer written before the present century, and it is still extensively borne out. The mutiny and insurrection of 1857 may lead persons to conclude that there is at present some affinity between the two races. That there is a nearer approach than formerly in their manners and customs is a fact which all recent authorities announce; but the mutiny would be a deceptive indication of the like, for it was the union of two dissimilar peoples for a common object—a political phenomenon known in all ages. The Mohammedans scorned the Hindoos too much to amalgamate with them, and their hatred was as keen as their contempt. Bigotry and fanaticism appear to have been the chief elements of this disdain and hostility, and in the reluctance to assimilate which proved so stubborn. The Hindoos, servile and crafty, soon learned to look on the bold and rude Mohammedans as their natural masters: even the Brahmin regarded them with awe; his demeanour giving expression to the words of Goldsmith—

> "Pride in their port, defiance in their eye,
> I see the lords of human kind pass by,
> Intent on high designs."

The opposition of the Hindoo to the Mohammedan, religiously and politically, was, for the most part, passive but not the less obstinate. "The thorough amalgamation of the Hindoo faith with the whole national and individual life rendered speedy conversion impossible, and made it clear that by violence alone could any empire over the people of Hindostan be obtained and preserved. Thus was the spread of Mohammedanism in India slower and more difficult than anywhere else, long after it had made a lodgment within the territory; the lapse of time tending, meanwhile, to relax the forces of fanaticism, and to turn the warriors of the Prophet from apostles into politicians and princes." *

* Harriet Martineau.

The genius of custom often keeps separate contiguous people, and even citizens or subjects of the same state who are brought into close and constant contact. This was the case in India throughout the Mohammedan period. "The Hindoo dwelling of bamboo, with its curved thatched roof, and placed, if possible, apart and under trees, contrasted with the Mohammedan cottage or house of clay, or unburnt brick, or stone, with its terraced roof. The Hindoo swathed himself in two scarfs of white cotton or muslin, rubbed his skin with oil, eat rice, thought his lank hair and moustaches a sufficient covering for his head, was conscious of the grace and suppleness of his carriage, and delighted in conversation and indolent and frivolous amusement, while yet his cast of character was quiet and thoughtful. The Mohammedan, on the other hand, covered his head with a turban, and wore trousers, tunic, ornaments, and arms; tiled his roof; ate wheaten bread (unleavened); shut up the women of his family, and was not much of a talker in society. The Hindoo village had always a bazaar, a market day, and an annual fair; one temple and one guest-house, where the wayfarer might find shelter. Each hut and each mansion had its mat, its earthern pot and dishes, its pestle and mortar, and baking plate, and its shed for cooking. The husbandman prayed and went forth at dawn with his cattle to the field; his wife brought him his hot dinner at noon, and his evenings were spent in smoking and amusement. The women meantime had been grinding and cooking, washing, spinning, and fetching water. In the towns, the tradesmen and artizans lived in brick or stone houses, with shops open to the streets. The bazaar loungers—mendicant priests, smoking soldiers, and saucy bulls which lorded it over everybody—distinguished the towns where the Hindoos predominated; and so did the festivals in which the townspeople took at one draught the pleasure which the villagers spread over all their evenings. The observances at death and burial were unlike those of the conquering race. The Hindoos burned their dead, except those belonging to religious orders; and they seldom or never set up tombs, except to warriors fallen in battle, or widows burned with their husbands. When Leedes was at Delhi, widows were not allowed to sacrifice themselves. In almost every other case, Hindoo observances were carefully cherished by Akbar, and Mohammedan peculiarities subordinated to them." *

In spite of the efforts of Akbar, the contrast in customs and manners continued, and

* *British Rule in India.* By Miss Martineau.

even where in many respects the same habits were adopted, and the same jubilee festivals enjoyed, the spirit and feeling of the two peoples remained distinct. Thus was it when the commercial enterprise of the Portuguese led them to the realms of such reputed wealth, and when afterwards their rivals, the Dutch, entered upon the same field of aggrandizement and ambition. When the French and English measured swords on the plains and coasts of India they were struck with the same contrast; and though under the dissolving power of English influence there has been more blending of the customs of the two races as they stooped together to mightier conquerors, yet the broad marks of distinction remain. The hand of England has lifted up the debased Hindoo in the presence of his oppressor, and has forced the latter aside from the path of his tyranny; but except as both may desire the removal of the constraining power, they have no identity of feeling, no sympathy in religion, no kindred of race, no sympathy of nationality. Freed from the controlling power of Great Britain, heathen and Mohammedan India would break loose again, and only mingle as when separate torrents meeting, the stronger sweeps the weaker onward in its more voluminous current. Christianity and infidelity are mighty solvents of all superstitions, and both are now at work in India with an activity which must bring to pass ultimate changes which few contemplate. Before these two powers, Brahminism and Mohammedanism must together perish. The signs of this great transition are two significant for any persons acquainted with India to doubt its advent. The final struggle in India and everywhere will be between the two most potent principles, Christianity and Infidelity. That Christianity will triumph reason and revelation assure us; but, nevertheless, long after the follies and wickedness of Hindoo mythology shall have perished, and the crescent and scimitar shall have ceased to be the symbol and the instrument of a sanguinary and tyrant creed, infidelity and Christianity shall wage their warfare within the confines of those wide-spread and glorious realms. Faith and hope alike teach us to exclaim, "*Magna est veritas et prævalebit.*"

## CHAPTER XLIV.

### THE PARSEES: THEIR RELATION TO INDIAN HISTORY.

THE Parsees have filled a part by no means unimportant in the history of India. In describing the religions of India, the creed and devotional practices of the Parsees were shown, and in the account given of the presidency, island, and city of Bombay, more particular notice was taken of the social peculiarities and position of that people. Several learned Parsees have demurred to those descriptions of their religious opinions and observances, but both have been stated with unswerving fidelity. It has been objected, that the Parsee people do not worship the sun or fire, as is stated in this History, but only pay them a relative honour, as the symbols and representatives of the divine nature and presence. The talented author of *The Parsees, their History, Manners, Customs, and Religion*, Mr. Dosabhoy Framjee, has, in conversation with the writer of these lines, strongly objected to such a representation of the Parsee religion; but he has nevertheless confessed, what his published views also show, that whatever may be the devotional exercises of the more enlightened members of that profession, the mass of those who are in communion with it pay an idolatrous worship to the sun and to fire,—to the former in the great temple of nature, and to the latter in the temples erected for Parsee devotion. Anxious to present truth impartially, and entertaining a high respect for the intelligence, enterprise, and loyalty of our Parsee fellow subjects in India, it is desirable to offer confirmation of the picture of the devotees of the sun, drawn in a previous chapter, and at the same time to show the opinions entertained of that people by men eminent for knowledge in the history, literature, and political and social relations of India. It is the more important to do so, because of the growing importance of this people. The language of the manager of the *Bombay Times* is appropriate:—

"Of all the races inhabiting India, the Parsees are the most intelligent and energetic. Not trammelled by that cursed system of 'caste,' they are at liberty to trade in and inhabit all quarters of the globe, and follow whatever profession they think will be conducive to their advancement in life. They may justly boast that, upon the first opportunity the race has possessed for a thousand years of rising into eminence, they have

proved themselves the worthy descendants of a renowned ancestry.

"Although insignificant in point of numbers, the Parsee community can never be absent from the European mind when contemplating the vast empire of India. The Parsee has been flatteringly described as the Saxon of the East, and, under the ægis of the just and enlightened rule of England, has entered with success into competition with the Saxon of the West in the meed for honourable distinction.

"The wealth acquired by the Parsees, we are proud to say, is rarely misspent. There are, of course, as in all communities, some who wisely hoard up their riches, while others squander away large fortunes in luxury and debauchery, without contributing a penny towards any charitable fund or object of public utility. But it cannot be denied that the majority of the Parsees are benevolent to a great degree; some even forget that charity begins at home, and are liberal beyond their means. The race has inherited this spirit of liberality from its ancestors, who were conspicuous for their love of charity. It is enough to show to a Parsee an object deserving of relief or support, and his purse is at once opened."

Dr. Hyde, in his work on the ancient religion of the Parsees, gives a picture of it with which most eminent writers on the subject concur, but which is somewhat too favourable for even the best periods of that religion, and which certainly would not apply to the superstitious views so generally held by Parsee devotees at present. "The Persians, from the beginning of their existence as a nation, always believed in only one and the same true and omnipotent God. They believed in all the attributes of the Deity believed by us; and God is called in their own writings, the Doer, the Creator, the Governor, and the Preserver of the world. They also believed that the Deity was eternal (without beginning or end) and omnipotent, with a great many attributes, which to enumerate particularly would be tedious. They also believed this Deity to be the judge of all men, and that there was to come a general resurrection of every man, to be judged and accounted according to his merits or demerits. And they also believed that God has prepared for the blessed a place of happiness called heaven or paradise. And as there was a heaven for the good, there was also a place of torture for the wicked (as may be proved from their old works), where they undergo a punishment for their faults and misdeeds. They acknowledged that they sinned daily, but proposed themselves to be penitent for all the sins committed by them either by thought, word, or deed."

Dean Prideaux, Sir William Ouseley, Hanway, Captain Pope, and many other writers of eminence, express themselves as strongly in favour of the monotheism and morality of Parseeism. It is, however, evident that the ancient theory of worshipping the Supreme Being as the light and life of the world, using the sun as his most glorious emblem, and when the sun was not in view using fire as the most appropriate representation, has become obsolete, the majority of the worshippers adoring the material media rather than the Being to whom they profess to look, or at all events associating them idolatrously with him in worship. And not only are the sun and fire linked with the Creator as objects of adoration, but the air, earth, and nature generally, are so adored as to make modern Parseeism pantheistical. This is often indirectly conceded by even the most partial writers, who extenuate these superstitions, and are carried away by the subtlety and beauty of ancient Zoroastrianism, to admire indiscriminately all the usages of modern Parsees. The Indian journals are in their business departments often in the hands of Parsees, and an influence over the press there is thus acquired, which has much conduced to the laudation of sun-worship, which has almost become fashionable with certain classes of European writers. Thus, in one of the numbers of the *Asiatic Journal* the following passage occurs:—"The observances paid to fire (it is unjust to call them worship) are only parts of a ritual which prescribes a similar respect for, and mention in prayers of, all the classes of animated nature, and some objects inanimate. The respect paid to fire is more prominent than the other parts of the ritual, inasmuch as that element is considered the terrestrial image of the Supreme Being."

Mrs. Postans, whose beautiful work on *Western India* has been quoted in a former chapter, was influenced by such representations to write in even stronger terms:—"I have used this title (fire-worshippers) in conformity with the popular English notion of Parsee worship; but the term is, I believe, quite unfounded. They do not worship either the elements or the heavenly bodies, being, in fact, pure Deists, and regarding the works of God's hand as to be reverenced only as proofs of the Divine power."

Were these descriptions exact, the practices of the Parsees would still fall under the Scripture denunciation of idolatry, which declares that it is incompatible with the pure worship of Jehovah for the worshipper to make to himself the likeness of anything that

is in heaven above, the earth beneath, or the waters under the earth, either to worship them or bow down to them. God prohibits all religious honour to any creature whatsoever. The following passages from friends of the Parsees (of whom no writer has spoken more favourably than the author of this History) show that, however partially regarded, the religious customs of the modern Parsees are idolatrous, and, when they fall short of that degree of error, generally superstitious. Forbes* says, "These fires (the sacred fires of the Parsees) are attended day and night by the *andiaroos*, or priests, and are never permitted to expire. They are preserved in a large chafing-dish, carefully supplied with fuel, perfumed by a small quantity of sandal-wood or other aromatics. The vulgar and illiterate worship this sacred flame, as also the sun, moon, and stars, without regard to the invisible Creator; but the learned and judicious adore only the Almighty Fountain of Light, the Author and Disposer of all things, under the symbol of fire. Zoroaster and the ancient magi, whose memories they revere, and whose works they are said to preserve, never taught them to consider the sun as anything more than a creature of the great Creator of the universe: they were to revere it as His best and fairest image, and for the numberless blessings it diffuses on the earth. The sacred flame was intended only as a perpetual monitor to preserve their purity, of which this element is so expressive a symbol. But superstition and fable have, through a lapse of ages, corrupted the stream of the religious system, which in its source was pure and sublime."

Sir John Malcolm, in his *History of Persia*, declares that Zoroaster, the founder of the Parsee religion, taught that God existed from all eternity, and was like infinity of time and space. "There were, he (Zoroaster) averred, two principles in the universe—good and evil. Light was the type of good, darkness of the evil spirit; and God had said unto Zoroaster, 'My light is concealed under all that shines.' Hence the disciple of that prophet, when he prays in a temple, turns towards the sacred fire that burns upon its altar; and when in the open air, towards the sun, as the noblest of all lights, and that by which God sheds his divine influences over the whole earth, and perpetuates the works of his creation. . . . . His religion inculcated the worship of one immortal and beneficent Creator. Whatever might have been his (Zoroaster's) intention, his introduction of flame from an earthly substance, as the symbol of God, opened a wide door for superstition. There can be no doubt that the devotion intended for the Deity by Zoroaster has been given to the symbol by many of his followers, who have merited by such a practice the reproachful name of worshippers of fire."

Mr. Dosabhoy Framjee,* himself a Parsee, and the able advocate of his people both in India and in England, thus defends them from the charge of idolatry:—"The charge of fire, sun, water, and air worship has, however, been brought against the Parsees by those not sufficiently acquainted with the Zoroastrian faith to form a just opinion. The Parsees themselves repel the charge with indignation. Ask a Parsee whether he is a worshipper of the sun or fire, and he will emphatically answer, No. This declaration itself, coming from one whose own religion is Zoroastrianism, ought to be sufficient to satisfy the most sceptical. God, according to Parsee faith, is the essence of glory, refulgence, and light; and in this view, a Parsee, while engaged in prayer, is directed to stand before the fire, or to direct his face towards the sun, as the most proper symbols of the Almighty."

"All Eastern historians have acknowledged that the Persians, from the most early times, were no idolaters, but worshipped one God, the Creator of the world, under the symbol of fire, and such is also the present practice among their descendants in India."

In this strong denial of idolatrous or superstitious practices, Mr. Dosabhoy must be supposed as writing in behalf of the lettered and refined of his persuasion, for he has *viva voce* acknowledged to the author of this History that the vulgar have departed from what he considers the purity of their fathers in worship. In his work, already referred to, Mr. Dosabhoy makes admissions that seem to go farther than this, and to acknowledge a general prevalence of idolatry among the Parsee people, however some among them may abhor what they would themselves consider the worship of the creature, for, after describing the fundamental principles and early rites of his religion, he makes the following statements:—

"It is unnecessary to defend the morality or excellence of such sentiments as these; but many causes have operated to place the religion of the Parsees in a false light. A persecuted race, destitute of many of its sacred books, and coming in contact with a people highly jealous of their own religion, and to whom the slightest touch from one of

* *Oriental Memoirs.*

* Author of *The Company's Raj contrasted with its Predecessors*, a work published in Marathi and Gujerati, highly commended by Colonel Sykes, M.P.

another caste was a source of impurity, it was natural that the Parsees should have contracted, as time passed on, many of the practices of their neighbours.

"The first Parsees in India had of necessity to follow certain of the Hindoo practices, in order to secure the protection, assistance, and good-will of the Hindoo princes, in whose country they took refuge. Time rolled on, and succeeding generations of Parsees fell into the error that these borrowed practices were sanctioned by their own religion. 'Our forefathers did so,' and, according to Asiatic ideas, the children thought that their ancestors could do no wrong. The study of the few religious books which they had with them was not cultivated, for there were few learned men among the body. The result was that many of the usages, customs, practices, and prejudices of the Hindoos were received and acted upon by the Parsees. It is thus that we may easily explain how it is that an ignorant Parsee, or his wife, at the present day, sends an offering of a cocoa-nut to the *Holi*, or a cup of oil to the *Hunooman*, or cakes, sugar, and flowers to the sea.

"The Parsee punchayet some twenty-five years ago took steps with the view of eradicating such ceremonies and practices as had crept into their religion since their expatriation from Persia; but they did not succeed to the extent of their wishes with the majority of the people. Religious usages which the Parsees of India had observed for nearly twelve centuries could not be easily eradicated.

"What the punchayet failed to do by compulsory measures is now sought to be done by an appeal to the sense of the people. An association composed of many influential and wealthy Parsees, and a number of young and educated men of the race, was formed in the year 1852, under the title of the *Rahnumai Mazdiasna*, or Religious Reform Association, which has for its object the regeneration of the social condition of the Parsees, and the restoration of the Zoroastrian religion to its pristine purity.

"In the face of considerable opposition from the ignorant classes of the community, this association has done much good, and wrought considerable changes in the social condition of the Parsees. Essays, composed in language eloquent and impressive, showing the disadvantages resulting from adhering to practices and usages which really do not belong to the religion, are read in public meetings before a crowd of eager listeners. Pamphlets by thousands have been circulated among the people; and judging from present appearances, the efforts of this body seem to have had a beneficial influence on the minds of the people.

"The committee of the Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy Translation Fund lately contributed its quota to this much-desired object. An essay on the 'Origin and History of the Zend-Avasta, with an account of the investigations of European authors regarding the Zend books, with suggestions for enhancing religious education among the Parsees, and particularly among the priests,' was invited, and a prize of five hundred rupees, or fifty pounds, offered to the successful competitor."

The condition of the Parsee priesthood demands improvement: very few of them understand their liturgical works, although able to recite, parrot-like, all the chapters requiring to be repeated on occasions of religious ceremonies, for which services they receive the regulated fees, and from them mainly they derive a subsistence. The priesthood is an hereditary profession among the Parsees. The priest does not acquire a position from sacerdotal fitness or superior learning. Strictly speaking, he cannot be called a spiritual guide. The son of a priest is also a priest, unless he chooses to follow another profession, which is not prohibited to him. But a layman cannot be a priest. "The Parsee, religion does not, however, sanction this hereditary office; which is, indeed, contrary to the ancient law. The custom is merely derived from usage. Ignorant and unlearned as these priests are, they do not and cannot command the respect of the laity. The latter are more enlightened and educated than the former, and hence the position of the so-called spiritual guides has fallen into contempt. The consequence is that some of the priests have of late years given up a profession which has ceased to be honourable, and have betaken themselves to useful and industrious occupations, whilst a few have become contractors for constructing railroads in the Bombay Presidency. It is, however, very gratifying to notice an attempt that is now being made to impart a healthy stimulus to the priesthood for the study of their religious books. In memory of the late lamented high priest of the Kudmi sect of the Parsees, an institution, styled the 'Mulla Firoz Mudrissa,' has been established, under the superintendence of competent teachers. Here the study of Zend, Pehlvi, and Persian, is cultivated, and many of the sons of the present ignorant priests, it is confidently hoped, will occupy a higher position in the society of their countrymen than their parents now enjoy."

That a great reformation is going on from within among the professors of Zoroastrianism

is pleasingly evident, not only to enlightened Parsees but to Europeans; still it ought not to be denied by either that superstition and idolatry prevail among the people, and the priests are the abettors of these things, and set an example calculated to encourage them.

The origin of this religion, and of the people who avow it, is well known to have been in Persia. The ancient creed of the Persians, like that of all other nations, was pure; it was that of the patriarchs recorded in the Old Testament. Gradually idolatry crept in: men, wise in their own conceit, strayed from the counsels of the All-wise, and adored what they conceived to be his likeness. The sun, moon, stars, and terrestrial elements, received from them a relative worship, as media through which the Jehovah revealed his glory. This was the early departure from truth among the ancient settlers in Hindostan, who probably carried it with them from Persia, or countries further west. In Persia the usual progress of error took place—the spiritual worship of the only one God was gradually lost in the material reverence paid to the more striking phenomena of nature; and the sun, the most glorious of them all, and fire, by which the sun itself was represented, became the objects of adoration. It would appear from the earliest historical evidence extant, that when Zoroaster appeared as a prophet in Persia, he was sincerely bent upon a great work of reformation. He desired to call back the people from the grosser forms of idolatry to a pure theism, but found such difficulty in his work that he yielded to expediency, making the chief objects of nature media of approaching the Divinity, and the luminary of day, by which the world was blessed with light and heat, the grand medium of devotion. It is evident that in the form his system ultimately took, and from the writings and traditions handed down by Zoroastrians from ancient times, he was much influenced by his notions of philosophy in his system of theology. He believed in the independent existence of a good principle and an evil principle eternally at war with one another, the good being destined ultimately to prevail by its own inherent and superior power. Light and darkness were made by him the emblems of these principles, and ultimately were regarded by the great majority of his followers as personalities. Zoroaster bore, in several respects, a resemblance to Mohammed in his personal character. Like the Arabian, he was sincere and earnest in his desire to sweep away the corruptions that prevailed, and especially the gross idolatry into which all, but especially the vulgar, had fallen. Like the Arabian also, he allowed expediency to prevail where principle should have been his only guide. He did not rely upon the force of truth, and the conviction of duty on his own part in respect to it, any more than the reformer of Arabia; but, anxious to enlist instruments of power and the prejudices of the vulgar in the accomplishment of what appeared to them to be a good purpose, they espoused principles, made pretensions, and employed agencies, incompatible with the grand objects they had originally in view—the love of mankind and the glory of the Supreme. It can scarcely be doubted by any one who studies the character and history of Mohammed, that he was at first a sincere reformer, that he put forth pretensions to divine authority under the influence of fanaticism and delusion, and that he ultimately became an impostor, feigning what he did not feel, professing what he did not believe, and imposing upon the credulity of his age. The course of Zoroaster was similar: he laid claim to a divine commission, which he might have supposed committed to him for a great purpose, but he eventually did not scruple to affirm what he knew to be false as to a divine inspiration. Even to the last Mohammed was as much deceived as a deceiver; a love of truth, and the practice of imposture, were strangely blended in the man, in a manner and to a degree which it is difficult to believe, and which probably no man could have supposed possible, if so many instances of the like had not been authenticated. Zoroaster was one of these, and one of the most striking. He believed and lied like the prophet of Mecca; he deceived and was self-deluded; he desired to propagate truths, and hesitated not to resort to fiction and falsehood for their propagation and support. The scripture philosophy of the natural character of fallen man can alone account for these paradoxes—"The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked: who can know it?"

Zoroaster succeeded in filling Persia with his doctrines, from whence they spread to surrounding countries; and at this day, while his disciples in Persia are few, feeble, and persecuted, in British India they are increasing in numbers, intelligence, wealth, and influence, and are by far the most enlightened of its native population. The student of antiquity is aware that various persons went by the name of Zoroaster in different ages and nations, and hence the opinion that the name was originally assumed as expressive of a principle. Chaldea, Bactria, Pamphylia, Armenia, as well as Persia, are each said to have had eminent persons bearing this name. In a very learned and remarkable work,

written by an Indian Parsee, Nurozjee Furdoonjee, translator and interpreter in her majesty's supreme court of Bombay, there is furnished the most extensive and complete evidence extant on this subject.* He proves that Zoroaster promulgated his philosophy and religion in Persia, in the sixth century before Christ, during the reign of Darius Hystaspes. This opinion had been pronounced by many authors† of eminence in Europe. He was born at the city of Rai, his father, named Poroshup, being a philosopher; his mother, Doghdo, being a person of singular excellence. The fables related of the parents of Zoroaster in Pehlvi works, in which he is termed Zurtosht, Zerdusht, and Zeratusht, and which are also related of the great lawgiver himself, are as numerous and absurd as those which the followers of Mohammed believe concerning him and his family. The Parsees themselves are not agreed as to the precise date of the birth of their prophet, but believe in many miraculous stories of his early life. The governors of the province in which he was born, hearing that his birth was predicted by an angel, sought to destroy him, but were baffled by "the good principle," in ways as wonderful as they were various. This story is evidently founded upon either the history of the persecution of the infant Christ by Herod, or the Old Testament prophecy concerning that event. According to the Pehlvi books (written at different times by the disciples of Zoroaster), he remained in his native town until he was thirty years of age, when he proceeded to the capital, and ten years afterwards he sought the presence of the king, Darius Hystaspes, or Gushtasp, as he is called in those writings. This, according to the chronology of the Pehlvi works, was the thirtieth year of the monarch's reign, and the fortieth of the life of Zurtosht. On that occasion the prophet bore with him to the foot of the throne the "Ader Boorzeen Meher," or sacred fire, and a cypress tree. The monarch having demanded his name and purpose, the so-called prophet replied:—"The Almighty God has sent me to you, and has appointed me a prophet to guide you in the path of truth, virtue, and piety. Learn the rites and doctrines of the religion of excellence, for without religion there cannot be any worth in a king. When the mighty monarch heard him speak of the excellent religion, he accepted from him the excellent rites and doctrines."

Such is the account given of the first interview between the prince and the assumed prophet, by Ferdousi, the poet, esteemed as the Homer of the Persians. The king, his prime-minister, and some of the *magi* or sages of the kingdom immediately embraced Zoroastrianism, notwithstanding much opposition from the gayer circles of courtiers. The prime-minister and chief counsellor of state became missionaries of the new faith, and travelling through Persia, backed by the king's authority, succeeded in winning the whole nation to their views. Efforts were made by the king and his chief ministers to extend to other countries a knowledge of this persuasion, and with success. According to ancient Persian authorities, Zoroaster produced sacred books called *Avasta*. These were written in the Zend language, the antiquity of which the Parsees maintain to be very great, so that it was an obsolete language in the reign of Darius Hystaspes. Philologists differ as to this claim to so great an antiquity, some maintaining that the Zend is derived from the Sanscrit, others ascribing to it an age as remote as that alleged by the Parsees. Mr. Framjee says that the language in which the Parsee scriptures are written, first originated in the province of Bactria. The Sanscrit, he maintains, "was first spoken in the country situated to the south of Bactria, or in the region bordering the north of Affghanistan, in the vicinity of the range of mountains known as the Hindoo Koosh, any similarity of these languages is accounted for by the proximity of the countries in which they originated, but it has never been satisfactorily proved that the Zend has been derived from the Sanscrit.

The celebrated Professor Bopp is of opinion that the Zend is a much more improved language than the Sanscrit, and is as old as the language of the Veds, which was composed three or four thousand years ago. This learned author, who has compiled a comparative grammar of several European and Asiatic classical languages on the basis of the Zend, says, "that the Zend displays that independence of the Sanscrit which Rask claims for it perhaps in too high a degree;" and adds that "we are unwilling to receive the Zend as a mere dialect of the Sanscrit, and to which we are compelled to ascribe an independent existence, resembling that of the Latin as compared with the Greek, or the old Northern with the Gothic. It in many respects reaches beyond, and is an improvement on the Sanscrit."

The books alleged by the Parsees to have been produced by their prophet were twenty-one in number; these are comprised under the general designation of *Avasta*. Most of these books are lost; their destruction is

* See *Tareekh-i-Zurtoshtee; or, Discussion on the Era of Zurtosht or Zoroaster.*

† Sir William Ouseley, Hyde, Anquetil, Kleuker, Herder, Gorres, Von Hamaer &c.

attributed to invaders. Alexander the Great, who, in his Persian conquests, is said by the Parsees to have been animated by an idolatrous hatred to their purer faith as professed and practised by their fathers, destroyed such as he could find; and the Arab Mohammedans, still more deadly foes to the faith of Iran, prosecuted a more complete search, and accomplished a more extensive destruction. Only a few of the sacred books survived. They are thus described, and their claims to antiquity thus asserted, by Mr. Dosabhoy:—

"They are the Vandidad, Yaçna, or Izashné, and Vispard. These three together are designated Vandidad Sade. Ogum Decha, Khurdah-Avasta, and the Yeshts, and fragments of Vistasp Noosk, Hadokht Noosk, and Damdad Noosk, are also to be found. The first, fourth, seventh, eighth, and ninth of these works are mostly filled with prescriptions for religious ceremonies and instructions for the practice of the Zoroastrian religion. They also contain injunctions for the adoration of the Almighty, and abound with moral precepts. The Izashné, Vispard, Khurdah-Avasta, and the Yeshts, are books of prayers.

"It may be mentioned here that the oldest manuscript copies now existing of the Vandidad and Izashné were deposited in the Royal Library at Copenhagen by Professor Erasmus Rask, who, in the year 1820, visited Bombay, and passed through Persia. The copy of the first-named work bears date the twenty-fourth day of the fourth month of the year of Yezdezard (692—*i.e.* A.D. 1323). The latter work is dated ten months later.

"In India the oldest manuscript copy of the Vandidad is to be found in the library of the late Mulla Feroze, High Priest of the Kudmi sect of the Parsees. Manuscript copies of these works are also deposited in the Imperial Library, Paris; in the University Library, Oxford; and in the British, as well the East India Company's, Museum, London. Professor N. L. Westergard, of Copenhagen, published an edition of the Vandidad Sade, in the Zend character, in the year 1854. Professor Spiegel has also published the Avasta in the original Zend text, together with the original Pehlvi translation, and is said to be preparing an English version of the same for the press.

"While enumerating the liturgical works of the Parsees now extant, it may be mentioned that it has been asserted by Richardson, Kennedy, Jones, and some other European authors, but without any satisfactory proof, that the Zend books of the Parsees were fabricated by the Parsee priests upon their arrival in India in the seventh century. Other orientalists are of opinion that they must have been written after the days of Ardeshir Babekan, who restored the religion of Zoroaster in the third century. The former hypothesis is utterly gratuitous. It is altogether improbable and beyond belief that a persecuted race of men, driven from their native country, and suffering vicissitudes of no ordinary kind,—refugees, indeed, flying for their lives,—could have compiled such elaborate works as the Vandidad, Vispard, and Izashné.

"On this point we have the opinion of a learned German author. Adelung, in his *Mithridates*, says, 'In the Zend some writings still exist which have been made known by Anquetil du Perron; and these, when the grounds on which their antiquity are maintained are duly considered, will be found to be the oldest works extant except those of the Hebrews and the poems of Homer.' Professor Rask has also maintained that the Zend was a living language, and the spoken language of Media, and that the Vandidad, as it exists, was written before the time of Alexander the Great.

"Dr. Bird, in his discourse on oriental literature, read at the anniversary meeting of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, in the year 1844, declares that 'Professor Rask supposes, with great probability, that it was the popular language at least of a great part of Iran, and not merely a sacred dialect introduced for religious purposes.' Professor Heeren declares that 'few remains of antiquity have undergone such attentive examination as the books of the Zend-Avasta. This criticism has, however, turned out to their advantage; the genuineness of the principal compositions of the ancient Persians has been demonstrated.'"

The early Mohammedan writers also testify to the existence of the Zend-Avasta.

The Parsees regard these writings as most sacred, and profess to regulate their lives by the lessons of purity they inculcate.

There appears to have been an ancient hostility of a religious nature between the ancient Persians and Greeks, the former hating the idolatry of the latter, while the Greeks regarded their antagonists as sceptical and profane. The classic writings of the Greeks throw little light on this subject; but some Persian authorities ascribe the great invasion of Greece by Xerxes to the hatred with which that monarch was inspired to idolatry. When Alexander subverted the Persian monarchy, Zoroastrianism began to decline, and continued to do so for a period of five and a half centuries, when a reformer

arose, to whom the Parsees give the glory of having restored the ancient faith. This social regenerator was Ardeshir Babekan, whose work of revival began A.D. 226. This zealous religionist was monarch at that date. He collected the books written in the ancient Zend language, and had them translated into Pehlvi, the language then spoken throughout Persia. Fire-temples were erected by him, and the ancient glory of Zoroastrianism restored. The results of this great moral and ecclesiastical change lasted for four hundred and sixteen years, and was then extinguished by the Arabs A.D. 641. At that period the Arabs swept over the land of Persia, as the locusts over the fields and forests, destroying all that was verdant and fair. The Caliph Omar decided the destiny of the Persian monarchy and religion together at the battle of Nabravand, fought at the village of that name, about fifty miles from the ancient city of Ecbatana. The forces arrayed in the conflict, which was sanguinary and fierce, do not correspond with the results. The Persian army, although usually computed at a higher number by Western writers, according to Parsee relation, numbered but fifteen thousand properly disciplined troops, and the Arab horsemen by whom they were overthrown were still fewer in number. The overthrow of the Persian army was complete, and the monarchy fell as it fled. Yesdezird, the forty-fifth king of the race of Kaimur, became a fugitive, wandering about in the meanest disguises over the realms he had ruled; he lingered ten years, pursued with implacable hatred by his conquerors, and was at last betrayed and basely slain by one to whom the secret of his rank was confided. This perfidy was perpetrated A.D. 651. The dynasty of the Sussarian kings of Persia perished with the life of Yezdezird. The work of Cyrus the Great—the *Kaikhoshru* of the Persians—was thus destroyed. The great empire his genius founded vanished before the scimitar and lance of the Arab. The name of Mohammed triumphed over that of Zoroaster, and the ancient glory of Persia disappeared for ever.

The Parsees delight to represent their religion as shining in the light of purity at the period of its overthrow, and the people of Persia as intelligent, prosperous, and happy beyond all nations at the juncture when the hoofs of the Arab horsemen trod out the sacred torches of religion and liberty. These representations are, however, partial, for there is evidence sufficient in the history of the early Christian Church to show how superstitious and idolatrous the first oriental missionaries found the land of the Parsees. Jew and Gentile had often groaned under the persecutions of a proudly dominant and essentially idolatrous system; and the Arabs, if they had no images to provoke their iconoclastic propensities, beheld in the Persians, worshippers of nature in a manner as hateful to the monotheistic conquerors. To the Mohammedans the fire-temples were the symbols and sanctuaries of an abominable idolatry, and they therefore razed or desecrated them. The Parsees complain of the intolerance of these early ravagers; but while it cannot be denied that the present Parsees of India are enlightened in the doctrines of religious liberty, their forefathers in Persia were not strangers to intolerance in their own policy and practice. The bigotry of the conquerors was, however, savage; they believed themselves divinely commissioned, as undoubtedly they were providentially raised up, to punish idolaters, and they spared neither the idols nor their worshippers. It is not to be wondered at if the altars of the sun met with no more respect than those of Vishnu, and the temples of fire-worship were in Mohammedan esteem as obnoxious to destruction as those of Brahminical worship were at a later period. The Mohammedans were not nice in their casuistry as to degrees of idolatry; the sun, the elements, a hideous representation of Hindoo mythology, Greek painting or Latin sculpture in honour of Christian saints, all fared alike before those who held that all idols and the makers of them ought to perish together, for the honour of God, and in the name of Mohammed, his prophet. The soldiers of the caliphate of Bagdad were among the truest to their mission in this respect that ever went forth for the glory of their faith. They overran every province of Persia, and gave the Ghebers no rest until they accepted the Arab creed, or were made martyrs by the Arab sword. Many of the Persians perished, but generally they preferred recantation to martyrdom. One hundred thousand daily renounced their religion, which ought not to excite surprise; for if they were sincere in the monotheistic creed which modern Parsees are so anxious to ascribe to them, they would find it in Mohammedanism more simply and rationally than in their own professed monotheism but virtual pantheism. It required a shorter time than ever before or since sufficed to change the faith of a nation, to overthrow that of Zoroastrianism in Persia. In a few years after the conquest the professors of the ancient faith were a despised and persecuted remnant, insignificant in numbers, and such they have continued to this day. Eastern writers have described the moral results of the change according to their

sympathies with the creeds of the victors or the vanquished, and European writers have given little attention to that subject. Weighing the evidence impartially, the ancient Persian professors of the religion of Zoroaster were more moral than the present Persians, many of whom are nominally Mohammedans, but actually atheists. It is certain that since the power of Islam prevailed Persia has retrograded both socially and in her relation to other nations. She wore once the glory and splendour of empire, and nations bowed the neck to her yoke; now none so poor as to do her homage.

During the first fiery career of the Mohammedan conquerors, many of the Persians fled to the mountains of Khorassan. Here for a century they found freedom to adore God in the elements, in a fitting theatre for their peculiar worship. But at last the avenging sword of the Mohammedan sought their blood even in the defiles and ravines of that rocky and precipitous realm. The Persian settlements were dispersed after a feeble resistance, and the fugitives sought various sanctuaries of liberty and peace. A considerable number found a retreat in the Island of Ormuz, at the mouth of the Persian Gulf. Even to this island retirement they were pursued; the ships and scimitars of the Arabs soon appeared, and the persecuted wanderers became fugitives once more. They resolved to seek an asylum beyond the reach of their conquerors, and considered India as a likely country to afford it. The emigration of this little company has a better authenticated history than that of other sections of those who became exiles for their religion and freedom, but the records preserved of any of the bands of fugitives are imperfect. Learned Persians had found honoured residence in India, as eminent Hindoos had in Persia from very remote ages; for, as has been proved in other chapters of this history, the intercourse between the two countries had been very great from the remotest antiquity. It would appear from recent investigations that from the very beginning of the Arab incursions, various bodies of Persians sought refuge in Hindostan. The traditions and stories of the exiles of Ormuz, and their various wanderings before they found a final settlement, are very numerous, and often contradictory, as they exist among the Parsees of India. A learned Parsee, named Behram, who lived at Nowsari, a town near Surat, at the close of the sixteenth century, wrote a work entitled *Kissah-i-Saryan*, which professed to be a compilation of the traditions which existed in Western India at that period, respecting the immigrants from Ormuz and other places in Persia. The first place at which any body of the refugees sought a home, was, according to Behram, Diu or Diew, a small island in the Gulf of Cambay, to the southwest of the peninsula of Kattywar. This was a very appropriate place for their purpose. Briggs, in his work entitled *Cities of Guzzarastra*, as quoted by Mr. Framjee, thus describes it:—"Diu or Diew was one of the earliest seats of the Portuguese power in India. It was regarded by Albuquerque as an excellent port for a settlement, one that would secure, from its advantages, both marine and terrine, the permanency of the country's influence in Hindostan. After several fruitless efforts, the infamous Nugna d'Acunha succeeded, in 1535, in obtaining possession of Diew, and within a very short time rendered it almost impregnable to the assaults of the native powers. . . . History asserts that the trade of Surat was destroyed to encourage commerce at Diew; and Osorio makes mention of the splendour of its buildings and the greatness of its maritime powers. Upon Surat recovering itself, Diew declined, and is now said to be a vast pile of dilapidation."

At this place the fugitives disembarked, and found a shelter for nineteen years. The reason of their departure at that period, as given by Behram, is a most strange one:—"An aged *dastoor* (high priest), reading the tablets of the stars, made an augury that it behoved them to depart from that place and seek out another abode; all rejoiced at his words, and sailed swiftly for Gujerat." Incredible as it might seem that a people, who for so long had found an undisturbed shelter, should on no better grounds forsake it, a knowledge of the superstitions of the Parsees, both of antiquity and of the present day, renders it explicable. The old Persians were famous augurs, soothsayers, and astrologers: their wise men, or magi, were held to be eminent as sages in proportion to their knowledge of ethics and the heavenly bodies. Astronomy was studied, but the heavens were chiefly contemplated for astrological purposes. The present race of Parsees, both in Persia and India, are influenced by similar delusions, and in their sacred services, and social ceremonies, astrology performs an important part. The exiled inhabitants of Diew departed, encountering fierce storms in their course. During their perils almost all hope was abandoned, and the Parsee interest was in imminent danger of being extinguished. A prayer was offered by the storm-tossed exiles, composed on the spot by their dastoor, which exhibits them in a more favourable light than the astrological auguries which sent them on

the expedition. As the strictures upon the high pretensions of Parsees to purity of creed and practice in the foregoing pages may be regarded as somewhat stern, it will be considered by the reader as impartial and just to give this prayer, which is, moreover, in itself, calculated deeply to interest those who trace the providence of God in Indian history, not in one race, or creed, or power, but in every element of the great social mass ever upheaving in the peninsula, like the ocean that surges against its coasts. "O wise God, come to our assistance in this jeopardy; and we pray to Thee to deliver us from the impending danger. O glorious God, we beseech Thee to gladden our hearts by removing those difficulties with which we are now surrounded. On Thy goodness, O Lord, we fully depend, and hope that the storm which has overtaken us will soon be over through Thy Divine Grace. As long as we have hopes of Thy aid, O God, we tremble not at this calamity. We have implicit faith in Thee, as the hearer of those who cry to Thee. Deliver us, therefore, O Merciful Providence, from this trouble, and lead us to the right path, that we may escape from this sea to the shores of India, and we promise, O Lord, to kindle on high the flame sacred to Thee in grateful remembrance of Thy kindness and protection." The storm abated, and the little fleet was wafted in security to Saujan, about twenty miles south of Damaun, at which place they disembarked. This is believed to have occurred A.D. 717. The territory of Saujan was then governed by a prince named Jadao Rana, a man of reputed wisdom and liberality. A high priest was sent, with the usual oriental gifts when it is necessary to conciliate power and bespeak favour from princes. The priest seems to have had some diplomatic qualities, and gained a ready and impartial audience. According to the Parsee traditions, the prince was somewhat awed by the martial bearing of the immigrants; which, judging of the easy conquest made by the Arabs, need not have caused him any apprehensions. Fearing that the strangers might ultimately, and perhaps speedily, constitute an *imperium in imperio*, or haply overthrow his throne, he demanded clear and specific statements of the affairs, objects, and history of those who sought so abruptly to become citizens of his dominion. The Parsees, well aware of the faith and customs of the Hindoos, and masters of the language of that part of India, were at no loss to provide a reply likely to interest the governor or ruler whose protection they sought. He was convinced of their merits, and his own obligations of hospitality. He required an explicit statement of their religious opinions. This the dastoors, or priests, professed to provide; but as our Parsee fellow-subjects in India are never deficient in *finesse*, so it appears that their forefathers were not deficient in this quality, for an abstract of Parsee faith was given more cunning than correct. The object was not to offend their expected benefactor by too startling an *exposé* of a creed so much at variance with their own; and to effect this object they affected a coincidence of opinion and custom which was not real. It is not unlikely, however, that some conformity to Hindoo practice and opinion had been conceded or acquired at Diu, and so far the representations made by the dastoors may have been more honest than otherwise they would appear. Modern Parsees deny the validity of the doctrines and practices contained in the *Schlokes*, put forward by their forefathers on this occasion as an *exposé* of Zoroastrianism, and maintain that their ancestors yielded to a great temptation to secure a footing in the land of hope. The following *schlokes*, or distiches, were put forth, however, as a full exposition to the Hindoo prince, of the religion of his visitors:—

1. We are worshippers of Hormuzed (the supreme), and of the sun, and the four elements.
2. We observe silence while bathing, praying, making offerings to fire, and eating.
3. We use incense, perfumes, and flowers, in our religious ceremonies.
4. We are worshippers of the cow.
5. We wear the sacred garment, the *sudra*, or shirt, the *kusti*, or cincture, for the loins, and the cap of two folds.
6. We rejoice in songs and instruments of music, on the occasion of our marriages.
7. We ornament and perfume our wives.
8. We are enjoined to be liberal in our charities, and especially in excavating tanks and wells.
9. We are enjoined to extend our sympathies towards males as well as females.
10. We practise ablutions with *gaomutra*, one of the products of the cow.
11. We wear the sacred girdle when praying and eating.
12. We feed the sacred flame with incense.
13. We practice devotion five times a day.
14. We are careful observers of conjugal fidelity and purity.
15. We perform annual religious ceremonies on behalf of our ancestors.
16. We place great restraints upon our women after their confinements.

Jadao Rana was well pleased with this form of faith, and gave the petitioners authority to reside in the city on certain conditions. These were, that they should adopt the language of the country, giving up the use of their own; that they should dress their women in the Hindoo fashion, perform their marriage ceremonies by night, like the Hindoos, and wear no armour. The Parsees reluctantly con-

sented to these terms, which were only accepted as a sad alternative to being sent forth again vagrants upon the deep. They were permitted to select a tract of waste land in the neighbourhood of Saujan.

The industry and perseverance of the Parsees—which qualities then, as now, characterized the race—turned the desert into a garden; and they performed the vow to God made by them on board ship, "to kindle on high the flame sacred to him." They erected a grand fire temple, to which purpose the rajah munificently contributed. The structure was completed, according to the chronology of Parsee tradition, A.D. 721.

The colony increased, and sent off outshoots to Surat, Nowsari, Broach, Variao, Ukleser, and Cambay. Their brethren in Persia, who survived under terrible persecution or concealed their faith, found their way in small companies to most or all of these places. For a period of five hundred years but few incidents occurred in the history of the Parsees in India; nevertheless, their influence increased, and they lived in harmony with the people of the land. Their employments were chiefly agricultural, and they avoided all meddling with political affairs.

Their old enemies, the Mohammedans, however, still crossed their path, and pursued them with a vengeance which seemed destined to be successful. As shown in the chapters devoted to the history of the Mohammedans in India, those fierce marauders cut their way into Hindostan, blood and triumph marking their career. For a long time the Parsees escaped any especial exposure to their wrath or their power, but step by step the squadrons of the common enemy pressed onwards, and Hindoo and Parsee alike bowed to the thraldom. The conduct of the Parsees who were exposed to these troubles was passive and submissive generally. Early in the sixteenth century Sultan Mohammed Begada, of Ahmedabad, collected a large army under a general of reputation, named Aluf Khan, and invaded the territory of Saujan. The Hindoo rajah, unable to cope with the force sent against him, summoned the Parsee elders to his presence, reminded them of the favours lavished upon their ancestors by his, and appealed to their justice, gratitude, and honour for what succour they could render in that hour of danger. To the address of the rajah they are represented as having replied, "Fear not, O prince, on account of this army: all of us are ready to scatter the heads of thy foes, and will fight as long as a drop of blood remains in our veins. In battle we never give way; not one man of us will turn his back, though a millstone were dashed at his head." The past conduct of the Persians before the Arabs did not justify so magniloquent a speech, but their descendants at Saujan were prepared to make good on their own part what they vowed. Fourteen hundred Parsees, under the command of Ardeshir, a man eminent among them, joined the army of the rajah. The enemy approached the vicinity of Saujan with a force of thirty thousand men, chiefly cavalry, confident in their numbers, contemptuous of their foes, and proud of a long line of deeds of chivalry and daring, which had rendered terrible the Mohammedan name. The Hindoos marshalled in much inferior numbers and confidence; they, however, fought well, sending showers of arrows upon the enemy, in which their superiority was well asserted. The Mohammedans sought closer combat, but were received by the javelin men of the Hindoos fiercely and effectively; the usual irresistible charge of Mohammedan cavalry, however, at length overthrew bowmen and javelin men together, and the Hindoos broke away, retiring in disorder from the field. The Parsees were reserved to cover a retreat; and like the Irish Brigade in the French service at the memorable battle of Fontenoy, they rendered a more effective service; they charged the victors with such heroic impetuosity, that their line, already too extended, was broken, a panic ensued, under the impression that the rajah was performing a grand stratagem in the previous retirement of his force. Aluf Khan, with his cavalry, galloped from the field, while Ardeshir and his Parsee auxiliaries cut up the infantry, but few of whom escaped, and these only in utter rout. The movement of Ardeshir, and its execution by his devoted band of followers, were worthy of the reputation of Persian arms when, in the great days of that empire, its name and its glory filled all Asia.

The gratitude of the rajah placed the Parsee colonists in a position of great honour and esteem. None seemed to envy, all to admire them. But this happy state of things was not permitted to endure. Mohammed was enraged, and, with the characteristic pertinacity in war of his race, renewed hostilities. Aluf Khan organized a larger army, and advancing against Saujan, occupied the same battle-ground. The rajah was dismayed, but the heroic alacrity with which his Parsee subjects flew to arms reassured him, notwithstanding the overwhelming superiority of the enemy in numbers and oriental appurtenances of war. Ardeshir was sent for to the rajah's presence, and consulted. His opinion and counsel were against timidity, avowing that the safety of the rajah and his dominions lay

in energy, promptitude, and dauntless resolution. He is recorded as having concluded his address in the following terms, which were more intrepid than prophetic:—"O prince, the enemy has appeared in greater numbers than before. They are a hundred to our one, but behold our courage! We will either yield our lives, or take those of our foes; and in this resolve may God befriend us, since he always removes our difficulties." The rajah and his army went out against the foe, and a sanguinary conflict ensued. The Hindoo prince was unfortunately slain, and his men wavered, and gradually gave way. Ardeshir and his Parsees, as in the previous battle, charged the enemy with terrible fury. The Mohammedan general was prepared for this, and offered a resistance as desperate, led by a chief of great prowess. This redoubtable leader and Ardeshir encountered each other hand-to-hand, and the Mohammedan was slain. Aluf Khan, perceiving that fortune again favoured the Hindoo cause, chiefly in the person of Ardeshir, charged down upon him with the main portion of his force, and was received with unshaken fortitude. During this crisis a dart pierced the breast of Ardeshir, and he fell dead from his horse. The Parsees appear to have yielded to the panic common to oriental nations when their chief falls—they fled from the field. The enemy entered Saujan, dealing bloody retribution around them. The dynasty of the rajah, as well as his life, terminated on that day, and the Parsees of Saujan, like those of Iran, bowed the neck to victors the same in creed, and in enmity to them.

The Parsees who were not slain or subjected to slavery fled to the mountains of Baharout, saving nothing but their lives and the sacred fire. Saujan was never again occupied by them. Not one Parsee is to be found there even now, nor is there any memento of their influence and distinguished career at that spot, once so happy a refuge for them, except a *dokhma*, or tower of silence, for the dead. It would appear that the mountain fastnesses afforded a defence, or the enemy was too much occupied to pursue them, or deemed them unworthy of pursuit, for they continued in their mountain refuge for about twelve years unmolested.

A small company of Parsees existed at Bansda at that time, with whom a correspondence was opened, and the fugitives moved down from their highlands, and found hospitality among their brethren. Thither of course the sacred fire was brought; for the more a superstition is persecuted, the more its devotees cling to it, unless—as in the case of the Parsees in Persia upon the conquest by the Arabs—death is made the alternative of conformity; and the latter is chosen once for all, at least in outward adhesion.

At Nowsari the Parsees had become somewhat numerous and rich; to that place the sacred fire was soon after removed, and ultimately to Oodwarra, thirty-two miles from Surat, where it still is, within the oldest and most venerated fire-temple in India.

Previous to the overthrow of the Rajah of Saujan many Parsees emigrated from that place to other cities of Gujerat, and almost all that is now known of them is that they peacefully prosecuted the pursuits of industry, contributing to the social importance and prosperity of those cities. Their lives were spent too tranquilly for many records of them to remain such as constitute the more exciting pages of history. Some few obstructions, however, to this easy current of their affairs were presented, and these were generally removed by passiveness on the part of the aggrieved. Sometimes, however, the ancient warlike spirit of their race burst upwards, as the fervent fires of their altars. An instance of some note occurred at Variao, near Surat, when it was under the sovereignty of the Rajah of Ruttunpore. This potentate attempted a heavy exaction in the form of an especial tax from his Parsee subjects, their reputed riches having tempted his rapacity. After petitions and remonstrances had proved unavailing, the objects of his plunder obstinately refused the tribute, and the rajah sent what the Parsees call an army, but which numerically did not deserve the name, to enforce his demands. An engagement ensued, in which, notwithstanding that their numbers were extremely disproportionate, victory was won by the Parsees. The rajah did not attempt a second time to accomplish his purpose by force, but resorted to an act of perfidy characteristic of his age, country, and creed. He surprised the Parsees at a grand marriage festival in Variao, and while they were with their wives and children enjoying themselves, all were put to the sword—not a woman or even a child was permitted to escape. The same sanguinary barbarity which was shown at Cawnpore, and elsewhere in India ages after, was practised on the Variaoan Parsees. To this day at Surat the members of the community celebrate certain religious rites in honour of those who perished by the cowardice and bloody treachery of the Hindoos of Ruttunpore.

It was not until after their flight from Saujan that the Parsees acquired much wealth or influence in the west of India generally. At Nowsari and Surat they

became gradually rich and influential. The nawabs of the latter city, although Mohammedans, were not unfriendly to the refugees, and frequently conferred upon them small situations of trust and honour. From time to time, there, and in other parts of India, the more enlightened Mohammedans were more favourable to the Parsees than to the Hindoos; but this was very seldom the case, except among such as were not reputed, or were not at heart zealous for the religion of the Prophet. By the more devout adherents of Islam the Parsees were regarded as the most dangerous of idolaters, because their idolatry was subtle and refined. There was no fear of the faithful being proselytized by the monstrous idolatries of Hindooism; but there was something insinuating and ethereal in the Zoroastrian system, which had a tendency to captivate alike the sentimental and philosophical.

On a few occasions even the Great Mogul condescended to treat with some consideration distinguished members of the Parsee community. About the middle of the eighteenth century a jaghire in the zillah of Surat was conferred by the Mogul upon one Nek Saut Khan, for services rendered by him at the court of Agra in mechanical and mathematical philosophy. This enlightened Parsee was instrumental in gaining concessions and privileges on behalf of the English at Surat. But throughout the long period of Mohammedan oppression acts of kindness on the part of their rulers to the Parsees were rare. The orthodox Mohammedans followed them with ruthless persecution, unless such was restrained or mitigated by political considerations, as one champion of Islam endeavoured to plunder or subdue the territory of another. Sometimes this persecuted race purchased immunity from torment, and at other times the general toleration, rendered necessary by the overwhelming number of dissidents from Islam, as a matter of course comprised the Parsees, comparatively so insignificant in numbers. To the good faith, generosity, or toleration of the Mohammedans, the Parsee community owed little in any age, and to this day it is scoffed at and hated by them everywhere in India.

The prosperity of the settlers at Nowsari continued down to a late period. In the sixteenth century it seems to have reached its acme, but for a long time the community there has been on the decline, and is now composed of priests. From this sacerdotal colony the Parsees at Bombay and other places derive their ministers.

The settlement at Surat maintained a respectable position up to the time of the arrival of the Dutch, from which period it rapidly rose in wealth. The Dutch, more liberal and politic in religious matters than the Portuguese, fostered the descendants of the Parsee colonists. The broker of the Dutch factory at Surat, when that nation gained a firm footing there, was a Parsee, and his influence with the nawab was so great, that the aims of the Dutch were much facilitated by him. Indeed, all the European commercial adventurers in India found it necessary, or for their interest generally, to employ Parsee brokers. This has arisen from the energy in trade displayed by the latter, their superior practical intelligence, their freedom from bigotry, and their rejection of caste and all its train of inconveniences socially and commercially. These quick-witted Parsee brokers have generally contrived to enrich themselves; and many Europeans have believed that the wealth thus acquired would not always have been gained had the agents been true to their principals. Dishonest Europeans have so often found themselves outwitted in commercial competition by Parsee agents or rivals, that they have very naturally propagated impressions concerning them far from favourable. There are, however, some grounds for the opinion that energy and integrity are not the only qualities which mark the Parsees as European agents, and that a capacity for intrigue where their own commercial interests are concerned is as prominent a feature in their character as almost any other.

It was at Surat that the intelligence, activity, and business talents of the Parsees—surpassing any degree in which the Mussulmen and Hindoos are ever found to possess these qualities—first won pre-eminent distinction. When Bombay rose to importance, the capital and energies of the Parsees were, to a great extent, transferred to the new and more powerful centre of operations. Indeed, from the commencement of the English power in India, this people rose rapidly in fortune and influence, the more tolerant spirit of the British giving them a fairer scope for their abilities than they had ever before possessed.

It is difficult to fix the date of the arrival of the Parsees at Bombay, as this people, like the Hindoos, are strangely neglectful of historical records, relying upon tradition, which, as in all other cases, proves of very uncertain value. It is likely that the Parsees settled in the Island of Bombay previous to the cession of it to Charles II., as the dowry of his wife, the Princess of Portugal, 1668. It is supposed that English merchants at Surat induced the Parsees of that place to go to Bombay as their agents, before yet the power of England was established there. Mr. Do-

subhoy Framjee supposes that there was only a single Parsee there at the time, when the English assumed authority, or if more than one the number was very small. He adopts the following characteristic argument in proof of his opinion. Dr. Fryer, who visited Bombay in 1671, says—"On the other side of the great inlet to the sea, is a point abutting against Old Woman's Island, and is called Malabar Hill, a rocky woody mountain, yet *on the top of all is a Parsee tomb lately raised.*" The first work of the Parsees, wherever they settle, is to construct a tomb (*dokhama*) or tower of silence for the reception of the dead; and the statement of Dr. Fryer, that the tomb in question had been recently raised, is a sufficient proof that no considerable number of the Parsees could have settled in that island prior to its cession to the British.

"So far as we have been able to ascertain from tradition among the Parsees themselves, Dorabjee Nanabhoy was the first and only individual of the race, who resided with his family in Bombay when the island was under the sway of the Portuguese government. He was employed by the authorities in transacting miscellaneous business with the natives of the place. When the island was ceded to England, he was appointed to a similar office; and, as the new rulers were ignorant of the place, manners, language, and customs of the people, he was frequently consulted by them on affairs of state. We may also infer that at the time of Dr. Fryer's visit to Bombay, the number of Parsees living there must have been very insignificant, as that gentleman makes no mention of them in the description given by him of the inhabitants then comprising the population of the island."

Dorabjee Nahabhoy was a very remarkable man, and rendered signal services to the British; Dosabhoy Framjee thus refers to those of his son:—"In 1692, a severe plague broke out in Bombay, when most of the Europeans of the place, and soldiers in the garrison, fell victims to the disease. Taking advantage of this unfortunate circumstance, the Seedees of Jungeera, who were then a powerful and independent people, invaded Bombay with a large force, and took possession of the island and Dungerry fort (now called Fort George). Dorabjee's son Rustom Dorab, who had succeeded his father in the service of the Bombay government, undertook to drive away the Seedees from the place. He raised a militia from among the fishermen of the population, fought the invaders and defeated them. He then dispatched messengers with the news of the victory to the chief of the English factory at Surat, who soon after arrived in Bombay and took charge of the government. For these invaluable services Rustom Dorab was honoured with the hereditary title of Patel (lord or chief) of Bombay. He was also placed at the head of the fisherman caste, and invested with the authority of adjudicating civil and religious disputes among them, an authority which, up to this day, is enjoyed by his descendants. On the death of Rustom Dorab, his son, Cowasjee Rustomjee, was invested with a dress of honour by Governor Hornby. As in those days the government found much difficulty in providing tonnage for transporting troops from one place to another, Cowasjee Patel was entrusted with the provision of boats and tonnage for the public service, which duty he performed very creditably. When the British took Tannah from the Mahrattas, Cowasjee Patel was appointed to an important post in the place, where he colonized a number of Parsees, and built places of worship and other charitable buildings for their use from his own purse. On the death of Cowasjee, his son, Sorabjee, succeeded to the title of "Patel." The present head of this family, Hirjeebhoy Rustomjee Cowasjee Patel, was until lately one of the most extensive merchants in China, and is at present in England."

Among the early Parsee settlers at Bombay, after the British became the rulers, were several men eminent for their virtues and intelligence, who exercised no small influence upon the progress of the settlement and the development of English power. One Sawjee, a shipwright, was of this number; he left Surat, where he was born, to fill a situation in the service of Mr. Dudley, the company's ship builder. Sawjee's skill as a ship builder gave satisfaction to the East India Company, and the European community at Bombay. He acquired a preponderating influence with the government and merchants. Under his auspices, the dockyard at Bombay was founded, 1735. It is a singular circumstance that ever since, the situation of master of the dockyard has been filled by a descendant of Sawjee.

Many Parsees that are now, in 1858, prosperous merchants in India—more especially in Bombay—are the descendants of the first settlers in that island, when under the protection of the British flag they flocked thither secure of liberty, toleration, and protection. It was not until a much later period that the Parsees made way in Bengal and Madras. In eastern and southern as well as western India they rose in the social scale, with the gradual development of European power. In north-eastern India they never gained a

footing, up to the time of the arrival of the English; after that period they gradually found their way thither. As British conquest spread, a way was opened still wider for their commercial enterprise, and at last the Parsee was found in every part of India, in the newest conquests as well as in the old cities of the presidencies. The present position of the Parsees affords a striking illustration of the uncertain glories of states and peoples. The whole Parsee community in India, Persia, and adjoining countries, probably does not exceed one hundred and fifty thousand souls. Persia is no longer the centre of their influence, religious, social, or political: they are there a persecuted remnant, trodden down by the Mohammedan tyrant. In India, and especially in Bombay, they are to be found in greatest numbers, and there alone have they influence—power, strictly speaking, they do not possess anywhere. Those who remained in Persia after the dispersion suffered horribly from every ruthless robber whose hosts overflowed the land. Arab, Affghan, or Mogul, which ever ruled where the Parsee kindled his sacred pile, alike inflicted indignity and oppression; and now, so genial has been the effect of British power to the Parsees, those who live in India are the teachers and succourers of those who still linger in their father-land. Seldom in the world's history has a race, once so mighty, fallen so low as the Ghebers of Persia. One of their brethren in India has, as eloquently as sadly, written when he thus refers to it:—"The instability of human grandeur receives no more striking illustration than is afforded by the overthrow of the great monarchies which ruled in Asia before the Christian era. Inheritors of the old glories of the Assyrian and Babylonian empires, the Persian power spread its dominion from the isles of Greece to the table-land of Thibet—from the Caspian Sea to the confines of India. The ruins of ancient Persepolis tell of the splendour and the power of the Magian princes. The remains of mighty causeways, cut step by step on the Bakhtyari Mountains, which divide the valley of the Tigris from the plains of Ispahan, and form the natural defence on that side of the modern Moslem empire of Persia, tell of the passage of myriads of busy feet, and the march of heavy bodies of soldiery in ancient times, where now even the caravanserai dare not pass, and the wild robbers of the hills gain a precarious subsistence by plundering the plains, and by tending cattle, which form their only wealth. In short, here is a country, once the most powerful, groaning under the fanatic and despotic rulers, while the few descendants of that proud ancient race are sunk into unnoticeable insignificance. All this, we again say, forcibly reminds us of the instability of human grandeur. To a Parsee, however, the decline and fall of the old Persian empire is a subject of peculiar interest. That strong feeling of association which binds to the present the memory of the past stages of a man's private existence—that same feeling presents vividly before our minds the memory of what our forefathers were. Our race in India enjoys all the blessings of an enlightened and liberal government—and our only wish is that our brethren in the Persian soil may also be as happy and fortunate as ourselves."

It is difficult to compute the number of Parsees, but two-thirds of their whole number are estimated by themselves to be located in the Bombay presidency. Their increase there is rapid. Until of late years the Parsee population of Surat exceeded that of Bombay, but at present the latter city has a much larger population. Their natural increase is in a much greater ratio than that of any other race in India. They are a very united people, although there are two sects, the Shemsoys and Kadmis; but their difference not involving any article of faith, or test of communion, but simply the date upon which a certain feast should be observed, they are not likely to quarrel, or hold divided interests.

There is considerable dissatisfaction with the state of the law in India as regards their community. They are anxious to transmit property in their families on a principle naturally more equitable than that which British law recognises. The property of the Parsees, real and personal, is divided equally among their children, or in the proportion of one part to a daughter, and two to a son. They cannot be brought to comprehend the justice or the advantage of the law of primogeniture. In certain cases, however, this law has been applied and enforced, and certain covetous members of the community have insisted on their title as heir-at-law, according to British custom. This has excited intense anxiety and dissatisfaction among the whole people, and they demand that their own custom, from time immemorial, shall be law to them. The government which has favoured more powerful and less loyal religious bodies has not, in the opinion of some of this people, met them with fairness and frankness in this respect. There has been a reluctance on the part of the English authorities to depart from the aristocratic *régime* of England on the subject of inheritance. Still, the concession of some relief was necessary, and in 1837, an act was passed by the government of India (No. IX.),

which complied with the wishes of the Parsees to the following extent:—

I.—It is hereby enacted, that from the first day of June, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven, all immovable property situate within the jurisdiction of any of the courts established by his majesty's charter, shall, as far as regards the transmission of such property on the death and intestacy of any Parsee having a beneficial interest in the same, or by last will of any such Parsee, be taken to be and to have been of the nature of chattels real, and not of freehold.

II.—Provided always, that in any suit at law or in equity which shall be brought for the recovery of such immovable property as is aforesaid, no advantage shall be taken of any defect of title arising out of the transmission of such property upon the death and intestacy of any Parsee having a beneficial interest in the same, or by the last will of any such Parsee, if such transmission took place before the said first day of June, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven, and if such transmission were, either according to the rules which regulate the transmission of freehold property, or else took place with the acquiescence of all persons to whom any interest in that property would, according to the rules which regulate the transmission of chattels real, have accrued upon the death of such Parsee.

W. H. MACNAGHTEN,
*Secretary to the Government of India.*

When it is recollected that the wealth of the Parsees is out of all proportion to their numbers, the community being probably the richest in the world, taking such proportion into account, the importance of this subject to the government of India and to British interests is obvious. It would be an absurd policy to alienate a brave and loyal people, when all the other religious parties, even in the midst of their sedition, have had their feelings, principles, and customs, considered in the administration of the law.

The Parsees were grateful for the act of 1837, but it did not fully meet the case; the heir of the intestate Parsee might still claim the landed estates, if disposed to violate the acknowledged principles of his religion and the sacred customs of his people. The difficulty in the way of conceding relief on other points arose from the want of a proper standard among the Parsees themselves. Disputes among the Hindoos, and also among the Mohammedans, have been decided by judgments according to their sacred books, interpreted by their Shastrees and Kazees; but the Parsee books do not relate to such matters as would enable an English judge to adjudicate according to them.

One of the demands of the Parsees involves great difficulty in the administration of justice by an English court: it is, that the right of adoption where there is no child shall be recognised, so that property may descend to the person so adopted. The refusal of the English government to recognise this right on the part of both Mohammedans and Hindoos was one of the causes of the great outbreak of 1858. The Parsees feel the operation of English law in this particular as keenly as the votaries of other Eastern creeds, and hence very much dissatisfaction exists.

Very few of the Parsees seek, or obtain unsought, posts of honour under government, but they are very sensible of any acknowledgments of their loyalty. Several of the richest and most benevolent men in India, or probably in the world, are Parsees, who co-operate with the government in doing good to the people. Among them Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy stands conspicuous. Queen Victoria has raised him to the rank of a baronet, and conferred upon him other honours. Among them was a gold medal set in diamonds bearing an effigy of her majesty, and on the reverse the inscription, "To Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, Bart., from the British Government, in honour of his munificence and his patriotism." Seldom has any British subject received an honour so dignified or so deserved. Notwithstanding the Parsee customs, Sir Jamsetjee has set apart ten thousand pounds per annum in land for supporting the dignity of the baronetcy on the part of his successor. The shield of this renowned person is one of the strangest ever known to heraldry. The following is its description, as given by an Indian periodical, which evidently published it with authority. It will no doubt interest the British reader:—"Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy's 'coat-of-arms' consists of a handsome shield in the form of the shields used by the Knights of St. John at the defence of Malta, beautifully emblazoned by scrolas of gold. At the lower part of the shield is a landscape scene in India, intended to represent a part of the Island of Bombay, with the Islands of Salsette and Elephanta in the distance. The sun is seen rising from behind Salsette, to denote industry, and, in diffusing its light and heat, displaying liberality. The upper part of the shield has a white ground, to denote integrity and purity, on which are placed two bees, representing industry and perseverance. The shield is surmounted by a crest, consisting of a beautiful peacock, denoting wealth, grandeur, and magnificence, and in its mouth is placed an ear of paddy, denoting beneficence. Below the shield is a white pennant folded, on which is inscribed the words 'Industry and Liberality,' which is Sir Jamsetjee's motto."

There is no class of the natives of India which engages itself so extensively in, or hopes to effect so much by, periodical literature, as that of the Parsees. They are not

only actively engaged on the native press, but also on the English press of India, many being excellent English scholars. The manager of the *Bombay Times*, himself a Parsee (as already mentioned), makes the following statement on this subject:—"There are fourteen newspapers published in the Gujerati language, which are mostly circulated among the Parsees. Three of them are published daily, one tri-weekly, three bi-weekly, six weekly, and one fortnightly. The *Rast-Goftar*, a weekly newspaper, is the most influential and best of all. It enjoys the largest circulation, is conducted by the most talented men of the community, and always represents the sentiments and feelings of the educated, liberal-minded, and enlightened portion of the population. It deals, we may say, without fear of contradiction, with public men and public measures in a pungency of style and independence of tone at least equal to that of its English brethren on the spot. To this paper is undeniably due the credit of having greatly contributed, by the force and weight of its vigorous articles, to the abolition of many superstitions practised among the natives, and the introduction of reforms calculated to raise the moral and social condition of the people to a higher scale of civilization. The daily papers are also creditably conducted. Of the bi-weekly journals the *Chabook* is the best, and is one of the most spirited native journals in India. The *Suttaya Prakash*, a journal circulated chiefly among the Hindoo portion of the population of Bombay, is a very clever paper indeed, and is expected to do that service to the Hindoos which the *Rast-Goftar* has done to the Parsees."

These details of the present condition, temper, and prospects of this strangely interesting race are given with more propriety in this chapter than if reserved to the relation of events under the general history of the English in India, in detailing which it will be more important to dwell upon the great events of the cabinet and the field, which fill up the ever-memorable story of English conquest and English rule. Whatever be the future history of the Parsee in the land of his origin, he is destined to exercise a great and an increasing influence upon the land of his adoption; and not only upon it, but through it, and more especially through its commerce, upon the proud and mighty empire in which it is absorbed. Happy will it be if at the same time this interesting people shall learn that neither in the fire-temple nor in the luminary of day is God appropriately worshipped; but while he is known as "the true Light, that lighteth every man who cometh into the world," "he is a Spirit," and is to be "worshipped in spirit and in truth."

## CHAPTER XLV.

### RUSSIAN INTERCOURSE, COMMERCIAL AND POLITICAL, WITH EASTERN ASIA.

HISTORIANS generally place the Portuguese first amongst the European nations which have, since the fifteenth century, for purposes of commerce or empire, penetrated to India, and the Asiatic regions and islands east of it. The Dutch have accorded to them, almost by common consent, the second place in the order of time for such adventurers. England is represented as afterwards pursuing the same objects; but, as will be shown in another chapter, the English preceded the Dutch in oriental adventure.

It is not generally known that Russia claims to have been the first European nation that has opened a commerce with China, and she professes to have traded with the people of Thibet and Northern India long before the Portuguese made any attempt whatever to accomplish such an object. Russia is a boastful nation; and the *éclat* won by the Portuguese, Dutch, and British, in their Eastern darings and doings, roused the jealousy and vanity of the Muscovites to put forth claims to priority of Eastern commerce. The intercourse of Russia with India was never worthy of notice, and was so indirect, that it can scarcely be said she ever had any commercial connection whatever with its people. But her intercourse with China assumed a regular character before that of any other European power, and probably may be considered as entitling her to the claim she covets. In this history it is only necessary to notice the enterprises of other European nations in the East so far as they illustrate the history of India, and so far as they may throw light upon the history of the British empire in the East. A clear and comprehensive view of either cannot be received without some account being given of what other nations effected or attempted. A brief outline of Russian history in connection with the East is necessary,

because the designs of that power upon India and China—and, indeed, upon the whole Asiatic world—are in the present day no secret, and actually contribute more to the political complications of Europe than any other cause. The action of Russia, although not immediate upon India, is very decisive and extensive upon neighbouring countries. Persia feels in every fibre the touch of the Cossack lance; and the encroachment of the czar has already drawn the line of dominion around a large area of the Chinese empire.

The Tartar conquerors of Russia, it is well known, held intercourse both with India and China.

When the Czar Basilius, the fourth Duke of Smolensko and Pleskow, gained his independence, about 1508, it is alleged by the Russians that communications, for the purposes of barter, were maintained between the Russians and Chinese. The accounts given of such transactions by Russian writers are contradictory or inconsistent; but there is sufficient proof that some sort of trading intercourse with all the frontier nations, and through them for the productions of remoter Asiatic countries, was maintained from a very early period by the Russ.

In the middle of the sixteenth century, Russia acquired Astracan, and extended her authority all along the Volga to the Caspian. Thence commercial intercourse with eastern nations was sought by her in the rude way which comports with her custom and character; and the Persians and Russians, as well as the Turks and Russians, maintained an active trade, as far as the character of the age and the degree of existing civilization attained.

It is admitted on all hands that while the Portuguese were seeking a trade with China by sea, the Russians had prosecuted the same object most arduously by land; and long before a Dutch merchant or mariner had set foot upon the shores of China, the Siberian Russ had actually acquired Chinese territory, and by a strange mixture of fraud, force, and barter, made a trade with the Chinese. Whatever question there may be as to the priority of the Portuguese in traffic with China, none can exist that the Russians preceded both the English and Dutch. The more, however, this subject is searched, the more evident is it that Russia carried on a sort of border brigandage under the name of trade in one direction, and a more fair interchange of commodities in another, long before the ships of Portugal entered the waters of the Chinese seas. M. Auber, probably, gave this subject as much attention as any person has done, and his opportunities as secretary to the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company, gave him peculiar advantages in so doing; and he affirms in terms, however, which are probably too cautious, the very early border trade of Russia with China. In the sixteenth century, while Holland was only speculating upon trade with that country, and England was making brave but irregular and unsystematic efforts to found an eastern commerce; while the Portuguese were in a position, to their Chinese enterprises, of great uncertainty, the Russians had taken up a warlike attitude on the Chinese frontier, and were trading with weapons in their hands in spite of the prohibitions of the mandarins and the celestial emperor. Of that period, M. Auber says:—"The Russians had, towards the latter end of the sixteenth century, penetrated through Siberia to the Chinese frontiers. The Chinese took umbrage at the enterprising spirit of these new neighbours, and erected forts to defend their boundaries. Skirmishes were frequent, and an open war was expected." In fact, the Russians pursue the same policy which they prosecuted towards the Chinese at this day, with the same sort of failure and of success. The Russians passed the boundary; established what, in that age, were called factories; took as much ground as they wanted for those factories, and held them by arms. The Chinese frequently invaded the precincts of the Russian agents, and laid waste their buildings and plantations, destroying, but seldom appropriating, the property of the traders. Retaliation was sought by the Muscovites, which nearly always issued in a further advance within the Chinese territories, until fresh conflicts and renewed attacks by the Chinese compelled them to strengthen their positions, which again served as points from which further aggressions might be made. During a large portion of the seventeenth century, while the Portuguese trade was declining, and the Dutch and English rivalry in the eastern seas embroiled these countries and created uneasiness in Europe, the Chinese and Russians continued to trade even amidst the vindictiveness of a desultory border conflict. The Russians persevered in smuggling, and in land forays; and the latter in fitful and tumultuous attacks upon their dogged, persistent, and still encroaching neighbours. So early as 1689, it became a necessity to the Chinese emperor to have a boundary treaty with his brother the czar, and that treaty was cleverly made by the Russians a means of obtaining a recognition of their authority over a considerable area which they had invaded, and also of their right to trade under

certain stipulations. Plenipotentiaries of the two courts met and fixed the limits of the two empires at the river Kulecchi, three hundred leagues from the great wall. Raynal remarks that, "this was the first treaty in which the Chinese had ever been concerned since the foundation of their empire. They granted the Russians the liberty of sending a caravan every year to Pekin, an indulgence which had always been denied to foreigners, with the utmost precaution. It was easily perceived that the Tartars, although they conformed to the manners and customs of the Chinese, did not adopt their political maxim." A comparison of the way in which the Russians and Dutch were treated at the same period is very instructive to the student of the history of European progress in eastern Asia.

The Dutch embassy of 1655 to the Emperor of China, was one of the most imposing European embassies ever directed to that court. The ambassadors were accompanied by others from the Tartars and from the great Mogul. When they arrived at Pekin, after many humiliations and much delay, they had to wait all night in an open court, in expectation that the emperor would appear on his throne early in the morning. When he did appear, he remained seated in state for a quarter of an hour, when the representatives of these potentates were haughtily ordered by an official to withdraw, the emperor not having deigned to speak to them. They were conducted to an ante-chamber in the court of ceremonies, where a letter of the emperor was handed to each, or rather bound to the back of an interpreter, who marched before them through the middle gate of the court. These letters the ambassadors were obliged to receive kneeling. The Dutch, on this occasion, were not admitted to the emperor's presence at all, until after they had made "the nine prostrations." This was considered an act of homage to the emperor, recognising him as supreme lord of the universe. The Dutch were willing to make any number of prostrations if they could gain a footing for their trade, but their compliance humbled them in the opinion of the Chinese, and their presents were accepted in the light of tribute from their country to the emperor, in virtue of the ceremony in which they had taken part. In that year an ambassador from the czar was also at Pekin. He refused to make the nine prostrations, alleging that the czar his master was inferior to no monarch; and he, his subject, would do homage to no other than his own lawful sovereign. The spirit of the czar's minister startled the imagination of the Chinese, and the emperor refused him an audience. The ambassador prepared to depart, but the emperor forbade him to leave Pekin without his imperial pass. The czar's representative carried himself boldly, and reminded his imperial majesty, through his officials, that the czar his master, had the means of vindicating the rights of the humblest of his subjects, and would not be deficient in avenging the honour of his own representative. The courage and decision of the ambassador impressed the Asiatic mind with a sense of power, while the compliance of the Dutch produced an impression of weakness, and induced contempt. To the conduct of the ambassador on this occasion, as well as to the energy and force of the traders and soldiers on the frontier, the czar was indebted for the readiness with which the important treaty was subsequently entered into by his celestial majesty.

The contract of the terms of the Russian treaty with the final answer given by the emperor to the Dutch, is a very striking exemplification of the value of the two lines of policy when dealing with the Chinese:—

The ultimate Decree of the Emperor:

To the kingdom of Holland health and peace, which out of its cordial love to justice has subjected itself to us, and sent ambassadors through the wide sea to pay us tribute; we nevertheless, weighing in our mind the length of the voyage, with the dangers incident thereto, do heartily grant them leave to come once every eight years to pay their tribute unto this court; and this we do to make known to the universe our affections to the people of the remotest parts.

According to an old report of a committee of the British House of Commons, on the export trade from Great Britain to the East Indies, the chief cause of jealousy and fear, on the part of the Chinese towards European nations approaching them by sea was, an old prophecy which was circulated among them, "that a remote nation of whites, clothed all over, should one day conquer their country." Possibly the Russians were not considered as a "*remote* nation of whites, clothed all over," but a contiguous nation of whites, and therefore not falling within the scope of the prophecy. Be this as it may, the last efforts of the pertinacious and valorous Dutch contrast strongly in their results to the far less ostentatious efforts of the Russians, who relied alone on a bold bearing and steady well-matured territorial encroachment. M. Auber thus relates the last attempts of the Dutch*:—"The Dutch were dispirited by their ill success; but their loss of Tywan, in 1661, produced two other embassies. The first of John Van

* In a separate chapter, the enterprise of this nation in the East will have a place; so much is here introduced simply to illustrate by contrast the progress of Russia.

Campen and Constantine Noble, to the viceroy of the province of Fu-keen, in 1662. On this occasion the Viceroy of Fu-keen and the Chinese general presented the Dutch with silver plates, upon which their names and titles were engraved in Chinese characters gilt. These served as passes with which they might travel through the empire. This deputation was followed by a magnificent embassy to the Emperor Kan-ghi, in 1664. The Lord Peter Van Hoorn, privy councillor and chief treasurer of India, was chosen ambassador. His suite consisted of a chief councillor of the embassy, a factor, and master of the ceremonies, a secretary, a steward, six gentlemen, a surgeon, six men for a guard, two trumpeters, and one cook. In case the ambassador should die in the voyage, Noble was to succeed him. The reception of the ambassadors, and the forms observed in their negotiations with the Chinese ministers, were nearly the same as those already described, nor was their success better."

In the year 1693 Everard Isbred Ides was sent as ambassador from the court of the czar to that of Pekin; he was received with much ceremony, and no humiliating forms were exacted. He was allowed a direct audience, and invited to eat with his majesty; "the offspring of the sun and moon" even sent the ambassador, from his own hand, a cup of liquor such as was appreciated among all Tartar nations.

In 1712 an embassy was sent by the Emperor of China to A-yu-kee Khan, of the Tourgouth Tartars, on the banks of the Volga, north of the Caspian. The dispatch of this mission from Pekin is a very instructive incident in the history of the communication between Europe and Eastern Asia, for it is evident that the emperor really cared little for the Tartar chief in the Volga, but meant the mission indirectly for the Tartar's great master, the czar. The Chinese emperor had learned through his Tartar connection of the fame of Peter, whose reputation was then noised abroad through Europe and Asia; and the celestial monarch supposed that the mission would effect certain objects with the czar, while purporting to be an errand of business and courtesy to a tributary Tartar chief. The pretext for sending the embassy was, that it was a return for one from the chief, respecting his son, who, on a pilgrimage to Lassa, the holy place of Thibet, found it necessary to claim the protection of the government of Pekin. The messengers of the emperor received written instructions. These, through the labours and learning of Sir George Staunton, were made known in 1821. The directions afford ample proof of the alarm felt by the Chinese concerning Russian aggression, and the desire to impress the czar with the inutility of any close relations, political or commercial, between the two empires. The ambassadors were to tell the czar or his ministers that "his imperial majesty entertains no designs whatever which are inconsistent with the peace which has been established for many years. *You may therefore immediately remove and employ your frontier troops, without the least hesitation or uneasiness!*" The envoys were also put in possession of the following among other general instructions:—"If Russia speaks to you about fire-arms and solicits assistance of such kind, you may remark on the length of the way, the rugged mountains and forests which are difficult to pass; and should they press you upon the subject of remitting to us their request, you can answer, that being sent on a mission to the khan of the Tourgouth Tartars, you can hardly venture to address his majesty upon the subject. . . . . As the Russians are of a vain and ostentatious disposition, they will no doubt display before you the several things they possess; on such occasions, neither express admiration nor contempt. In all your proceedings you must show moderation, as well as gravity and composure. The inhabitants of the Russian territory, its natural and artificial productions, its geography and general appearance, are subjects to which due attention is to be given by you in the course of your journey."

The emperor styles himself Emperor of China and king of the world, while Peter is designated as a great khan or chief, showing that his celestial majesty intended to make known that he assumed superiority.

On arriving at Tabolkska, they met Prince Gazarin, who was then governor of Siberia, who informed them that the czar was in the field at the head of his army. The governor and the tributary Tartar chiefs showed them much respect. A great display for the time was made of Russian troops, and a grand escort was placed at their service.

In 1715, the czar sent Laurence Lange as envoy to Pekin, whose reception was with the highest honours the Chinese court could confer. Lange kept a journal, which has much in it which is very instructive as to the relations of China and Russia at that early date, and the closer intimacy maintained between the two nations, than China allowed to exist between her and any other. He says, "The merchants in particular who trade with the Russians, receive frequent marks of his bounty, for when they are not able to make their payments at the time prefixed, he advances them money out of his own treasury,

that their creditors may not complain of being detained. In 1717, trade being so dull at Pekin that the Russian merchants could find no vent for their goods, the emperor gave his subjects leave to traffic with them without paying the usual duties, which occasioned that year a deficiency of twenty thousand ounces of silver in his revenue."

Two Chinese and two Tartar lords were sent, as ambassadors to the czar, with M. Lange on his return. It was the fortune of this gentleman to visit Pekin soon after as secretary to another and grander embassy, in 1719. It was the 23rd of September, 1720, when they entered the Chinese territory, from which date they were made the guests of the emperor, and supported sumptuously at his expense. It is a curious circumstance that we are indebted mainly to an Englishman for an account of that embassy and its results. Mr. Bell, of Antermony, referred to in former chapters, accompanied the ambassador, the feeling of Russia to England being at that particular juncture most favourable. This gentleman published a narrative of what he saw, as he did also of his experience when accompanying a Russian embassy to Persia four years previously. His narratives show how intent Russia then was to gain a diplomatic and commercial footing in both eastern and western Asia, and how skilfully the influence she was enabled to obtain was calculated to ensure territorial encroachment. The policy was actively at work which ripened in the reign of Nicholas, and which occasioned such an armament of nations against the ambition of St. Petersburg. During the discussions which arose upon the mode of reception of this embassy, it was agreed that the representative of each nation should conform to any ceremonies which their respective sovereigns might prescribe. The emperor, however, waived the customs of China, as usual in the case of the Russian ambassador. Nevertheless, whether influenced in these courtesies by Tartar affinity, or because of the contiguity of the two empires, the secret policy of the Chinese court was hostile. This was evinced soon after the Russian ambassador departed. M. de Lange was left at Pekin, as resident agent of the czar. This greatly displeased his imperial majesty, and every opportunity was taken to indicate his displeasure, and cause the resident to take his departure. M. de Lange's account of the affronts, indignities, and injuries to which he was subjected show that his residence there excited a deep animosity on the part of both court and people. The treaty as to the yearly caravan was badly kept as to the letter, and utterly violated as to the spirit. Extortion and even plunder was perpetrated by people and officials, and with the connivance of the government. The provisions promised as a gratuity to merchants, and to the attendants of the Russian minister were withheld, and even when paid for were not delivered. De Lange was little better than a prisoner at Pekin during more than a year and a half, and at last, having been treated with insupportable insolence, he withdrew with the return of the Russian caravan: the Chinese government never admitted another. It would have been impossible for Russia to have been represented by a person freer from Russian nationality or a haughty bearing than the gentleman who then endeavoured to support her interests, but neither his courtesy nor his firmness were of any avail. The permanent resident was regarded by sovereign and people as a spy, and resentment against his nation was enkindled. De Lange was finally given to understand that all future business, commercial or otherwise, should be transacted on the frontier. The Russians did resume business on the frontier, and with a vengeance; for the old disputes which had been settled by the treaty of 1685 were re-opened; the Russians soon indemnified themselves by territorial plunder for any loss in the profits of the caravan, or any indignity to their ambassador; and so far back as the return of De Lange the Russian designs, which have since been developed on the Amour, were formed.

In 1727 the czarina, Catherine I., resolved to accomplish what Peter failed to do. She projected a plan for Russian residence at Pekin, ostensibly of a purely ecclesiastical kind, and sent an ambassador extraordinary to negotiate a treaty for that purpose. Being ostensibly one of amity and friendship the object was secured, and the residence of certain priests and lay students of the Chinese language was authorized by a specific article of the treaty. This mission or residence has enabled the Russian government to obtain exact intelligence of all public affairs, and as the residents or students are changed every ten years, Russia is always provided with a number of intelligent persons acquainted with the Chinese language, the habits and opinions of the Tartar court, and the general condition of the empire. The "Celestials" are thus accustomed to the appearance of Russian official visitors.

The renewed frontier feuds increased the indisposition of the Chinese to hold intercourse with Russia. The ecclesiastical residence at Pekin has had the same effect: nothing but the fear of open war with Russia prevents the emperor from breaking it up, as it is believed

that Russia makes it a *sine quâ non* if peace is to continue.

In 1806 two Russian ships arrived at Macao, contrary to existing treaties, which forbid the traffic of the Russians by sea. The ships were not permitted to land or take in cargoes. An embassy from Russia was in the same year turned back from the great wall. From that date the Russians relied upon territorial encroachment as the chief or only means of their gaining advantage in China and Chorea, and they have succeeded to a marvellous degree. Finally, they have, in 1858, obtained a treaty by which they are empowered to trade by sea on the same footing as the most favoured maritime nations. The steps by which Russia has effected these advantages were too gradual, and the sphere of action too remote to attract, in past times, much notice in Europe, but now the western nations are fully acquainted with the great results. In the progress of this History, detailing the advances and successes of our own countrymen, references to the policy and progress of Russia will be necessarily made where they will be more appropriate than in this chapter, because they will be then treated in their relation to the development of English power. It is sufficient here to say, that the position and prospects of the British empire in India and the East cannot be fully understood, or studied with historical unity or political foresight, unless the real position and power of Russia is comprehended and appreciated. Possessing the shores of the Amour, splendid ports and harbours on the Pacific, forts along the Chinese frontier, and a large area of Chinese territory, she is in a position of power and grandeur which will soon be felt by the Chinese empire, and the nations of western Europe which trade with it. On the opposite side of Asia, it is already felt that the quietude of the Affghan frontier of British India may at any time be disturbed by Russian intrigue acting through Persia. That country, from local and religious relation to Affghanistan and the nations of central Asia, can influence numerous tribes of wild and hardy horsemen along the line of British Indian frontiers; and it is, unhappily, certain that Russia has an influence over the Persian court possessed by no other nation, and which is dangerous to the independence of that country and to the peace of British India. It is true that naval and military demonstrations in the Persian Gulf by England can always alarm and humble Persia, but before such demonstrations could prove effective much mischief might be done. The conquest of Persia by Russia cannot be remote, unless France and England deem it politic to unite in supporting Persia, as they did in maintaining the integrity of Turkey. Should Russia possess the present Persian empire, she could from the shores of the Red Sea, and from the confines of Affghanistan, always menace India. Between the two powers a war *à l'outrance* would then be waged for Asiatic empire, in which the whole world would be involved.

That Russia will yet rule at Pekin and Teheran cannot be doubted, unless China and Persia be regenerated or fall within the dominion of England. Whatever the statesman or politician may deem as to the future of the British Empire in India and the East, the development of Russian power in north-eastern and north-western Asia must never be lost sight of as a most important, if not the most potential, element of their calculations. Much that has been written of late years as to the impossibility of Russia penetrating through Central Asia to Hindostan, is utterly irrelevant to the question as to the influence Russia is likely to exercise upon the future of Asia by a continued encroachment on Persian territory on the one hand, and by land and sea upon China on the other. Tamerlane, the Tartar, marched to Moscow, dominated the golden land of the great Mogul, and was only prevented from pouring two hundred thousand men across the frontier of China by the hand of death. He did what all men thought to be impossible until it was done. Alexander marched from Eastern Europe to Hindostan, a feat which is still regarded as beyond belief, were not the evidences irresistible. Russia has herself achieved conquests little short of miraculous, at all events, when the time in which her territory has spread to its enormous extent is considered. There is no impossibility, but there is strong probability that from the positions described above, a hardy, hopeful, obstinate, persevering, ambitious, warlike power, with great resources, such as Russia is, will yet overrun China and Persia, unless frustrated in either or both the modes already stated. If China and Persia be regenerated by intelligence and truth, then the robber power will be kept within its own wide precincts, and perhaps pushed back to its least genial climes; or if the flag of Britain should be borne over those regions by the events of future wars or revolutions, Russia may be baulked of her prey. Otherwise, humanly speaking, her course of conquest will not be checked in Asia until her confines from both east and west of that glorious continent meet at last.

# CHAPTER XLVI.

## THE PORTUGUESE IN INDIA AND EASTERN ASIA.

THE Portuguese in Asia have been already noticed in a chapter on the commerce of India with the West, and a chapter was devoted to an account of their mission there. The conspicuous part which they had in some of the most stirring events of the Indian empire during the greater part of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, and, indeed, their present position there, entitle them to a place in its commercial, political, and military history.

Portugal, though now a kingdom of very limited extent, was formerly much smaller, and came to have a sort of recognised independent existence in the reign of Don Alphonso, King of Castile and Leon. This prince gave his daughter, Donna Theresa, in marriage to a foreign adventurer, who, by his personal merits, had risen to distinction, and with her as a dowry the frontier province, which had been recently wrested from the Moors. The excellence of the situation, its natural beauties and fertility, compensated for its restricted boundaries. In such high estimation is it held, that it is sometimes designated *Medulla Hispanica*, or the Marrow of Spain. To this territory was affixed the title of count. For a period of two hundred years subsequent to this transaction the history of Portugal presents scarcely any event of importance. In 1289 there arose some differences with Castile, which were not adjusted for a long time after. In the reign of King John I., who was married to an English princess (Philippa, the daughter of John, Duke of Lancaster), an invading army from Castile, amounting to thirty thousand men, were defeated, and reprisals made on the Spaniards. The result was a lasting peace. The cessation of this war enabled King John to undertake an expedition against the Moors in Barbary in 1414. He commanded in person. The campaign was successful, and the town of Ceuta fell into his hands. He was impressed with the importance of its situation, and, contrary to the urgent remonstrances of his council, he decided on preserving it, and had it enlarged and more strongly fortified. He garrisoned it with six thousand foot and two thousand horse. This force he considered sufficient to repel the attacks of the Moors.

In the following reign an unsuccessful attempt was made on Tangier, in Barbary. The Portuguese were shut up by the Moors, and the king's son, Don Ferdinand, was given as an hostage for the surrender of Ceuta. The king and council of Portugal refused to fulfil the conditions, retained the place, and left the young prince to the fury of the Moors. The war with Barbary was continued at intervals, and with little success to the Portuguese.

John II. succeeded to his father Alphonse in 1481, and during his reign the maritime enterprise of the Portuguese was developed to an extent never before attempted, and attended with results which have operated to a universal reformation of the geographical and commercial relations of the old world, and discovered a new one. During the reign of Alphonso, the Portuguese, proceeding along the western coast of Africa, stretched as far as Guinea, and opened a trade with the inhabitants. John, as one of the first acts of his government, ordered a fort to be erected, for the purposes of permanent commercial intercourse. The result of this politic step was the influx of ivory and gold, from which the monarch derived a large revenue. In a short time this fort, called *St. George of the Mine*, became a considerable city, and notorious for its traffic in slaves.

The progress which had been made to the south-east revived a project which for centuries had lain in abeyance—a passage by sea to the East Indies. Since the voyage of Nearchus little had been satisfactorily done to explore the southern shores of the Eastern continent, or to become acquainted with the ocean beyond, destined now to be the highway of empires, old, recent, and prospective. John ordered two small squadrons to be equipped to prosecute this inquiry; and in the meantime he prudently sent two of his subjects into India and Abyssinia to trace the communications, and ascertain the resources of these vast and very little known regions. The two travellers, Pedro da Covilhan, and Alphonso de Payva, passed first to Naples, and thence to Rhodes; by the knights established there they were hospitably entertained, and assisted on their journey to Alexandria. There they parted company, Covilhan setting out for India, and Payva for Abyssinia. They had previously arranged on meeting after a certain period at Cairo. Covilhan embarked on the Red Sea, visited the principal cities of India, and prosecuted his journey to the banks of the Ganges, and on his return coasted the shores of Persia, Arabia, and Africa, as

far as Mozambique, and there learned that the continent terminated in a great cape far to the south. From Mozambique he returned, as appointed, to Cairo, and heard of the death of his former associate. To glean the information which this death intercepted, he proceeded to Abyssinia; and though he settled in that country, he forwarded to the king the result of his travels, and a chart of the maritime places he had visited. The further prosecution of these discoveries, and the crowning result in Vasco da Gama's success in doubling the Cape and reaching the coast of Malabar, have been previously recorded in these pages.

The Portuguese found the voyage along the south-east coast of Africa very pleasant and prosperous, and in the city of Melinda had the satisfaction of discovering, as well as in other localities on that route, buildings of respectable pretensions, cultivated vegetable productions, and a race of people accustomed to several of the refinements of civilization, and carrying on an active commerce; the women accounted beautiful, and dressed in cottons and silks, and veils with gold lace. Friendly relations were established with the king; some India Christian traders met with; also an able pilot, so expert in navigation, that, on being shown an astrolabe, he took little notice of it, and appeared to be acquainted with more considerable instruments.*

Gama on his arrival intimated his presence to the King of Calicut. Although greatly surprised by this strange arrival of foreigners, who in their aspect, dress, accoutrements, arms, and manners, were dissimilar to the representatives of the various nations that traded on his coast, and who had travelled thither by a route hitherto never ventured on, the Indian prince personally received them with every appearance of admiration and respect. He readily agreed to enter into the most friendly relations with them. The Moors, envious of their success, and fearing the loss of that commerce, of which they had all but a monopoly, soon succeeded in rousing the suspicions and jealousy of the native authorities, and caused the Portuguese to be considered as pirates, and not as ambassadors. Gama and some of his retinue were made prisoners, but he ably managed to escape wiles and force; and though beset at the entrance of the harbour by sixty armed vessels, he extricated himself, and sailed homewards with his ship, filled not only with the products of that coast, but with the rich commodities from the eastern provinces of the peninsula. Two years after his departure to the East he anchored in the Tagus. His crew were seriously diminished: fifty-five returned out of the one hundred and forty-eight who had sailed with him. All the honours which might be expected for such services were heaped upon him by his grateful sovereign. He was created Count of Videguiera, declared Admiral of the Indus, and the office made hereditary in his family.

Few princes have rendered such essential services—not to his subjects alone, but to mankind—as he who now wielded the sceptre of the comparatively insignificant kingdom of Portugal. Under the guidance of Manuel his subjects entered on a new career. Capable of forming projects of the most comprehensive character, and of executing them with diligence and intelligence, he exhibited abilities equally invaluable in that perception of human capabilities which enabled him to select the men best qualified to conduct with success the duties confided to them. It has been stated by no mean authority, "that, happily for Portugal, his discerning eye selected a succession of officers to take the same command in India, who, by their enterprising valour, military skill, and political sagacity, accompanied with disinterested integrity, public spirit, and love of their country, established a title to be ranked amongst the persons most eminent for virtues and abilities in any age or nation. Greater things were achieved by them than were ever accomplished in so short a time."*

Gama reached home in September, 1499, and in the course of a year a fleet of thirteen ships was got ready, and entrusted to the command of Don Pedro Alvarez Cabral. Driven to the south-west of the continent of Africa as he endeavoured to double the Cape, to his astonishment he discovered land—the Brazils. He sent back to Europe one of his vessels to announce his good fortune, and then launched across the Pacific for the coast of Malacca. Though he was received kindly on his arrival at Calicut, this good understanding did not long continue. Through the insidious intrigues of the Moors the Christians were persecuted, and fifty of them massacred. Cabral, to convince them that these aggressions could not be inflicted with impunity, destroyed by fire all the Indian and Arabian vessels in the port; he put the crews to the sword, and appropriated the cargoes; he then directed his cannon against the town, demolished several of the houses, causing great destruction of human life. The Portuguese authorities say fifteen great vessels and five hundred lives were lost.

After this affair the admiral proceeded with some of his vessels to Cochin, and thence back to Cannanore. At both these places he was

* *Faria y Sousa*, vol. i. p. 42, Stevens' translation.

* *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. x. p 465.

well received, and every facility afforded of getting his cargo. The native princes resented the treatment they had received from the Rajah of Calicut, and from Cochin and Cannanore ambassadors were sent to the court of Lisbon with presents and an offer of free trade.* Gonzalo Gil Barbosa was left as factor at Cochin to provide lading for the next arrivals.

Before this fleet had reached Europe, four ships had sailed from the Tagus, under the command of John de Nova. These vessels arrived at Cannanore, and were there informed that an attack was apprehended from an armament of forty great ships, which were being equipped by the King of Calicut. To prove to the king and people that he had no fear of this force—leaving four factors on shore to prepare goods for his return—he sailed direct for Calicut, and, finding the fleet prepared for the voyage, he fell upon it. During that day and night, and part of the morrow, he kept up an uninterrupted fire, sunk several, and put the rest to flight. Having called at Cochin, he put on board the commodities collected by the factor left there by Cabral, and then proceeded to Cannanore, where he completed his cargoes. On his return he discovered the Island of St. Helena, which proved of great service to subsequent voyagers, by the excellence of its water, and is now, and long will continue to be, famous as the prison-isle of the first Napoleon.

The spirit of the Portuguese was now thoroughly roused, and to the purely worldly considerations were added the stimulants of religious zeal. As has been fully detailed, missionaries had accompanied all their expeditions, and the court of Rome was resolved to extend its all-grasping power over the thousands of millions who crowded the teeming continent and islands of the East. Manuel was inspired with the hope of completing the work which he was assured the Apostle St. Thomas had begun, and of re-establishing the Christian religion in those countries, and of enlarging his royal titles by adding to them, as he did, those of Lord of the Navigation, Conquests, and Trade of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India,—which was confirmed by the Pope. In March, 1502, he dispatched three squadrons to India: the first consisting of ten ships, under Vasco da Gama; the second of five ships, under Vincent Sodre, to clear the coast of Cochin and Cannanore, and intercept the ships trading to Mecca; and the third under Stephen da Gama: but all the squadrons were under the supreme command of Vasco. On coming to Cannanore, the admiral had an interview with the king upon the shore, to arrange as to the condition on which their commercial intercourse was to be conducted. Without waiting to complete this negotiation, he proceeded close to the shore towards Calicut, to which he had forwarded intelligence of his approach, resolved to avenge the outrages offered to his countrymen, and vowing the destruction of that city. As an instalment of his vengeance, he cruelly hanged thirty Moors at the yardarms; then cutting off their hands, heads, and feet, he threw them into the sea, to be cast on the shore by the tide, proclaiming that their fate was merciful in comparison with the tortures reserved for the murderers of the Portuguese.

Vasco now discovered that three kings had combined to induce him to winter on their shore, and that a fleet of a hundred sail, recently destroyed by storms, was fitted out for this object. The salutary fear which his late summary proceedings had created induced an entire change of policy. The King of Cannanore conceded to apprehensions what he had peremptorily denied to entreaties; and the King of Cochin concluded a treaty both advantageous and durable. A wooden house was erected, and a factor and thirty-two Portuguese were left there to carry on the trade.

A treacherous attempt, attended with great danger, was made to entrap the admiral. Whilst the vessels were receiving their cargoes, a Brahmin of high note, with his son and nephew presented himself, professing a desire of visiting Europe and being instructed in the faith. He also proposed measures of conciliation between him and the King of Calcutta. The possession of the son and nephew as hostages in his hands, induced Vasco to place confidence in this Brahmin, and he was thereby induced to proceed in his ship, and, accompanied by no other vessel in the fleet, in order to visit that port. The Brahmin was landed and was the bearer of several despatches to and from the king; but in the interim one hundred boats were prepared by the Hindoos, which unexpectedly one morning boldly surrounded the Portuguese vessel, and daringly endeavoured to destroy it with fire-works. It was actually on fire, but assistance was at hand, and the enemy suffered severely for their temerity. The Brahmin's relatives were hanged in sight of the city. Vasco shortly after met with their fleet and obtained considerable booty. He then returned with nine ships richly laden to Lisbon. Sodre had been left in care of the coast and factories.

In 1503, the King of Calicut, in the absence of the greater portion of the Portuguese squadron, thought a favourable oppor-

* De Souza, vol. i. p. 6.

tunity was presented of destroying the factory at Cochin. He accordingly marched thither with that object; but though defeated, forced to fly and seek refuge, and his capital burned, he refused to surrender. Having fled to a neighbouring town much easier of defence than Cochin, he was closely besieged and reduced to extremities, when a large naval force arrived, commanded by the celebrated and able man Albuquerque, who repelled the attacking army with very heavy loss. The victors now built a fortress in the territories of their faithful ally Tremumpara, to whose late fidelity they were so greatly indebted. The zamorin, in consequence of this timely succour, was compelled to seek for peace, and the terms which he conceded were very favourable both to the King of Cochin and his European allies. In several engagements both by sea and land the new comers were invariably victorious. A factory was established at Coulam, and the vessels having succeeded in securing freights, both the Albuquerques started for home, the younger brother and his companions were never heard of. Amongst the cargo of the eldest were two horses, one Persian the other an Arab, which were held in great esteem, being the first imported to Portugal. A small garrison for the protection of their trade and ally was left on the Indian coast.

The Portuguese fleet had scarcely lost sight of its new possession when a powerful confederacy was formed by the neighbouring princes. They drew together fifty thousand men, and attacked Cochin by land and sea. Duarte Pacheco, who had been left in command of the small garrison of St. James, resolved to resist the threatened attack, and encouraged his friend and ally to make all the preparations in his power. The king was left to protect his capital; and the Portuguese, with their inconsiderable force, accompanied by only three hundred Malabars, put to sea in search of their enemies. In several engagements they were victorious. The fertility of expedients, the intrepidity of conduct, the confidence which he inspired, the obedience he commanded, and the consummate success which attended his evolutions, justly place Pacheco among the first men of his own or any other country. He triumphed over every difficulty, and at length the zamorin, foiled in every attempt and conscious of the contempt to which the successive defeats of his formidable force by a mere handful of men, was reduced to abdicate his throne in favour of his nephew.

Pacheco had been scarcely released from this danger when his aid was urgently demanded by the factory at Coulam, which was threatened by five Moorish ships. He hastened to the relief of his countrymen, secured the safety of that harbour and a monopoly of the trade, and spread a wholesome terror of the Portuguese through all the coasts.

On his return to Cochin he found that a large fleet and force had arrived, consisting of thirteen ships, "the largest that had yet been built in Portugal," * and twelve hundred men, commanded by Lope Soarez, who had been joined by some ships he met on his voyage. This fleet first called at Cannanore, and then sailed for Calicut, which town was battered by them for two days; the greater part was reduced to a heap of ruins, and three hundred of the inhabitants sacrificed. Thence they sailed to Cochin, where Pacheco found them. An expedition was then sent against Cranganore, a town within four leagues of Cochin, which, having been fortified by the zamorin, was a great annoyance. It was burnt to the ground, and the Prince of Calicut, who was to have defended it, fled. A friendly treaty was made with the King of Tanore. In 1505, a fleet of the King of Calicut, consisting of seventeen large ships well stored with cannon, and carrying four thousand men, was destroyed by Lope Soarez. The ships' cargoes were consumed, seven hundred Turks were drowned, besides those who perished by fire and sword. This victory cost the Portuguese only twenty-three men. Early in January the following year Soarez sailed, and arrived in July following in Lisbon, with his thirteen victorious vessels laden with rich booty. He was accompanied by the brave and successful Pacheco, who was received with every mark of respect by his sovereign in recognition of his glorious services; but on some accusation was shortly after imprisoned and suffered to die miserably. "A terrible example," says the historian, "of the uncertainty of royal favours and the little regard paid to true merit."

On the twenty-fifth of March there sailed from Lisbon the largest fleet that had, to that time, faced the Indian Ocean. It consisted of twenty-two ships, and conveyed fifteen hundred fighting men. Eleven of these vessels were destined for commercial purposes, and the other moiety were to remain in India. The command was entrusted to the celebrated Don Francisco de Almeida, who was commissioned to govern the late acquisitions with the title of viceroy.

On his landing in India, Almeida sought an interview with the King of Cannanore, and informed him that he came to reside in that country to defend his countrymen against the aggressions of the zamorin, and he demanded permission to erect a fort in the harbour.

* *Faria y Sousa; Asia Portuguesa.* Tom. i. p. 1, c. vii.

Permission was granted, and on its completion a garrison of one hundred and fifty men was placed in it, and two ships assigned it for the protection of the coast. Having reached Cochin, he learned that the men left in charge of the factory at Coulam were all cruelly butchered by the Moors. Three vessels which he sent thither with orders to procure merchandize, and to omit all notice of the outrages perpetrated, but in case of denial to avenge it, being received in a hostile manner, the town, and twenty-four vessels assembled for its protection, were subjected to a fierce cannonade; the ships were all burnt, and only a few of the crews escaped by swimming.

In reward for his fidelity and protection, the Portuguese authorities at home had commissioned Almeida to crown Tremumpara, the King of Cochin, and had for that purpose brought with him from Lisbon a diadem of gold ornamented with pearls. The old sovereign having resigned in favour of his nephew, Nambeadorim, this intended honour was bestowed upon the latter.

The Zamorin of Calicut was still plotting the expulsion of the Europeans, and had prevailed on the King of Cannanore to enter into his views. Brito, the captain of the fort which had been erected by the Portuguese in the latter place, was unjustly accused of an act of cruelty and perfidy in seizing on a ship from that port with a Portuguese pass, and in having sunk it, and all the Moorish sailors sewed up in a sail, that the act might not be detected by the discovery of any of the mutilated carcasses. Of this deed, perpetrated by one of his countrymen, the captain of the fort was innocent. The two Indian princes had made arrangements to surprise him and his small garrison, and having discovered the design he sought the aid of the viceroy. This was promptly sent, and the little garrison, though beleaguered by a large army and reduced by the accidental loss of their magazine and provisions to feed on vermin, repulsed the enemy with a very great sacrifice of men, not one of their own having fallen in the action. A larger force now arrived to their assistance under the command of the viceroy and Tristan de Cunna, who forced their way up the river through showers of balls; the town was entered, the garrison put to the sword, and all the vessels in the harbour set on fire.

In 1507 Don Francisco de Almeida sent his son Lorenzo as far as Choule, with eight ships, to protect the Portuguese traders along the coasts of Cannanore and Cochin. On his way he captured some Moorish vessels, and obtained intelligence that a fleet was in those waters, commissioned by the Sultan of Egypt to encounter the Portuguese adventurers, and exclude them from the East.

Previous to the discoveries of the Portuguese, the cloves of Amboyna, the nutmeg and mace of Banda, the sandal of Timor, the camphor of Borneo, the gold and silver of the East, the spices, gums, perfumes, and curiosities of China, Siam, Java, and other kingdoms, were first conveyed to Malacca, and thence to the nations west of the Red Sea. This commerce it was that, during the middle ages, had enriched the cities of Calicut, Cambaya, Ormuz, and Aden, which, in addition to the commodities enumerated as coming through Malacca, also had the trade in rubies from Pegu, stuffs from Bengal, pearls from Ceylon, the diamonds of Golconda; the cinnamon, and richer rubies of Ceylon; the pepper, ginger, and other spices of Malabar. From Ormuz they were brought to Europe up the Persian Gulf, to Bassora, at the mouth of the Euphrates, and thence distributed in the caravans through Armenia, Trebizond, Tartary, Aleppo, and Damascus, and to the port of Berut upon the Mediterranean, and from this depot the Venetians, Genoese, and Catalonians, conveyed them to their respective countries. Such of those commodities as had to travel by the Red Sea, were landed at Toro or Suez, towns at the bottom of the isthmus, and thence were borne in caravans to grand Cairo, thence down the Nile to Alexandria, and there shipped. The Italian commercial states and towns of Spain, the Sultan of Egypt, and many other princes and communities were considerable losers by the channels into which this commerce was diverted by the recent discoveries; and, however widely they differed on all other points, they felt they had a common interest in driving the new intruders out of India. To ensure their Eastern possessions, the Portuguese established a factory at Malacca; the Isle of Ormuz, bravely defended by its sovereign, Sheifedin II., had to submit to become tributary, and to the erection of a fortress. On the coast of Sofala another was raised. Thus, along the vast extent of the continent of Africa, from the Straits of Gibraltar to Abyssinia, and along the shores of Asia, from Ormuz to Siam, the flag of Portugal waved triumphantly.

The Venetians were amongst the first to feel the depressing effects on their commerce, and to endeavour to provide a remedy. They entered into a communication with the Sultan of Egypt, and after exciting his worst apprehensions, they offered to provide him with the materials for the construction of a fleet which might be used to cut off the vessels of the Portuguese in the eastern waters. It is more than probable that to the wily counsels of

the Italians, is attributable the artful means by which the Turks endeavoured to use the agency of the pope, in accomplishing their objects, before they appealed to arms.

The sultan accounted for his warlike preparations by publicly avowing that his intentions were, in revenge for the outrages offered to the pilgrims on their way to Mecca, to destroy the temple and holy places of Jerusalem. The mediation of the pope was obtained, but by presents well applied by the Portuguese monarch, and by ardent professions of devotion to the holy see, and zeal for the propagation of the faith, he disarmed all hostility on the part of the pontiff. The sultan, deprived of all hopes in that quarter, urged on his other preparations, and entered into correspondence with the Indian Mohammedan princes. With the connivance of these and of his Christian confederates, a large fleet was built and equipped, and dispatched, under the command of Meer Hozem, to the western shores of the Indian peninsula, with commands to pursue and extirpate the foreign infidels who were spreading terror and devastation in their path eastward. This fleet made its appearance as the younger Almeida was steering his course to Choule. The father forwarded immediate instructions to attack the fleet before it could reach the coast, and be reinforced by the natives. The young admiral, who had cast anchor, was attending to pushing on the preparations to execute his father's commands when the Egyptian squadron was seen in sight, and, favoured by wind and tide, was approaching the harbour. The ships succeeded in entering the river, and drew up in order of battle. For two days the engagement was maintained with equal vigour and courage. Hozem was confident of victory, having succeeded in surprising his enemy, and professed his resolution to board the Portuguese admiral, and gave orders to the rest of his ships to board the others. The gallant Almeida, though partially surprised, was not in the least disheartened, and when his adversary neared to the attack, he poured in such a shower of ball, arrows, grenades, and other dangerous missiles, that the Turkish vessel shrunk from the encounter, though far larger than its adversary. Lorenzo now became the assailant, and attempted to board the enemy. Two of his galleys were more successful than their gallant chief, and took two of their opponents and put their crews to the sword. The victory inclined to the Europeans, when the dismayed Mohammedans were relieved by the arrival of Melique Az, the governor of Din, with a number of small vessels well manned. This unequal conflict was injurious to the men and ships, but it was maintained till the second night separated them. Lorenzo then, under favour of the darkness, held a council of his chief officers, when it was decided that they should endeavour to escape to the open sea, where the fight could be renewed with greater advantage, and with greater facilities for retreat, should circumstances render the latter advisable. In endeavouring to accomplish this manœuvre, the attention of the enemy was attracted, and Lorenzo's ship, running foul of some fishing stakes, made so much water, that her destruction became inevitable. Her consort was drifted out to sea, and the admiral was left exposed to the united attack directed against him. He neglected nothing which became a brave and a skilful commander; and when his thigh was shattered by a ball, he ordered himself to be placed against the mast, where he stood encouraging his men till another shot broke his back. His body was placed under deck, and the vessel was not surrendered. The Turks boarded it, and found Lorenzo's faithful page by the body of his master, bewailing his loss with tears of blood as well as water, having received an arrow in his eye. Mutilated as he was, he rose to defend the corpse, and, having killed as many as covered his master, he then fell upon the heap of slain. Such devotion should leave an imperishable name; his lives—Laurence Freyre Gato. Of one hundred men that were with Lorenzo, only nineteen escaped. Six hundred of the enemy fell. Melique Az, a prince to whose bravery and humanity his enemies testified, prevailed on the survivors to surrender, and paid them every attention, and wrote a letter to Almeida, condoling with him on the death of a son so eminently distinguished. This was the first occasion in which the Portuguese cannon was heard on the shores of the Maharashtra.* Choule then belonged to the kingdom of Ahmednuggur. Although the viceroy received the intelligence of his son's death with apparent submission to the will of the Supreme, and declared that he had much less desired for the youth long life than a distinguished name, and felt in the realization of that aspiration that he had no cause for mourning, as he was now enjoying the rewards of his conduct, he, however, did not exhibit this commendable resignation in his acts. With all the expedition possible he fitted out a fleet of nineteen ships, and embodied an army composed of Portuguese and natives, when his arrangements were interrupted by the arrival of Alphonso Albuquerque with the title of viceroy, and with peremptory orders from the king to Don Francisco de Almeida to resign the government into his hands, and

* Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. ii. p. 76.

return home in one of the trading vessels. He refused to surrender the dignity until he had concluded the expedition which he was preparing. Albuquerque pressed him to compliance; he pleaded as an excuse that the ship in which he was to return had already departed, and that he should remain to inflict condign punishment on the Turks. To further pressing remonstrances, accompanied with an assurance that ample satisfaction would be exacted for the death of his son, he replied, "That he had taken up the sword, and would never resign it to another to avenge his wrongs." Finding all argument ineffectual, Albuquerque proceeded to Cochin. This refusal to comply with the commands of the sovereign, established a precedent which led afterwards to bad results, and set the royal authority at open defiance.

Almeida, on the departure of Albuquerque, proceeded with his armament—confidence in its strength, and the attachment of his officers and forces, induced him to act so independently—as has been just related above. He sailed for Dabul, one of the greatest and most splendid towns on that coast, and which had given its zealous support to the Egyptians. The Portuguese entered the river on the 30th of December, 1508. Francisco de Almeida, who personally commanded, landed his men, and took, plundered, and burnt the town. According to Ossorio and other historians, this conflagration was ordered by the viceroy himself, as the only effectual means left him of putting an end to the plundering.

The combined fleets of the enemy were in the Gulf of Cambay; hither he determined to direct his course. When he entered he found them strongly posted in the harbour of Diu. Though covered by strong batteries, and a sloping network of strong rope, the Portuguese did not hesitate, but advanced to the attack. The conflict was short, sharp, and decisive: all the large vessels were either sunk or taken; the rest, defeated and shattered, sought protection in shallow water. The captured vessels, stored with plunder, amply rewarded the toiling victors. All the European captives were restored unconditionally. This victory was sullied by a disgraceful and unprovoked massacre of his prisoners. On his return to Cochin, Albuquerque was placed under arrest. This Almeida soon regretted, and shortly afterwards he was persuaded to resign his appointment into the hands of his successor, and then set sail for Portugal, which he never reached, being killed in an affray with some naked and contemptible Caffres on the coast of Africa.

Albuquerque being now at the head of the government, hurried his preparations for the reduction of Calicut, the capital of the earliest and most powerful enemy of the Portuguese. With a body of eighteen hundred men, in thirty vessels, and some boats of Malays, who were led by the hope of plunder to accompany the expedition, he set sail, and arrived there on the 2nd of January, 1510. Albuquerque was also accompanied by Coutinho, who had recently arrived with a fleet of fifteen sail, having been sent out by King Manuel, to whom intelligence had been communicated of the preparations made by the Sultan of Egypt, and also of the apprehended refusal of Almeida to surrender his office. This nobleman was entrusted with great powers; and the duties committed to him having been duly executed, he was on the eve of departure for Europe when this armament was ready to sail. Ambitious of fresh laurels, he insisted on being permitted to take a prominent part upon this occasion. The honourable post he sought was conceded by his friend. The difficulties to their landing they found very great. The town was surrounded with jungle, and could be approached by narrow avenues only, which left the troops no space for their files and evolutions. The army was therefore divided, and it was agreed that the two commanders should advance with separate divisions. To Coutinho was assigned eight hundred men, and some fieldpieces. Albuquerque led an equal number, and a supplementary body of eight hundred Malays. They remained under arms all night, through their eagerness to land, but the sound of the signal to march and the discharge of cannon drowned all their fatigue in the military ardour they evolved. They marched with great confusion, as both parties were emulous of performing the most distinguished feat. The followers of Albuquerque first reached the defences, and charged the six hundred men who were posted at their point of attack, who, though they vigorously received the assault, were compelled to succumb to their intrepid assailants, and in a few minutes the Portuguese were in possession. Coutinho, whose progress had been retarded, did not arrive until the banner of Portugal was planted on the wall of the captured fortress, and was chagrined that he had had no part in the matter. He indulged in the bitterest reproaches, and charged his friend Albuquerque with having by his contrivances robbed him of his share of the glory. He insultingly added, "Were you ambitious that the rabble of Lisbon should trumpet your renown as the conqueror of Calicut, and that our sovereign should yield you all the credit? Were that your vainglorious object, you will be disappointed. On my arrival I shall tell the king I could

have entered the town with only this cane in my hand; and since I find nobody to fight with, I will not rest satisfied till I enter the palace of the zamorin, and dine in his halls." Haughtily disdaining to await any explanation, he commanded his troops to march to that quarter. His progress was disputed as he impetuously and successfully cut his way for the space of five leagues, encumbered with a continuous grove of palms that lined the way. When he reached the palace, he found it formed a little town, strongly walled in, and, in fact, the only fortification in Calicut. The main strength of the army also was posted there. The brave Portuguese was not disheartened by these discoveries. For him the difficulties sweetened the labour, and enhanced the prospective rewards. Giving a short respite to the soldiers, he made a fierce assault on the gates. His impetuosity was irresistible; the enemy fled to the mountains, and the royal residence was at the mercy of the victors, who were soon engrossed in appropriating the wealth with which they were profusely surrounded. They were blinded by their cupidity to the fearful consequences of their disorganization and recklessness, and acted with as little precaution as if the enemy had been destroyed as well as defeated. They were soon called to a sense of their folly. The foe had been expelled, but not crushed. Animated by the paucity of their number, and their present imprudent behaviour, a body of thirty thousand well-armed men returned to renew the contest. Several of the Portuguese, encumbered with spoil, were killed. During the progress of Coutinho, and the occupation of the palace, Albuquerque had entered the city, and set fire to the houses, and then resolved to ascertain what Coutinho had done, who had foolishly neglected to keep open the communications with the rear. Having followed in his track, and arrived at the scene of action, he found him and his companions surrounded by an armed and resolute host, in the most imminent danger. He discovered means of communicating the fact of his presence to Coutinho, and in the meantime endeavoured to prevent the pressure on him of the enemy on the outside. After some considerable delay, and in reply to a third message, Albuquerque was informed that he might proceed towards the fleet, and that Coutinho, then engaged in collecting his men, who had dispersed in all directions, would follow. On his march Albuquerque learned that his colleague's life was in danger; he attempted, but in vain, to cut his way back to his relief. It was too late. The Indians in multitudes thronged the intervening street. The tops of the houses were crowded with armed assailants, and from windows, turrets, and every covert he was assailed with clouds of darts. The bravest of his men fell around him: entangled in the narrow streets, lanes, and avenues, he could neither advance nor retreat; his own fate hung trembling in the balance. The flames of the burning houses at last gleamed upon his path, and forced his scorched assailants to clear his way. The gallant Albuquerque escaped almost by a miracle; he was wounded in the throat with a dart, in the head with a stone, and was so faint that he was borne senseless to the shore. Coutinho, when sensible of his imminent danger, placed himself at the head of his men, and fought like a lion. Though the palace around him was in flames, and he surrounded by an infuriated host, he bravely endeavoured to cut a passage through them; he at length fell, and in endeavouring to defend him officers of the noblest families in Portugal shared his fate. Eighty of the Portuguese were slain, and three hundred wounded. In so severe an encounter, and taken so by surprise, it is scarcely credible their loss was so small. Their own historians are the only accessible authorities, and it is to be suspected that truth has been frequently sacrificed to national vanity.

The ardour of the viceroy was not moderated by this disaster. He had no sooner recovered from his wounds than he directed his attention to the extension of his conquests. His intended enterprise was not directed against the capital of the zamorin, but on the acquisition of some town on the sea-coast, which might be established as a capital for the Portuguese colonists. The Island of Ormuz appeared to him the best selection, and thither he steered, about the end of January, 1510, with seventeen hundred men in twenty-one vessels, of all sorts and sizes. Timora, an Indian pirate, who visited him on his way, drew his attention to Goa, a town on the sea-coast of the Deccan, in the district called Canara, which has since become famous as the military, civil, commercial, and religious capital of the Portuguese empire in the East.

Timora had been originally an Indian chief. He had been dispossessed of his inheritance by his relatives, and harshly treated by his neighbours. He became a pirate, and the captain of a numerous and daring body of Indian adventurers. He attached himself to the Portuguese, and proved himself a trusty friend. In all probability he was induced to cultivate the friendship of the Europeans in the hope, with their aid, of being able to avenge his injuries, and to re-

cover his lost power. On this memorable occasion he pointed out the superiority of Goa to Ormuz. Goa had been only recently conquered by the Moguls, and annexed to Delhi. The convulsions by which that power was shaken in the commencement of the seventh century, have been already detailed, and the capture of Goa glanced at. Amid the disruption of the cumbrous and unwieldy components of that empire, the severance of the Deccan, and the growth of the three states, which from vice-royalties grew into independent kingdoms, an opportunity was afforded for the assertion of similar pretensions in the south, and amongst other kingdoms, first rose that of Narsinga, with its capital, Bisnagor. But the most powerful of these at this time was Goa, whose sovereign bore the title of zabaim. Timora informed Albuquerque that this prince was involved in war with several states of the interior, that he was now absent in some distant campaign, that his resources were absorbed, and his capital left unprotected, an easy prey to the first powerful invader. As an assurance of his confidence in the propriety of his recommendation and the issue, he proffered the co-operation of his own force, amounting to twelve ships.

No time was lost, on the 25th of February the combined fleets of these freebooters—Hindoo and Christian—cast anchor in the harbour of Goa. The forts for its protection were captured without delay, and the ships drawn up close to the walls. The inhabitants, who were chiefly engaged in commercial pursuits, alarmed by the threatened storming of their city, and the treatment to be expected from their unscrupulous and exacting enemies, reluctantly presented themselves to the Portuguese to make an offer of surrender, upon condition that their lives, liberties, and estates should be secured. The offer was accepted. Albuquerque entered the city, and was received with as much homage as could have been paid to the legitimate sovereign. He applied himself to the restoration of order and public confidence, and the measures he pursued to accomplish these ends were hailed with public approval. He dispatched embassies to the neighbouring courts, proffering friendship and soliciting alliances. The towns dependant on Goa awaited no advances; as soon as they learned the fall of the metropolis they immediately proffered their submission, and were, as might be presumed, kindly received. It must be confessed, however unjustifiable his designs on Goa were, when in possession he faithfully fulfilled every stipulation, and with great prudence endeavoured to establish his power on the attachment of the people. The command of the fort was conferred on one of his principal officers, Don Antonio de Noronnah; the government of the natives on Timojee, and the officers of the late administration were continued in their posts. This pleasant state of things was not fated to continue. The zabaim, as soon as he heard of the sudden reverse of fortune and the loss of his capital, suddenly concluded peace with his adversaries, and turned his attention to home. He induced several of them to make common cause with him, and to assist in driving from their vicinity an enemy whose object was to crush them all in turn. An army of forty thousand men were quickly under his command, all breathing vengeance against the hated foreign invaders. The natives properly held everything as secondary to the necessity of their immediate overthrow. The zabaim had, as might be expected, a great number of adherents in the city on whose loyalty he might reckon. They had assured him of their fealty and assistance. He had been four months in possession when the expected foe appeared at the gates. Albuquerque rested his hopes on defending the approaches. He fortified all the strong points of defence, and stationed chosen troops at them, covering them with walls and intrenchments. A danger now manifested itself which had not been anticipated, and one which was calculated to frustrate his best efforts and genius. Amongst his army there arose a numerous party, who looked upon the attempt to retain the town as insanity. They argued, and not without plausibility, that it was imprudent in the highest degree to expect to be able, in the midst of a hostile population, with no possibility of succour from home or elsewhere, to offer resistance to the numerous army by which they were beset. The towering ambition of the viceroy was too lofty to look down upon those common-place calculations. To his all-grasping spirit nothing seemed impossible. With him, as with Napoleon le Grand, there was no such word as *impossibility* in his vocabulary. He indignantly scouted the craven fears that suggested the idea of abandoning a prize so magnificent. His displeasure did not convince the dissentients, who protested against sacrificing to the temerity of one the whole army, and the future prospects of the Indo-Portuguese. Nine hundred of them conspired to strip him of his power, and consult as best they could for the common safety. Their machinations were not conducted with such privacy as to escape his observation. Having timely notice he surprised them in secret conclave, imprisoned the leaders, and pardoned the rest.

A conspiracy of the natives being detected in the city four hundred of them were cut to pieces with the sword. Baffled in every attempt, the enemy at length decided on a nocturnal attack. On the 17th of May, in the darkness of night and storm, the Indians advanced in two bodies, and succeeded, in spite of every opposition, to force their way into the island, being assisted by some outburst in the city; the Portuguese were obliged to retire to the fort, and this from necessity was soon evacuated. This hazardous feat was accomplished with characteristic resolution. Albuquerque privately sent on board his guns, ammunition, and provisions, and having seen his troops embarked, he was the last who entered the flag-ship. His escape might have been effected without the cognizance of the enemy, had not the explosion of a magazine aroused them. This accident led to an encounter, in which Albuquerque had his horse killed under him. The siege had lasted twenty days.

It was resolved to pass the winter in some convenient harbour on that coast. It was not the intention of the viceroy to waste even that season in inglorious inactivity. His proud spirit burned to atone for the late ill-fortune, and he was also anxious to revive the spirit and confidence of his men. A portion of the native confederate troops were encamped at Pangin, near Goa, and strongly intrenched. From this post ships were frequently dispatched to annoy the Portuguese. The guns of the fort also seriously incommoded them. This Albuquerque determined to surprise. Three hundred men were appointed on this expedition. They approached the shore in deep silence, and suddenly landed at the break of dawn; and then with drums and trumpets sounding, and with shouts which echoed through the quiet morn, they rushed on the slumbering enemy. The Indians, startled from their sleep by the unusual din, fled without striking a blow in defence of their tents and baggage. A great quantity of cannon, stores, and provisions, were left behind. Shortly after, a successful attack was made upon a squadron sailing to attack them, and some of the Portuguese having exhibited a daring proof of bravery—it is a pleasing duty to have to record an instance of chivalrous courtesy where it was least to be expected—the zabaim, having witnessed it, sent one of his officers to express his admiration of the heroism displayed; a polite answer was returned, and this exchange of civilities led to negotiations for peace, which led to no satisfactory results.

After these exploits, the Portuguese sailed to Cannanore, and there refitted their fleet and planned new conquests. Albuquerque did not yet resign his pretensions to Goa. He resolved on a second attempt on it. He had been reinforced by the arrival of thirteen ships which Manuel had dispatched to strengthen his Indian squadron.

Albuquerque sailed from Cannanore with a fleet of twenty-three vessels and fifteen hundred fighting men. On his way he was joined by three ships, which were sent to his aid by his confederate Timojee, who promised to join him at Goa with six thousand men. His strongest assurance of success was the impolitic absence of the zabaim, who was again engaged in prosecuting some quarrel with the sovereign of Narsinga. On the 22nd of November the Portuguese cast anchor a second time before the devoted city. Although it had been recently strongly fortified, and was defended by nine thousand men, before the arrival of the promised contingent from Timojee he commenced operations, and soon drove the enemy within the walls. As the latter were in the act of shutting the gate, Fernandoo Melos thrust in a long spear, which prevented it from closing; his soldiers made a desperate effort to turn this to their advantage, and eventually succeeded in entering the town with the fugitives, and though a fierce conflict hand to hand was maintained from the gate to the distant palace, the Portuguese flag again waved triumphantly from the captured battlements. Six thousand of the enemy had fallen, and only fifty of the victors. The glory of this achievement was tarnished by uncalled-for cruelty. The dead and wounded were cast a prey to the crocodiles, and not one Mohammedan was left alive in the island. An immense booty fell into the viceroy's hand, which enabled him to prosecute effectively the grand conceptions of his ambition.

To the natives, inoffensive agriculturists, he behaved with moderation; to them he restored their lands. Ambassadors from the princes of that country came to congratulate him on his success.

To consolidate his power was his next undertaking. He laid the foundation of a fort, which he named Emanuel after his sovereign; other useful works were also erected, and nothing was neglected which it was thought would contribute to render Goa a suitable capital for an eastern empire, and it actually became the bulwark of the Portuguese power in India. The viceroy perceived how essential to the stability of his power would be an incorporation of the conquerors and conquered; he endeavoured to effect this politic and desirable result. Several females, some belonging to the best families in the land, had fallen

into his hands in the capture of the town; these he treated with the highest respect and consideration, and having induced them to profess Christianity, he portioned them with lands, houses, or employments, he gave them in marriage to his European followers, and bestowed on the husbands some of his best appointments. The principal native families, finding the advantages of these connexions, availed themselves of the opportunity of further extending them.

Matters being thus far satisfactorily adjusted, Albuquerque now proposed to himself the accomplishment of projects which had been postponed as secondary to what had been just achieved. These were the conquest of Ormuz, the magnificent emporium of the Persian Gulf, on which he had made an attempt on his voyage to India, and which was snatched from his grasp almost in the moment of victory; and Malacca, considered then as the key of the remotest regions and islands of the East. To lull all suspicion of his immediate purpose he promulgated a report that Ormuz was his destination, and actually sent some ships there. He first sailed to Cochin, and thence set out for Malacca, on the 2nd of May, with nineteen sail and fourteen hundred fighting men, eight hundred of whom were Europeans, the rest natives.

The Portuguese entered the harbour of Malacca on the 1st of July, and found it crowded with vessels from all parts of maritime Asia, and the islands. The trade of the East and West had added to the wealth and population. Mohammed, who then reigned there, had greatly added to his power and popularity by the defeat of an army of forty thousand men, sent against him by the King of Siam. On this occasion he had recourse to those treacherous practices of which the Portuguese had frequently cause to complain, and the punishment of which he had now serious cause to apprehend. On this occasion he had recourse to the King of Siam, who placed a large contingent at his disposal, and by this his army was increased to thirty thousand men, and his artillery consisted of eight thousand pieces of cannon; but as De Faria remarks,* his fear was far greater than his preparations. With this force, and aid also from some neighbouring princes, Mohammed, the King of Malacca, made a vigorous defence, and availed himself of several appliances, movable wooden turrets, cannon, poisoned arrows, and thorns, and floats of wild-fire drifted down the river, to burn the ships; but the intrepidity of the Portuguese, inspired by their fearless chief, overcame all opposition; the enemy were compelled to fly, and Albuquerque was left master of the city. A fort was erected, which was called Famosa, from its beauty; and a church, which was dedicated to the visitation of the Virgin. With his characteristic discretion he settled the government on a conciliatory basis; established friendly relations with Siam, Java, and Sumatra; interchanged embassies with them; dispatched a party to discover the Molucca Islands and Banda, and offered to all nations in the habit of trading with Malacca, more liberal terms than they had previously enjoyed. He left De Brito Patalim to command the fort, with above three hundred men, and the like number to command the sea in ten ships, under Perez de Andrade. Albuquerque had returned home with four vessels.*

During this successful expedition, encouraged by his partizans within the city, the zabaim made a powerful effort to recover his lost capital. His commander succeeded in forcing his way into the island, in erecting a strong fort called Benaster, and reduced the Europeans to great straits. By the arrival of the viceroy the aspect of things was altered, his supremacy effectively re-established, and the complete expulsion of the enemy effected. His projected expedition for the subjugation of Ormuz—a conquest of great consequence to the maintenance of the supremacy of the Portuguese in the East—now had indisputable possession of his thoughts. Two attempts were frustrated. Defeat but strengthened his resolution. With a formidable armament—his troops numbering fifteen hundred Europeans and six hundred Asiatics—he made his final attempt. The king did not dare resist this force; he readily conceded permission to erect a fort, and when this was completed, confident of his power to enforce his demands, Albuquerque suggested to the prince the propriety of transporting all the cannon which frowned from the bulwarks of his capital to this station. The unfortunate king had no alternative, and thus the celebrated Ormuz became a Portuguese establishment.

In a declining state of health Albuquerque longed to return to India, and had some hopes that the change of climate would facilitate his recovery. But a blow impended which wounded his pride and aggravated his disorders. As he coasted along the shores

* *De Faria y Sousa*, vol. i. p. 176.

* A marvellous tale is told by De Faria: "A Malay, though pierced with several mortal wounds by the Portuguese, to the general astonishment of all shed not one drop of blood, but when a bracelet of bone had been removed from his arm, the blood gushed out. The Indians discovered the secret, saying it was the bone of an animal of Java, which has that virtue. The bracelet was esteemed a great prize, and brought to Albuquerque."—*De Faria y Sousa.*

of Cambay, information met him that a squadron had arrived in India commanded by Lope Soarez, the man whom he most detested, and that he was appointed his successor. Hearing this he cried out, "It is time for me to take sanctuary in the church, for I have incurred the king's displeasure."* He was seized with profound melancholy, and arrived at Dabul almost in the arms of death. Upon the bar of Goa, which he called his land of promise, he expired on the 16th of December, in the sixty-third year of his age. "He was twice before Ormuz, twice before Goa, twice before Malacca; three famous islands and kingdoms in Asia over which he gloriously triumphed." †

Portuguese historians have not recorded the cause of his disgrace; nor does it appear that his sovereign softened in any way the harshness of his conduct in his recall, and the appointment of his avowed enemy to the chief command in the East.

Under his successful administration the Portuguese empire in the East attained nearly its greatest limits, only a few places on the remoter coast of Africa were added to it, and two or three minor settlements on the coast of Coromandel. This splendid empire, with the exclusive commerce between Europe and India, they retained for upwards of a century.

The chief duty imposed on Lope Soarez, the successor of Albuquerque, was the destruction of the fleet which had been equipped by the Sultan of Egypt, and was stationed in the Red Sea. As soon as he was formally settled in his new government, he began to make preparations for the performance of that task, and with a formidable armament sailed from Goa and anchored at Aden. This important town was then threatened by Soliman, the admiral of the Egyptian fleet; the inhabitants sought the protection of the Portuguese, and proffered the surrender of it to Soarez. Though it was the most valuable station the Europeans could have in the Indian seas, and its value appreciated not only by Albuquerque but also by each of his predecessors, Lope declined the offer, as he had no instructions in relation to it.‡ This expedition was a miserable failure, and Aden, which recently invited his rule and protection, insulted him with impunity on his return. During his absence Goa was nearly lost, and was saved through the valour of two captains who volunteered their services, and by some concessions to the enemy. Some factories about this time were established on the coast of Bengal, on the coast of China below Canton, and in the Molucca Islands. The violence of the Portuguese soon incurred the wrath of the Celestials, and also of the authorities of Bengal. From both nations they were expelled, and in the Moluccas their tenure was very insecure indeed.

In 1518 this weak imbecile, Soarez, was recalled, and Sequiera was nominated his successor. To him fortune was equally unfriendly. Malacca was disturbed with new troubles, which were but imperfectly quelled. A squadron sent to avenge the late failure in the Red Sea returned ingloriously; in Cannanore the fort was attacked by the natives, and defended with severe loss to the Europeans. The affairs of the Portuguese were never in a more perilous condition.

At the close of the year 1521 Manuel died, after one of the most glorious reigns on record. He was, in every respect, a great monarch. His fame extended as far as the wings of commerce could waft it; and his little kingdom, under his enlightened administration, grew wealthy and powerful. His ambassadors visited the courts of all the potentates of his time. They were dispatched to the King of England and to the sovereign of Abyssinia, to the monarch of Congo and the Sultan of Egypt, to the Shah of Persia and the Emperor of China, and all of them were distinguished by a magnificence suitable to the lord of so many regions, and whose sway was acknowledged on every continent of the globe.

When his son and successor Joam ascended the throne, Don Duarte de Meneses was viceroy of India. Incited by Xaref, the minister of the King of Ormuz, an attack was made on the Portuguese fort, several of the garrison were put to the sword, and the rest besieged in the citadel, to which they retired for safety. Coutinho, the governor, sent to Goa for reinforcements, but before they could have arrived the Portuguese had retrieved their reverses, and the minister and king were compelled to fly to a neighbouring fort. Here the unfortunate prince was assassinated, because he advised an accommodation with the Europeans, and to the disgrace of the avaricious viceroy, the murderer, Xaref,

* "Tempo es de acogerme a la Iglesia; Vassi quedo yo mal con el Rey."—*Faria y Sousa.*

† "Dos veses se mostrò a Ormuz, dos a Goa, y a Malacca dos. Tres islas y coronas celebres en Asia."—*Ibid.*

‡ This strange conduct on the part of Lope seems to be inexplicable, particularly when it is remembered what an effort, and ineffectual, his predecessor made to gain it. Perhaps a clue to its explanation is to be found in the dismissal of Albuquerque, and that his offence was the prosecution of conquests for which he had no authority from home. Fears may have been entertained that an empire so extensive and remote, acquired independent of instructions, would soon cease to acknowledge the authority of the small parent state.

instead of punishment, had conferred upon him, on payment of a large sum of money, the government of Ormuz. This Portuguese wretch was no exception to the others, on whom had now devolved the government of the various Asiatic settlements. The same rapacity and venality are laid to the charge of the governors of Cochin, Calicut, Malacca, the Moluccas, and of every place cursed with their degenerate and detestable rule. To remedy this disgraceful abuse of power, and to restore, if possible, the national honour, the now venerable Vasco da Gama, the celebrated discoverer of the Indian peninsula, was dispatched by the court of Lisbon. What services he might have rendered to humanity and his sovereign are not left to the historian to recapitulate, for his new career, commenced with a vigorous repression of crimes and abuses, was cut short by death at Cochin.

His successor was Henrique de Meneses, brother of Duarte. This nobleman possessed the qualifications to realize the reformation which Vasco had commenced. His virtues made him the terror of both the licentious Portuguese and hostile natives. He gained a splendid victory over the Rajah of Calicut, an inveterate enemy. He did not live to reap all the fruits of it, nor to eradicate those evils he knew so well how to correct. He breathed his last at Cannanore. The proceeds of all his goods did not defray the expenses of his funeral. His short experience convinced him of the great risks to be run in maintaining in Calicut a fortress already exposed to the attacks of the zamorin. A few months before his death, he decided on transferring the settlement to Diu, near the entrance of the Gulf of Cambay, in the kingdom of Gujerat. His successor, Pedro Mascarenhas, impressed with the sound policy of this removal, prepared to effect it. To obtain possession of Diu by arms was no easy matter. It was strongly fortified by art as well as by nature, and the sovereign of Cambay, one of the most powerful princes of western India, was sure to come to its defence. It was resolved to obtain possession of it by negotiation, and a liberal expenditure of money. These negotiations, however, were suspended by the substitution of a new viceroy, Sampeyo, which led to some serious differences, which proved detrimental to the interests of the empire.

In 1529 Nuno da Cunha was sent out to take the command and supersede Sampeyo. He commenced his government auspiciously; on his way out, he called at Ormuz, recovered that island, and sent the blood-stained traitor, Xaref, to Lisbon in chains. On his arrival at Goa he, too, was convinced of the importance of removing to Diu, and pronounced it essential to the security of the Portuguese possessions and commerce. He commenced his preparations for besieging it. He collected such a formidable force, that when he presented himself before its walls it was surrendered without the discharge of a shot; and, when in his possession, every effort made by the king for its recovery was defeated.

The Sultan of Egypt, though he had suspended operations in the Indian waters, had not relinquished his hopes in that quarter. He now entered into a treaty with the Mohammedan King of Cambay, and in the fulfilment of his part of the conditions sent a fleet under the command of Soliman Pasha, admiral of the Sublime Porte, to co-operate in the expulsion of the odious Christians from the Eastern seas. Diu was assaulted, but the small garrison, only seven hundred—fighting forty to one—bravely kept their own. Enraged as well as disappointed by this heroic defence, the Egyptians sought the aid of the King of Calicut to exterminate the "infidel dogs," proffering in return the protection of the sultan. The proud zamorin spurned the idea of protection, "Tell thy master," was the reply, "that the sovereigns of Calicut need no protection, but are the protectors of other kings; and never receive presents, they always bestow them." This siege is considered one of the most memorable in the annals of Portuguese rule in Asia, and thus justifies a more general notice. Exploits of the most daring valour were performed, nor was the honour of them and the labour shared by the men alone. The fairer sex were their rivals in courage and enthusiasm. Donna Isabella de Vega assembled all the women in the forts, and, in glowing terms, depicted to them the incessant toil imposed upon the men, in their uninterrupted efforts to repel the incessant attacks of an army, that numbered twenty-seven thousand strong. She induced her audience to undertake the reparation of the breaches. Another heroine, Ann Fernandez, the wife of a physician, ran from post to post fearless of the missiles which fell around her, cheering and encouraging the soldiers; and seeing her son fall in one of the attacks, she rescued his body, bore it to a place of safety, and having performed a mother's duty, she rushed to her post, and there stopt till the day's deadly work had ended, then she performed the obsequies of her gallant boy. Such examples kindled an enthusiasm superior to all obstacles. For weeks was this conflict thus heroically maintained. At length the enemy, wearied and exasperated, resolved on a final and general assault. To lull all suspicion they began to withdraw their galleys, as if preparing for raising the

siege. At midnight they suddenly returned, and, applying their scaling-ladders to the sea-wall, they made the assault. The garrison were soon aroused. They rushed to the defences; hand to hand they grappled with the foe; deeds of superhuman valour were in that encounter performed; fifteen hundred of the assailants met a warrior's death; the enemy had made their last effort, and the liberated garrison of heroes were rewarded when morning lit the landscape, by seeing the canvas of the Egyptian fleet filled with the auspicious gale that bore them to their distant homes. On reviewing his gallant band, Sylveira found that not more than forty of them were fit for duty.

The next nobleman who was appointed to the viceroyalty, by Joam, was Estevan da Gama, the son of the celebrated Vasco. He was a man of consummate ability, and, what seldom happens, proved himself to be as able a man as his father. He established a college in Goa for the education of the higher classes of Hindoos; and when the Turks attacked the Christian sovereign of Abyssinia, he chivalrously defended him. He also waged a war of extermination against the corsairs who frequented the Indian seas, and succeeded in their expulsion.

This able man was succeeded, in 1542, by Alphonso de Sousa, who was accompanied by Xavier, as previously stated. In the year of his arrival the Europeans first reached the islands of Japan.

The power of the Portuguese was felt and feared along the shores of eastern, southern, and south-western India, and in the numerous islands clustered in the Indian Ocean; Ceylon bent to their yoke, and many of its inhabitants embraced its religion. Their domination might have been co-extensive with that of Great Britain at a subsequent period, were it not for their gross abuse of their opportunities. To sordid purposes they sacrificed honour and religion; for greedy lucre they violated every moral obligation. The rapid extension of the power which culminated to its height before the grave closed over the remains of its first Portuguese visitor, was equalled by its more rapid declension, the effect of the abuse of its mission. The visit to Japan would have been a source of wealth to Europe, and of salvation to thousands, had not the heinous enormities of these professing Christians outraged humanity. The Japanese, who were in close communication with the natives of the Moluccas, were horrified by the excesses perpetrated there. The Portuguese had gained possession of two princes, sons of the late King of Ternate. These they liberated, in the hope of being enabled, under the semblance of the authority of a nominal king, to rule absolutely over his dominions. The eldest, with this object, was placed upon the throne; but, not being found a pliant or effective tool, he was degraded by Fonseca, the Portuguese governor, and his younger brother substituted. A new governor was shortly after sent from Europe, who, on some paltry pretext, arrested the king and sent him to Goa. No offence could be proved against him, and he was consequently honourably discharged, but he died on his return. There was still remaining of these puppets of royalty a bastard brother. The Portuguese raised him to the throne. His mother, a Javanese and Mohammedan, aware of the dangers which surrounded his elevation, endeavoured to dissuade him from its acceptance. Ataide, the European governor, was informed of her interference, and, incensed at the discovery, had the mother, in the sight of her son, thrown from a high window, and she was killed by the fall. This outrage was generally resented; the natives retaliated, and massacred all the Portuguese they could lay hands upon. The summary of their proceedings is not exaggerated in the following quotation:—"Under the pretence of commerce, obtaining from the incautious natives permission to build a citadel, they uniformly perpetrated atrocities. Their odious domination was founded in hypocrisy; was cemented by violence and blood; was crowned with rapacity and insolence."

Sousa was succeeded by Castro, under whom the garrison of Diu again obtained immortal fame.

Passing over the intermediate events, till the year 1570, we then arrive at a period, the most critical in which the Portuguese colonists were ever placed. Don Louis de Ataide was then governor. The zamorin, who had still preserved his independence, had entered into negotiations with the court of Delhi, and Adil Khan and Nizam-ool-Moolk were commanded to give him all the aid he could. An alliance was formed for the expulsion of the Europeans. The capture of Goa, the seat of their power, was the first object of the confederation. Adil Khan, with an army amounting to one hundred thousand men, marched upon it. The Portuguese had only seven hundred men and some armed slaves, and were encumbered with thirteen hundred monks. A reinforcement of fifteen hundred men from the Moluccas was afterwards received. With this small force, after a siege of several months, the enemy was obliged to retire, with the loss of twelve thousand men. At Choule, near Bombay, Nizam-ool-Moolk was vigorously

conducting his operations. The prospect of defence was less hopeful here than at Goa. Choule was situated on the continent, and defended only by a single wall, with a fort only a very little superior to a simple private dwelling. In a short time the wall was demolished, a battery of seventy cannon being incessantly played upon it. Every house was garrisoned in the path of the assailants, and defended with intrepid valour; various assaults were successfully repelled, and the Moguls eventually were obliged to withdraw, having formed a league offensive and defensive. The zamorin did not act faithfully by his allies during the progress of the war; he made repeated efforts to come to terms with the Portuguese; every advance was haughtily rejected by the proud and confident chief.

By such daring confidence and valorous acts, the little kingdom of Portugal, during the whole of the sixteenth century, maintained its supremacy in the East; and even when in their decadence, the prestige attached to their name awed into submission and cowardice those states which had previously felt the edge of their swords.

The opening of the seventeenth century introduced into India a new European element. The enterprising mariners of the lowlands had defeated Alva, thrown off the yoke of Philip of Spain, adventured from the dykes to the broad waters, coasted Africa, and reached the wealth-yielding realms of the East, there to dispute, with the all but effete Portuguese, the monopoly of Asiatic commerce. The history of the Dutch in India is reserved for another chapter.

## CHAPTER XLVII.

### ADVENT OF THE BRITISH IN INDIA—BRITISH EASTERN EXPEDITIONS IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

THE Mohammedan conquerors of India entered the land for the avowed purposes of plundering the people or subjugating the territory. The Portuguese and Dutch merely contemplated the opening up of commercial intercourse, and the maintenance of a trading monopoly. After a short interval of trade each of those nations became desirous of acquiring land, and the first-named formed ultimately the ambitious design of ruling "the Indies." The English were actuated by no greed of territory. The idea of conquest in such a region never entered the head of the most ambitious Englishman. The conception formed in England of "the Great Mogul" was that of a potentate very mighty, perhaps the most powerful in the world. It was supposed that his court was the most splendid, not only in the East, but on the earth; that his throne was gold, ivory, and pearl, glittering with the rarest jewels, and diamonds of the purest water. The jewelled turban of the emperor, or the jewelled hilt of his sword, was supposed to equal in value European cities or provinces. Hosts of cavalry, numbered by the million, and war-elephants, counted by hundreds of thousands, were believed to be at the command of that all-powerful monarch. The extent of the regions submitting to his sway was exaggerated in an extraordinary degree, vast as these realms really were. Rich as the soil of India was, its fertility was, if possible, magnified. Mines of diamonds and precious stones in the remoter provinces, sufficient to adorn all the courts in the world, were, in English opinion, part of the monarch's exhaustless wealth. It was thought certain that the vigilant Portuguese, and persevering Dutch, were likely to possess a lucrative traffic in the costly spices and gems of the East, and it was deemed unworthy of British spirit to permit it. To share with the adventurous Lusitanians and Hollanders in the rich rewards of such a trade was the only ambition of the English people when they first sought the shores of India. If another ambition ruled them, it was to prove their naval and commercial superiority to the rival maritime countries of Europe, then successfully engaged in Indian commerce. To force out the Spaniards and Portuguese, and afterwards the Dutch, from monopoly, or even ascendancy, in the trade of the East, was the only employment of arms which the British thought of; indeed, the prevailing feeling upon the subject among all enlightened Englishmen, political and commercial, was, that all exercise of force, or even display of it, towards the natives of India, was impolitic and perilous. The conquest of any of the princes of India—even the smallest tributary to the Great Mogul—would have been regarded as a wild dream of folly and ambition, not only to be denounced

but to be laughed at. There was no objection to combat with the ships of European states, so as to inconvenience them in their commerce, and open up a prospect of securing with less opposition the chief trade of the Eastern seas; but towards the Indians there was rather a disposition to act submissively than boldly, and to win them to trade by enduring some indignities, and avoiding all demonstration of power. Had any one in those days affirmed that the time would come when the British flag would float in undisputed supremacy in the Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal, from the Straits of Babelmandel and the Persian Gulf to the Yellow Sea, and on shore, from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas, from Kurrachee to Malacca, he would have been set down as insane, or as ridiculing the genius and enterprise of the English people. Even for commercial purposes it was not easy to awaken English enterprise in connection with India. After Stevens, Fitch, and Leedes, very early British adventurers in that land of fable and romance, had detailed to the English public the realities they had witnessed, and although the jealousy entertained of the Portuguese could not fail to stir the spirit of a people of such maritime enterprise, it was difficult to obtain subscriptions to a company for trading with the East Indies. But even when the trading spirit of the London merchants was thoroughly roused, and the English were already of importance in the Eastern seas, nothing could be farther from their thoughts than military occupation of Indian territory, or warlike undertakings of any kind against the natives. Sir Thomas Roe, mentioned in a former chapter as the ambassador of James I. to the Great Mogul in the year 1615, in a letter to the company, declared that war and trade were incompatible; that the emperor, in refusing the English a fort, did them service rather than injury; and that if his imperial majesty offered any number of fortified places, he would, in the interest of England, refuse them. This was the spirit maintained both by English merchants and English governments, until events in India, which had not their origin in British policy, were not promoted by British purpose, and could not be controlled by either the company or the English government, led to territorial conquest. The Spanish proverb, "Give me a seat, and I will make myself room to lie down," may be aptly applied to the energy and tenacity of the English, whether as traders, colonists, or conquerors, and their peculiar characteristics may account for the early commencement of a career of territorial acquisition, but they neither desired, intended, nor hoped for the like. Miss Martineau has pertinently asked, "How was it possible that our first lodgment in such an empire should appear otherwise than small and unpretending? The imputation is, no doubt, that there was craft under this humility; but there is very clear evidence that the charge is simply slanderous. The English wanted to buy and to sell, and they wanted nothing else." The remarks of the same distinguished authoress are equally pertinent when she says, "At sea there must be warfare; and the general success of the British in their sea-fights with European rivals advanced their reputation on land; but those conflicts were only heard of; and for a course of years the native impression of an Englishman was of an energetic personage, always buying and selling, loading and unloading ships, emptying and filling warehouses, paying his way and demanding his dues, becoming irritable when the Dutch and Portuguese and the Spice Islands were mentioned, and always victorious at sea over the Dutch and Portuguese, and in the question of spice. Such was the beginning of our connection with India. It was, as we see, purely commercial. A change took place in 1624, which excited no particular notice or marked expectation at the time, but which is now regarded as introducing a new period in our relations with India."

The commercial connection between the East and West has been fully set forth on earlier pages of this work. In the nineteenth chapter* the earliest commercial intercourse between the East and West was related; and in the twentieth† an account was given of the commercial intercourse between India and the Western nations from the invasion of Alexander the Great to the settlement of the British. At the close of that chapter it was observed that so mingled did the commercial and political become in the History of the East India Company, that it was necessary to trace their development together. In this and successive chapters the accomplishment of the task will be attempted. The great difficulty in tracing the early history of the English in India arises from the confusion of apparent cause and effect. The designs of the English trading company, and the results of their efforts, seldom corresponded. Their best concerted measures were baffled and defeated by agencies and instrumentalities trivial or unexpected. When they naturally expected profit from transactions from which large advantages might be reasonably inferred, there was loss; where they meditated peace they found war. The long-established power of the Portuguese melted away before the

* See p. 360. † See p. 371.

commercial fleets of the London merchants, and the sturdy and hardy Dutch were defeated alike in the competition of industry and arms; while the petty rajahs and their tributaries were able to offer effectual opposition, and the wisdom and negotiation of sensible and earnest men were set aside by the intrigues of a courtezan, a courtier, or a slave not adequately feed. Yet the most extraordinary fortunes opened up where least expected and desired, and from sources and by means altogether beyond the calculations of human foresight. The London Company seemed to struggle with some great destiny, of which it was unconscious, and for which it was not prepared. From whatever course the company selected for itself, it was turned aside into other paths, intricate as they were devious. With an object simple, and a pursuit of that object sincere, it was involved in complicated transactions of a totally different nature, from which a heroic daring and skilful address did not always suffice to extricate it; but these, when called forth by one difficulty, created others, to be encountered by new forms of daring and self-possession, which, however, issuing in renown or gain, led to results wholly different from those to accomplish which they were put forth. The progress of the English in India is one of the most entangled threads of history. Who can refrain from seeing a superintending Providence, overruling the aims of commerce and the policy of man, for purposes of magnitude and importance connected with his own glory and the moral government of the world? Transactions, great and small, the advent of a genius, or the discovery of some minute article of commerce, bore alike in their relations and upon the grand destination to which all events were constrained to hasten. They were instruments alike in his hands, who

> "Sees with equal eye, as God of all,
> A hero perish, or a sparrow fall."

Miss Martineau truly says, "Nothing could be more unlike what men designed and anticipated than the issues of the early schemes of the East India Company. The members themselves, their supporters and their opponents, were alike surprised at finding, from period to period, that they accomplished scarcely anything they designed, and that all manner of unlooked-for things came to pass —as if the whole affair was some mighty sport, in which grave and earnest men were made the agents of some transcendent levity, or were bewildered pupils in some new school which they had entered unawares. The merchants, who began the whole business, meant to trade, and obtain large profits, and, above all else, to avoid everything but trade. With the magnificent shows of life in India they had no concern whatever, beyond valuing, buying and selling, the commodities in use before their eyes. They knew nothing, and cared nothing, about politics—Mogul or Mahratta; and, as for war, it was only too fearful even to witness it. All they desired was to be let alone to make their fortunes, without any thought of law, government, negotiation, or war, except as far as any of these might affect their commerce—a handful of strangers as they were on a foreign coast. No men could be more sincere than these men were; and yet, in the course of the next century, a mocking destiny seemed to make teetotoms of them, their plans, and their fortunes. . . . . Their trade was never very successful; their balance-sheet pleased their enemies better than their friends. They exchanged commodities no doubt, and made profits; but their concerns were puny in comparison with their pretensions, and did not expand at all in proportion to their scope. While their direct object succeeded no better than this, they found themselves passing laws, ruling settlements, and making war and negotiating treaties, in alliance or opposition, with the princes of the country. They found themselves touching many points of Indian territory and Indian polity, and fastening wherever they touched, till the necessity was ripe which made them a great administrative and military power."

When the English gained mastery their progress was still a reluctant one in the direction of annexation. It was not by a desire to aggrandize territory that they gained it. The display or exercise of military power formed no part of their designs, the company denounced aggression, and an increase of territory by military force was regarded by its officers as the worst policy that could be pursued. A writer in the *Bombay Quarterly*, in 1858, justly represented the spirit of the English throughout the greater part of their career, when he thus wrote:—"Our ascendancy in India has been hitherto due to our moral rather than our physical superiority; to the higher qualities which enable us to utilize with the best effect slender resources, rather than to the amplitude of the resources themselves—still less of that portion of them actually derived from home. But from the time of Clive onwards, the foundations of our power were securely laid in the moral prestige which he established, and others amply sustained. The spell of a master-mind was laid in succession upon each of the enervated and half savage tribes with which we came into contact. And not only did they own subjec-

tion to British constancy, British valour, British faith, but they became the willing, for a time the enthusiastic, instruments for extending the British sway. At such a season as this it is encouraging and profitable to look back into the past; and while the world is ringing with the fame of present heroic achievements and endurance on the part of our countrymen, to trace the resemblance, the identity, between the qualities that have won *them* renown, and rescued India from a demoniac *Raj*, and those that of old, under Providence, conferred glory and honour on the British, *vixere fortis ante Agamemona*. The Lawrences, the Neills, the Havelocks, have had their worthy, if, now at least, less conspicuous predecessors; the fruits of whose exertions we have long been enjoying, the memory of whose excellences we should not willingly let die."

It is in this spirit that the English reader must approach the history of his countrymen in India, if he will do justice to them, or comprehend the strange and mighty events which fill up that glorious and gorgeous story.

It has been explained in the chapter on the commercial intercourse between India and the Western nations after the conquest by Alexander the Great, that the English derived their oriental commodities by way of the Mediterranean. An intense desire for a sea-passage, by which their own ships could go direct to China, pervaded the commercial public, especially of London and Bristol, and various romantic stories were circulated of the riches of Cathay, and the possibility of discovering a way thither.

A trade in Indian commodities was, at a very early period, instigated by Sir William Monson, who witnessed the wreck of a Venetian carrac, laden with spices and other Indian commodities, on the Isle of Wight. The views of Sir William only contemplated the opening of a trade with the Levant in British ships, so as to rival the Venetians, instead of being obliged to deal with them as the merchants and carriers of Indian commodities. His appeals were successful, and the Turkey merchants, as they were called, imported Indian goods for the English markets.* In the latter half of the sixteenth century an English merchant named Thom took up his residence at Seville, and being an attentive observer, and an inquisitive person, he acquired a great deal of useful information about the Spanish and Portuguese Eastern commerce. He communicated this information to the ministers of Henry VIII., and convinced them of the advantages that would result from opening up a trade directly with the Indies. He suggested that a new passage might be discovered either by the north-east or north-west to the Indian Ocean, so as to avoid the tedious and dangerous passage round the Cape, by which the Spaniards and Portuguese carried their trade. The idea of Thom, that the Indian seas might be reached by way of a northern passage, was probably derived from the Dutch, who were at that period so extensively engaged in the carrying trade; for the mariners of that nation had prevened the English in the hardy enterprize, but of course without success. The first expedition, undertaken with the hope of reaching India by an arctic voyage, was fitted out by some independent merchants who combined for that purpose. The object was a north-east passage round the coast of Asia. The command was given to Sir Hugh Willoughby, and he set sail with three ships upon his perilous, and, as it proved, disastrous mission. Driven upon the bleak shores of Lapland, he and many of his crew perished by famine and cold. Richard Chancellor, in command of one of the vessels, reached the White Sea, and, disembarking, travelled to Moscow, and opened up communications with the court of the czar. This resulted in various schemes for an overland route through his dominions, and those of the Shah of Persia. Several British agents crossed the Caspian Sea, and travelled to Bokhara, then the chief city of Independent Tartary. Efforts to establish any profitable intercourse with India through the territories of Russia and Persia were soon discontinued, the route having been found too expensive, as well as unhealthy and dangerous. When the hope of gaining access to India by a north-east voyage or an overland route *via* Russia and Persia grew faint, the adventurous spirit of the age sought to achieve the object by a north-west voyage round the Cape land, in which it was believed the continent of America terminated to the north. This result has often been attempted since, but all adventurers, from the days of Cabot, Frobisher, Davis, and Hudson, to the recent accomplishment of what has been called a north-west passage, proved the impracticability of ever finding a way to India by that course. When the idea was presented to the English public it produced a great sensation in London, both in the court and in the counting-house, and some London merchants combined to reap the golden harvests which such a discovery, it was supposed, was sure to produce. They fitted out two ships, and placed them under the command of a Captain Frobisher. This courageous man attempted the perilous exploit; undauntedly he again and again renewed his

* See chap. XI. p. 376.

efforts, and failed to accomplish what so many skilful navigators, with more resources at command, have since in vain essayed, although for a time such enterprises were discouraged by the opinion of Sir Francis Drake, who, when he returned from his voyage round the world, declared the passage by either north-east or north-west impossible.* The English were at last constrained to direct their attention to the route by the Cape of Good Hope, as the only one by which any certainty of communication might be obtained. Philip II. was at that time King of Portugal, and claimed what was called "the right of discovery." The Portuguese having found out that by sailing round the Cape of Good Hope they could reach the Eastern seas, argued that, therefore, the ships of no other nation was entitled to take the same direction. For a considerable time this argument had weight with the English themselves, and the British court was very unwilling to offend the court of Spain and Portugal, by allowing any proceeding that appeared to be against the wishes and interests of the latter. Besides, there was a general admission in Europe, vague and undefined but still real, that this "right of discovery," was a thing to be recognised and allowed. Along with these considerations there were others to deter the English court and people from entering into a direct rivalry with the Portuguese in what was regarded as their own high road upon the waters. Philip was at once the proudest, most bigoted, and most powerful monarch of the times, and it was a matter of most serious consideration to the statesmen of England how far it was politic to offend him. The English nation was too brave and high-spirited to shrink from a war with him if occasion imperatively called for it, but it was very unwilling to provoke one; and the court, and the statesmen which surrounded the British throne, were still more reluctant to bring on a quarrel with so powerful a prince. British vessels, unless under convoy or heavily armed, would be exposed to great peril, as they must pass near the European and Asiatic ports of his Iberian majesty, whose fleets were numerous and well equipped, and whose armed merchant ships were formidable, and prepared to attack any rivals of their commerce. Such was the energy and enterprize of the British that none of these considerations prevailed, and the nation gradually resolved to assert the right to travel the high road of nations on sea, whithersoever traffic might require, in spite of the combined forces of the nations of the Iberian peninsula. Both the Portuguese and the Dutch have received the credit of having anticipated the English in their oriental enterprise. They certainly antedated them in the acquisition of oriental empire, but the Portuguese alone preceded the British in purely trading transactions, unless the overland intercourse of the Russians with China may give them a similar claim. Both Portuguese and Dutch entered upon their Eastern designs with consecutive and persistent efforts from the first, while the proceedings of the English were for a long time desultory; although, when at last the East India Company was formed, their brilliant career went on with accelerated motion until all competitors were driven from the great theatre of exploit and profit. So early were the English in their first designs that five months before Vasco da Gama left Lisbon for India, several vessels were sent out by the Bristol merchants for the same destination. Henry VII. added two ships to the squadron, and the whole were placed under the guidance of the celebrated Venetian, Giovanni Gavatta, better known as John Cabot. When Cabot reached 67° 30′ north latitude, he was compelled by mutiny on board his ships to turn in a southerly direction; and ultimately he touched Newfoundland and the American continent.

Captain Francis Drake had the honour of opening up British commerce in the East, and of defying the haughty exclusiveness of the courtiers of the Spanish peninsula. Drake had won for himself a great name by his services in America and the West Indies, and he ardently took up the purpose of penetrating into the South Sea. In 1577 he fitted out an expedition at his own expense. The ships were five in number, the largest not exceeding one hundred tons, the smallest was of as low a burthen as twelve tons. No nation has had the art and courage to employ such small vessels on great enterprizes as the British; and while the French and Spaniards have surpassed the English in the architecture of large ships, and the Italians have excelled them in beauty of construction, none have equalled the English in building ships of small tonnage so well adapted to arduous and difficult undertakings in peace or war.

Drake fitted up his ships with the greatest

* "The discovery of the East Indies and Brazil by the Portuguese, and of the West-Indies, Mexico, Peru, and America by the Spaniards, all nearly at the close of the fifteenth, or at the commencement of the sixteenth century, conduced to the extension of European commerce; and the unsuccessful attempts of England, as well as of the Dutch and the Danes, to discover north-west and north-east passages to China, opened new and considerable sources of traffic, and led to the general increase of navigation."—AUBER.

care, and took on board very remarkable cargoes of rich furniture, and the best specimens of English manufacture. He also employed a band of musicians. His object was to startle and delight the natives of the countries he hoped to visit, by a display of novel and dazzling objects, so as to leave a deep impression in their minds of the riches, ingenuity, diversified resources, genius, and glory of England. He sailed from Plymouth on the 13th of December, 1577, and in August the following year he accomplished a passage through the Straits of Magellan. He then cruised for some months along the western coast of Spanish America, not hesitating to appropriate some rich prizes that presented themselves in the course of his voyage. Having obtained great wealth, though his fleet was reduced to a single vessel, he determined to attempt a return homeward by the north-west passage. He sailed to the coast of California, of which he claimed the discovery, and called it New Albion; but finding his main object impracticable, he resolved to cross the Pacific, and proceed to Europe by the Moluccas. He steered directly through the ocean, pausing nowhere till he found himself among the Spice Islands, the valuable productions of which were then the subject of general interest in the West. The King of Ternate, who was in a state of hostility with the Portuguese, gave a friendly reception to the English navigator, who first began that commerce with India which has since been carried to so immense an extent. Having coasted along Java, he proceeded to the Cape without touching at any port of the Asiatic continent. He took in supplies at Sierra Leone, and arrived at Plymouth on the 26th of September, 1580, after a voyage of two years and ten months. His arrival was hailed with the utmost exultation by his countrymen, who regarded so successful a voyage as having raised to the highest the naval glory of the realm.*

The merchants of London hastened to do him honour, and the people at large treated him with the greatest respect and admiration. The court was silent, and the government of the day has been generally blamed by historians for their tardiness to reward the bold and successful mariner who had rendered his country such services. The political considerations which influenced the queen and her ministers were, however, reasonable and just. Captain Drake's ideas of *meum* and *tuum* were not of the sort which governments could ostensibly acknowledge. He was not particular to what nation the vessels belonged of which he made prizes, and Elizabeth, although one of the most likely persons in all her dominions to appreciate the captain's spirit and daring, without being too discriminative as to the nationality of his captures, yet could not forget that policy demanded some caution before she ostensibly rewarded such peculiar services. At length her majesty overcame all scruples, visited him on board his vessel in a manner characteristic of the queen, the age, and the commander, and conferred upon him the honour of knighthood, highly prized in those days.

The commodities brought home by Captain, then Sir Francis Drake, excited much curiosity and pleasure among both traders and citizens, and his account of his adventures charmed all hearts. While at Ternate he found the sovereign of that country at war with the ruler of Tidore, and the assistance rendered by the British captain to the former decided the fate of the war. For this succour the grateful monarch offered to supply the English with all the cloves exported from his country. Captain Drake laid in a valuable cargo, which was much prized in England, more especially when the circumstances under which it was obtained were understood. Thus Sir Francis Drake not only acquired the great reputation of being the first navigator who sailed round the world, and conferred upon his country the glory of that exploit, but he opened up a direct commercial connection between England and the East.

The success of this voyager confirmed the practicability of accomplishing a trade by direct sea communication, but the capital required, and the risk involved, appeared to be too great for any private merchant to incur. What had been achieved was by naval squadrons or expeditions of privateers, rather than by peaceful merchantmen transporting their "venture beyond seas;" and this circumstance discouraged English traders. Still the ingenuity of the mercantile and seafaring community was thoroughly stimulated, and various projects were discussed, and some actually set on foot. A number of merchants united to open up a commerce by way of the Persian Gulf. They proposed to land their agents on the Syrian coast, who were to proceed to the Persian Gulf by way of Aleppo and Bagdad, and sail down the Persian Gulf by Ormuz to the coast of Malabar. They were influenced in this determination by the representations of a Mr. Stevens. Dr. Cooke Taylor describes "Captain Stevens as having sailed from England to India by the Cape, which would convey the idea that he was engaged in a British commercial undertaking; but Mr. Stevens had gone out in a Portuguese ship to Goa, and attached himself to the

* Hugh Murray, F.R.S.E.

Jesuits there, as Miss Martineau affirms, or took service under the Archbishop of Goa, as other writers state. He had been a student of New College, Oxford, was a man of classical acquirements, and was mainly influenced by religious feelings in seeking the far-famed Jesuit establishment of Goa. From thence he wrote to England, giving a long account of the place, describing his voyage thither, and showing his interest in commerce, and in that of his countrymen more particularly. He afforded intelligence and aid afterwards to agents engaged in the promotion of the English oriental trade. The account given by Stevens tended very much to fan the flame of Eastern enterprise which had been so long kindling. Miss Martineau flings off in her rapid but interesting way her views of the man, his motives, his book, its effects, the first English travellers who were influenced by it, and the result, in the following brief passage:—"When Stevens, who had joined a party of Portuguese to reach Goa, saw what he could from thence, he probably formed a most just estimate of the great peninsula than we have hitherto done; but now, stern events are awakening the interest which has slumbered too long. What made Stevens go to Goa? One of the agents of the Russian trading company to India was a man of English birth, who had seven times gone down the Volga, and by the Caspian and Persia to Hindostan; what he saw of the wealth of India, and of the scope for commercial adventure there, became known to Stevens, who found enough that was wonderful and tempting to make a most stimulating narrative as soon as he got home. Everybody read his book, and the nation became extremely eager to obtain a commercial footing under the shadow of the Moguls. News from other wanderers began to come in. Of a party of four travellers who had gone to see what they could see, one, named Storey, remained as a monk among the Portuguese at Goa; another, Newberry, died on his way back; a third, Leedes, accepted service under the Emperor Akbar; and only the fourth, Fitch, came home. . . . . Queen Elizabeth might be proud of her correspondents if she chanced to write to Henri Quatre and to Akbar on the same day. Leedes and his comrades carried a letter from her to the emperor at Delhi: and it is probable that Akbar was as eager to hear from his English follower all details of our queen's good government, as the English certainly were to learn from Stevens and Fitch whatever they could tell on their return of the empire and rule of Akbar, the great Mogul."

The letter of Queen Elizabeth was not entrusted to Leedes, as the above extract alleges. She wrote two letters, one to the Mogul, and the other to the King of China, and they were entrusted to the two principal men of the party of four, who were commissioned to make trial of the way by the Persian Gulf—Newberry and Fitch. That to the Mogul, or Emperor Akbar, was oddly addressed, as "To Zelabdim Echebar, King of Cambaya." It solicited his kindness towards her subjects, and expressed a promise of reciprocating such kindness to any of his majesty's people who came within the queen's dominion—a very unlikely eventuality.

Thus accredited, the travellers left England early in 1583, followed by the good wishes of the nation. Newberry wrote from Aleppo and Bagdad as much about business as the most practical merchant could desire. At Bagdad he could sell with difficulty, and not with advantage even then; but had he been furnished with money for the purpose, he assured his principals that spices could be obtained in abundance at prices that would prove remunerative. From Bagdad he proceeded to Bussora, without reaping any peculiar advantage. Thence he went to Ormuz, and found it practicable to conduct business transactions advantageously. This favourable state of matters continued only a week, when a rival in trade—an Italian, named Michael Stropene—brought an imputation against both Newberry and Fitch, who were consigned to prison. Newberry, writing from his prison, says, "It may be that they will cut our throats, or keep us long in prison. God's will be done!" They were not detained long, but were sent to Goa, where they were still held in custody. There the charges were brought out openly and formally against them. Nothing personal was imputed, except in reference to their trading; but they were held responsible for certain acts alleged against Captain Drake, especially his having fired some shots at a Portuguese galleon near Malacca. No doubt Drake had fired a great many shots at all sorts of galleons there and wherever he met them. Newberry disclaimed all knowledge of the transaction, and doubted its occurrence, and forcibly remonstrated against the hostile feeling shown to his country in his person, while men of every Asiatic nation and of all other European nations were allowed to trade there. Stevens, in his book, had dwelt in terms most laudatory upon the liberality of the Portuguese. This threw the English off their guard as to the intense religious animosity which prevailed in the Portuguese and Spanish nations towards them. Stevens, however, befriended Newberry in his perils

and difficulties, as did also a Dutch captain, John Linschoten. The English traders were, after a short incarceration at Goa, liberated, on giving heavy pecuniary security that they would not leave Goa without permission. They were still badly treated, their merchandize purloined, and large presents extorted by the officials. Stevens, from his connexion with the Jesuits, being himself secure, could afford them some aid, but it was of short duration. The Englishmen found out that fresh accusations were concocting against them, and that the governor was himself eager to bring them into trouble. Accordingly, all hope of justice having vanished, they made their escape from Goa on the 5th of April, 1585. They found their way into the interior, passed through Belgaum, where, they relate, there was a great market for diamonds and jewels, and reached the royal city of Bejapore. At this place the narratives of Newberry terminate, and Ralph Fitch becomes the relator. Three things seem to have struck his imagination—the abundance of the precious metals, the war elephants, and the idols. Concerning the last-named, he queerly and quaintly said, "Some be like a cow, some like a monkey, some like peacocks, and some like the devil." Fitch proceeded to Golconda, and refers in his correspondence to the diamond mines. He then penetrated through the Deccan, and reached Agra, which he thought superior to London. The emperor was at Futtehpore, to which place our traveller proceeded, and describes the country *en route* to be as populous as a European city. He describes the social character of the people, and represents the Brahmins to be "a crafty people, worse than the Jews." Fitch was accompanied in his journeys by the rest of the party; for although Newberry and himself are chiefly made mention of, there were others of their company. It is a curious circumstance that Fitch in his narrative omits all mention of any interview or negotiation with the Emperor Akbar, but relates that when they departed from Agra, William Leedes (called erroneously by some writers Leader), who was a jeweller, remained in that capacity at the court of the Mogul, who allowed him a house, a horse, five slaves, and a regular pension. Fitch relates his subsequent journeyings to Prage (Prayaga), now called Allahabad, and his descent of the Ganges to Benares, the idolatry of which city filled him with wonder, and baffled his attempts to describe it. How far were these travellers from thinking of the possibility of the nation they represented being at any future period the masters of those vast and populous realms! Fitch went next to Patna, then to Tanda, in Bengal, and to Conche, in the neighbourhood of the Bhotan Mountains. He then traversed the banks of the Hoogly, returned again to the Ganges, penetrated to Tipperah, travelled back to the Ganges again, and visited Serampore, with which city he was much pleased. He took ship from Serampore to Pegu, and thence to Malacca. He returned to Bengal to ship himself for Cochin, but first went to Ceylon. So adventurous was this brave man, that he once more touched at Goa, and this time with impunity. Thence our adventurer went to Choule, where he found ship for Ormuz, which he visited, notwithstanding his former misadventure there. Thence he found means to return home, passing overland to Tripoli, where he embarked for England, and arrived in safety A.D. 1591. Seldom was travel more bravely sustained than by this Englishman; and the accounts he furnished on his return added another impulse to the ambition and enterprise of his countrymen. While Fitch and his companions were thus engaged in the overland undertaking, another expedition was attempting fresh successes by sea.

The triumphant voyage of Sir Francis Drake inspired Captain Cavendish with the desire to follow up his enterprise. Dr. Cooke Taylor represents him as a young gentleman of fortune, who, having wasted his substance by riotous living, resolved on an Eastern voyage to repair it. Other writers describe him as actuated by purely patriotic motives, and a love of adventure by sea, such as was then very prevalent in England. Mr. Murray describes him as selling an estate to embark in naval adventure; and that author gives at once the most succinct and probable account in these terms:—"Thomas Cavendish, a gentleman of extensive property in Suffolk, after having served his naval apprenticeship under Sir Richard Grenville, determined to sell his estate, and embark the produce in a voyage to the South Sea and round the world. Having left Plymouth on the 21st of July, 1586, he reached, early next year, the western coast of South America, and, being restrained by no very nice scruples, made a number of valuable prizes. Stretching thence across the Pacific, he touched at Guahan, one of the group to which the Spaniards give the appellation of Ladrones. He passed afterwards through the Philippines, observing with surprise their extent and fertility, and holding communication with the natives, who expressed a decided preference of the English to the Spaniards, by whom these islands had been occupied. Sailing next through the Moluccas, and along the coasts of Floris and Sumbawa, he opened a friendly correspondence with

some of the princes of Java, and, following the course of Drake, reached England in September, 1588, by the Cape of Good Hope."* Thus, although Newberry and Fitch and their comrades preceded Cavendish in their Eastern enterprise, and information from them arrived from time to time before Cavendish set out, and during his absence, he arrived in England, bringing with him the results of his successful voyage, several years before the return of Fitch. It is likely that the letters of Newberry from Aleppo, Damascus, Brasso, Ormuz, and Goa, as well as the narrative of Stevens, written in the last-named city, influenced Cavendish very much in undertaking the voyage he so bravely accomplished, but it was from Drake he derived the first spark of ambition with which he was animated to become a naval commander, perform on his own account a voyage round the world, and bring to his country, direct from the places of production, cargoes of the costly spices then so highly valued in England.

The merchants of London, Bristol, and other English cities, became gradually convinced before Fitch returned—through his letters, and more particularly through those of Newberry—that there was no hope of prosecuting a profitable Eastern trade but by direct voyages *vid* the Cape, and that it should be an armed traffic, in the face of the malignant enmity of the Spaniards and Portuguese. The successful voyage of Cavendish, and the representations which he made, confirmed these convictions; and accordingly, the year after his return, and within less than twelve months of that event, a merchants' association was formed, for the purpose of oriental trade by way of the Cape, and a petition was presented to the government for permission to send three ships and three pinnaces to India. Queen Elizabeth was in all probability favourable to these measures; but the government, although then at war with Spain, was unwilling to shut out all prospects of peace by the irritation and injury which a commercial rivalry in the East would create in the minds of both Spaniards and Portuguese. Discouragements were therefore offered, and nothing immediately resulted from the petition. When Fitch returned the project was renewed. In 1591 three ships were sent out under Captains Raymond, Kendal, and Lancaster. This expedition has been confounded by several modern historians with another undertaken by Captain Lancaster, and especially called Lancaster's expedition, but which was not sent out until rather more than ten years afterwards. Lancaster was not the senior officer of the expedition in 1591, but Raymond, who was the admiral or commodore of the little squadron. Never perhaps was a naval expedition more successful or more unfortunate. In spite of every variety of obstacle, great success was obtained, and yet all that good fortune was at the last hour frustrated. The squadron sailed from Plymouth on the 10th of April. Sickness seems to have befallen the crews as soon as they left the British Channel. They reached the Cape of Good Hope in August, by which time the number of invalids had so increased, that Captain Kendal was ordered by Captain Raymond to take them home. Kendal himself appears to have been far from well, but, nevertheless, willing to prosecute the arduous enterprise in which his colleagues persevered. The remaining vessels, when off Cape Corientes, were smitten with a fearful hurricane. The ships were separated, and Captain Raymond's, named after its commander, was never again heard of. Lancaster, having cruised about for several days, in the hope of meeting with Raymond, encountered a still more formidable tempest than that which had separated them. "The heavens were darkened—the sea rose to such a height, as to threaten the destruction of the vessel every moment—the lightnings flashed with appalling vividness—and the ship was damaged severely; and had she not been extremely well built, and commanded by a man of intrepidity and presence of mind, she must have been lost: as it was, four men were killed; several more were struck blind—some temporarily, and others permanently; several lay "stretched out as on a rack;" and no man escaped without bruises or wounds. The heroic Lancaster, undeterred by even this new disaster, set about repairing his vessel, and recruiting the strength of his crew. He proceeded to the Island of Comoro, where he took in a supply of water, then much required by his men. Here a new, and, if possible, more terrible disaster than the storm awaited him. The natives, who were at first friendly, or, at all events, not inimical, indicated some restlessness at their presence, but no disposition to do injury. Suddenly, when two unarmed parties of the crew, numbering sixteen each, were engaged on shore in some necessary work connected with the ship, the natives fell upon them, and massacred them nearly all, in view of the ship's captain, and when it was impossible for him to afford any succour. A few escaped by various stratagems, but wounded severely. Still this dauntless man did not despair. With the courage of an old Norse sea-king, he prepared for such exploits upon the wave as chance might afford him opportunity to perform. He next touched at

* *History of British India.*

Zanzibar, and repaired his ship. Here he discovered, by private information, that the Portuguese, who were rude and surly, had formed a scheme to attack his boat. He opportunely departed, and was borne by unwelcome winds out of his course to the Island of Socotaro. Thence he departed with a favourable breeze for Cape Comorin. This he doubled in May, 1592, and, passing wide of the Nicobar Isles, proceeded to Sumatra, and thence to Penang, where he remained during the stormy season. Here he determined upon attacking all Spanish and Portuguese vessels which came in his way, where the slightest hope might be entertained that, even in a very unequal combat, victory was possible. He soon fell in with three vessels of from seventy to eighty tons burthen off the Malacca coast. The first struck upon the appearance of his boat, although she was "bravely armed." This was a ship and cargo belonging to the Jesuits of Goa, and Lancaster seems to have been much delighted on that account to make it a prize. Subsequently, by a series of daring attacks, he captured a number of large Portuguese ships laden with spices and other valuable mercantile commodities. In these encounters his own sailors were brave like himself, but so disorderly, as greatly to embarrass his proceedings. After striking terror in the Portuguese captains, sailing through the Straits of Malacca, he hastened to Ceylon, and cruised off Point de Galle, in order to intercept ships belonging to what the Portuguese and Spaniards called the Bengal and Pegu fleets. The sailors, however, enriched by the prizes they had made, were satisfied, and longed for home. They were insubordinate and resolute, so that Lancaster, much against his will, steered for the Cape of Good Hope, which he reached early in 1593. His projected voyage by the African coast was frustrated. He met with tempestuous weather at the Cape, and adverse winds after he had doubled it. Provisions became scarce, and he was obliged to make for Trinidad. He was driven into the Gulf of Paria, and thence made an irregular and confused voyage to the Bermudas. A storm once more wrecked his fortunes, and he was driven upon some desolate island. Having disembarked with most of his crew, the vessel was driven out to sea, and lost with all its precious freight. Lancaster and his hardy mariners must have perished had not a French vessel answered their signals of distress, and taken them on board. They were landed at Dieppe, after very kind treatment, on the 19th of May, 1594.

In 1596 an attempt was made by Sir Robert Dudley, which produced no important effect.

Immediately after the return of Lancaster a Dutch expedition of four ships was fitted out; and in 1598 another, more especially directed to Japan, set sail from the coast of Holland. The departure of these fleets stimulated the competition of the English merchants, and exercised the crowning influence in the formation of the first East India Company. It so happened that the pilot of the last Dutch fleet was an Englishman, named William Adams. Mr. Pratt of the India-house drew up, from original documents, a narrative of his adventures for Mr. Auber, who, in 1834, published it in the appendix to his work on China.* From these documents it appears that Adams was a native of Jellingham, in Kent. He served the long apprenticeship of nearly twelve years—from the age of twelve to twenty-four—to a pilot at Limehouse. He then became master in one of the queen's ships. He left the service of her majesty for that of "the Barbary merchants," in which he remained for nearly twelve years. In the year 1598 he engaged himself as pilot-major to the Dutch fleet of five sail, which was sent out by the Dutch India Company—"Peter Vandershay and Hanneevander-Veek." The "general and admiral" of the fleet was a merchant named Jaques Maihore. Adams was on board his ship.†

Although the project was to send out this squadron very early in the year, it was not until the 24th of June that it set sail. Being so late in the season, they found the passage of the line stormy. In the middle of September, the squadron being damaged and the crews sick, the admiral sought shelter at Cape Gonsalves, on the coast of Guinea. The sickness increased, and many of the mariners died. After various trials and vicissitudes of fortune, they assembled at their appointed rendezvous on the coast of Chili, in latitude 46°. Departing thence, still severer fortunes awaited them: hunger, sickness, unsuccessful conflicts with savages, storms, and various misadventures. The admiral's ship lost the general, the master, and all the officers were massacred on shore at the Island of St. Maria, on the coast of Chili, latitude 37° 12′ south. Other ships suffered in a similar manner. Two ships alone now remained together, that on board of which Adams

* *China: an Outline of its Government, Laws, and Policy; and of the British and Foreign Embassies to, and Intercourse with, that Empire.* By Peter Auber, Secretary to the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

† *Narrative of a Voyage to Japan.* By William Adams, an Englishman, as pilot of a Dutch fleet in 1598. The narrative is partly given here rather than reserved for the chapter on the Dutch in the East, as an Englishman is the subject of the relation.

served, and another. They were both weakly manned, and were in much fear of the Spanish cruisers. On the 27th of November, 1599, they left the Island of St. Maria, and stood for Japan. After passing the line they kept company until the 23rd of February, 1600, when the two ships were separated by a furious storm. "On the 19th of April, 1600, the ship in which Adams was made the coast of Japan in latitude 32½°." Only six sailors, along with the hardy English pilot, were "able to keep their feet." About a league from Bevingo the ship anchored. They were hospitably treated by the king, but a Portuguese Jesuit came from Nangasacki, and he, with some Japanese converts, under the plea of acting as interpreter, endeavoured to stir up the king for the destruction of his guests, but their efforts were unavailing, as the king of that part of the island was intelligent and humane. The authority of the king was only local, the emperor exacted obedience from all, and at his court the Portuguese Jesuits renewed their intrigues for the destruction of Adams and the Dutch: the result was, that the adventurers were brought before the emperor, interrogated, and imprisoned, but not treated with severity. All the efforts of the Jesuits to secure the execution of the strangers were as unavailing with the emperor as they had been with the prince. The emperor refused with horror to take away the lives of inoffensive persons who offered him no wrong, and whose object was to trade. By the instigation of these bigoted enemies, the Japanese robbed the crews, and Adams lost all his money, apparel, books, nautical and mathematical instruments, &c. This enraged the emperor, who compelled restitution, whenever the culprits could be found. After the ship, officers, and crew were detained two years, a mutiny broke out among the sailors, who demanded from the admiral the right to go wherever they pleased. They were all detained in Japan, but hospitably provided for by his imperial majesty. "In the course of four or five years the emperor called Adams before him, as he had divers times before done, and desired him to build a small ship. Adams replied that he was no carpenter, and had no knowledge thereof. 'Well! do your endeavours,' said he; 'if it be not good, it is no matter.' Adams accordingly built a ship of eighty tons, in all respects on the English plan, which gave the emperor great satisfaction, and raised Adams so high in his favour that his majesty would have him always come into his presence, giving him from time to time many marks of his grace and bounty. Besides which he assigned him a stipend equal to seventy ducats yearly, with a daily allowance of two pounds of rice. Adams recommended himself still further to the Japanese monarch by teaching him some points of geometry and elements of the mathematics, with other things that attracted his understanding. Hence the emperor acquired a habit of assenting to what Adams proposed; and his former enemies, wondering at his influence, entreated him to do them a friendship. Adams accordingly did good offices both to the Spaniards and Portuguese, recompensing good for evil. At the end of five years Adams supplicated the emperor for leave to depart from Japan, desiring to see his wife and children in England. With this request the emperor was not well pleased, refusing to let him go. In process of time, being in high favour at court, and hearing that the Hollanders had vessels at Siam and Patania, he renewed his prayer for permission to quit Japan, speaking directly to the emperor. His majesty at first gave no answer. Adams then told him, that to let him go for Europe would be a means of bringing the English and Dutch nations to traffic at Japan, of which his majesty was very desirous; but the emperor would not suffer him to go. Adams then asked leave for the Dutch captain to depart, which the emperor presently granted, and the captain sailed in a junk to Patania. No Hollanders coming thither in the space of a year he went from Patania to Jehore, and there found a fleet of nine sail under General Madlidf. The late provisional captain in Japan, to whom Adams had entrusted letters, was appointed master of this fleet, and was soon after slain at Malacca. Hence Adams is apprehensive that no news of himself has yet reached England; he therefore adjures the worshipful court to make his being alive in Japan known to his poor wife and two children. Adams had made a voyage or two in the ship which he built for the emperor; and, by his majesty's command, he had since built another, in which he made another voyage from Meaco to Eddo, being as far as from London to the Land's-end in England. At the date of Adam's letter, October, 1611, the emperor, in reward for his services, had given him a manor, with eighty or ninety husbandmen as his slaves or servants. In 1609 the emperor of Japan lent the larger ship which Adams built and eighty of his men to the governor of Manilla to sail to Acapulco."

In a future chapter the influence of Adam's residence at Japan will be seen in the enterprises of the English there. The letters which he sent to Bantam and to Europe had much effect upon the trade, and the manner

in which the company and its agents proceeded. In this chapter the narrative has been brought as far as the point when the existence of Adams in the Japanese empire became known to the English, for the Dutch, to whom he rendered the greatest service and obtained for them permission to settle in Japan, repaid him with ingratitude, concealing from the English his existence, and hiding from him the fact that the English had begun a systematic Eastern trade on a scheme of some magnitude. So well did the Dutch act in concert, and keep both secrets, that no suspicion existed in England that an Englishman lived in the Japanese capital, and had signal influence over the emperor, nor had Mr. Adams, during the many years of his detention, any knowledge of the proceedings of his countrymen in reference to the East.

The adventure of the English pilot occurred too near its close, to influence the proceedings of his countrymen within the sixteenth century. They were already intensely stimulated by curiosity; the spirit of commerce, hardihood of enterprise, rivalry with the Portuguese and Dutch, and the heroic attempts of their own captains and traders who had preceded the Dutch, to do something on a large scale to open up a regular commerce with the East.

In 1599 an association was formed, and nominal subscriptions to the amount of £30,133 obtained, for the fitting out of three ships for the Indian trade. There were a hundred and one shares in this subscription, but some of the holders never paid up, and others who did deplored their simplicity, declaring that they believed their money was lost in a fruitless and romantic undertaking. All this coldness and hesitation existed, notwithstanding the favour bestowed upon the project by one of the most popular sovereigns that had ever sat upon the English throne. Elizabeth gave every encouragement to the association, and sent out John Mildenhall as ambassador to the great Mogul to negotiate the privilege of trading within his territory. Before, however, the ambassador could effect anything, the will of a small but determined band of merchants had put forth the project, and the great enterprise was entered upon from which no losses, wars, dangers, difficulties, or sufferings were ever sufficient to make England recoil. It was nearly the close of the year when the association was formed, much eloquence was expended by those most active in framing it, and their arguments were taking and plausible. They pointed out the quality of the cargoes brought home by Drake and Cavendish, and of certain Portuguese prizes brought into English ports. It required all this diligence and persuasiveness to form the association, and even then it was destined to have but a short existence as then constituted, for it became necessary soon after to form a subordinate association, the existence of which of course modified the former. A charter was, however, obtained: the first charter of a British East India Company. It was on the last day of the sixteenth century that Queen Elizabeth signed it on behalf of about two hundred and twenty gentlemen and merchants, constituting them one body, "corporate and politique," by the name of "the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies." The charter was granted for fifteen years, revocable at any time on two years' notice. Those persons upon whom this royal favour was bestowed were endowed with the exclusive privilege of trading to the East Indies by sea, were permitted to use a common seal, and were empowered to make bye-laws, inflict punishment, both pecuniary and corporeal, and to export bullion and goods duty free the first four voyages. They were also invested with the exclusive right to trade in all countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope.

The new association which was formed in 1600 as subsidiary, became virtually the East India Company. George, Earl of Cumberland, was at its head, and there were many knights and squires enrolled among its members. As many members of the old, and some of the new association, did not pay up their subscription, or were not zealous enough in the matter to take a very active part, the whole management fell into a few active hands. The measures taken were to raise and expend £75,373; of which £38,771 was invested in shipping, £28,742 in bullion, and £6,860 in goods. The court was anxious to give the command of the first expedition to Sir Edward Mitchelbourne, but the merchants resolutely refused to accept him, for a reason which appeared as sound to themselves as it seemed audacious and presumptuous to the court. They declared that they had no mind to employ *gentlemen* who did not understand commercial affairs, but preferred "to sort their business with men of their own quality." The favourite of the merchants was the indomitable Lancaster. He who, in 1591, attempted so well and suffered so much, but whose losses and adversity augmented his popularity, as the way in which he bore his reverses exalted the fame of his fortitude and perseverance. The choice of the merchants was judicious, for Mitchelbourne afterwards proved himself more of a pirate than a trader

or a warrior, and more bent upon enriching himself than promoting his own honour or that of his country. Thus, in the very beginning of the East India Company, it adopted the policy of "appointing the right man to the right place;" a policy in which it persevered more pertinaciously than any other commercial or political body that ever existed.

Thus ended the sixteenth century in reference to the relations of England with the far East.

## CHAPTER XLVIII.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE LONDON EAST INDIA COMPANY FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY TO THE SETTLEMENT OF FACTORIES UNDER TREATIES OF COMMERCE IN INDIA AND THE EASTERN SEAS.

AT the close of the sixteenth century, the English, as has been seen, were full of commercial enterprise, partly stimulated by the Portuguese and Dutch, in a greater measure by the boldness of the nation, and the love of trade which characterized it. In this state of mind the seventeenth century dawned upon them. The formation of the East India Company inspired the government and the people with the hope of great things, notwithstanding the fears of many and the despondency of others. When the first expedition was ready to depart, the eyes of the whole nation were turned towards it, and every heart desired its success. There were, it is true, a few who wished their own prophecies of disaster to be fulfilled, and some envious spirits, who were disappointed of official advantage in connection with the expedition, were of course among them.

It has been stated that the queen sent out one John Mildenhall, as ambassador to the great Mogul, but the new company did not wait for his return or for tidings of his success, but prosecuted their purpose until the little squadron of Captain Lancaster was sent forth. It was well that they adopted such a course, for the mission of Mildenhall was a failure. The court of Akbar was not one with which he was likely to succeed, however sure of a friendly reception from that eccentric, able, and liberal prince. Mildenhall died in Persia on his way home, and no satisfactory result, nor even a clear and connected account of his proceedings was ever known to the company.

The expedition of Captain Lancaster consisted of five ships, which, according to Sir William Monson, were the *Dragon*, 600 tons; the *Hector*, 300 tons; the *Ascension*, 260 tons; the *Susan*, 240 tons; and the *Guest*, 100 tons. They were freighted with bullion, and a comparatively small proportion of goods, such as iron and tin, wrought and unwrought lead, broadcloth of all colours, Devonshire kersies, Norwich stuffs, glass, quicksilver, Muscovy hides, &c. The queen gave the captain-general letters commending him to the princes and governors of the countries which he might visit. Thus furnished and equipped Lancaster set sail early in the first year of the seventeenth century.* Various accounts are given of the date of this expedition, which circumstance is explicable from the accident of some dating from the period when the company completed its cargo, some from Captain Lancaster's departure from London, and others from the departure of the squadron from Torbay.

Lancaster proceeded at once for Acheen, on the north-west coast of Sumatra,—5·36 north latitude, 95·28 east longitude,—which place he reached after a prosperous voyage; even the dreaded "Cape of Storms" proved propitious to him. He touched at Madagascar and the Nicobees, for the purpose of taking in fresh provisions and water, and arrived at his destination June 5, 1602. The objects of the expedition did not contemplate any trade with the great Asiatic continent; the design was to obtain certain productions which were known to be abundant in the islands of the Eastern Archipelago. Sumatra, Java, the Molucca and Banda Islands, were supposed to produce great abundance of spices, for which at that time there was an extraordinary demand in Europe. This demand subsequently died out when the objects of it became plentiful. The spices—to obtain which so sanguinary a rivalry was maintained by the trading nations, and which were consumed in such extraordinary quantities in Europe compared with the custom of modern times—were the commodities of which Lancaster was in quest, and he sought

* Miss Martineau says in February, 1601; Mr. Capper makes the same statement; Mr. H. Murray says on the 2nd April, 1601; Mr. Martin, on April 22, 1601.

a port famous for their merchandize. On his arrival at Acheen, the captain delivered his credentials from her Britannic majesty, and he was consequently received with every mark of distinction which that court could confer. The king also gave permission to establish a factory, free trade, protection to the traders, power of bequeathing property by will, and, to some extent, permission to hold and cultivate land. The company began well in its diplomacy before its trade had time to realize any direct profit. Unfortunately the crop of pepper had failed in that neighbourhood the previous season, and Lancaster was unable to obtain a sufficient cargo. Under these circumstances he formed a sort of offensive convention with the Dutch against the Portuguese. This was the first meeting of the company's ships with those of Holland, and it was not only amicable but one of active alliance against a common foe. Scarcely was this treaty of the seas formed, than a magnificent Portuguese carrac of nine hundred tons became a prize. She was loaded with commodities from continental India, especially the finest fabrics of Calicut. The allies plundered her, divided the spoil equitably, and inflicted no violence upon the Portuguese, leaving to them the possession of their empty ship. Lancaster proceeded to Bantam, in Java, where he laid in a full cargo of spices, and, after selling a portion of his goods, left the remainder with agents to be sold after his departure.

As at Sumatra, he delivered the letters of his queen, was well received by the chief, permitted to trade, and treated with hospitality. He left Bantam much encouraged, prosecuting his voyage homewards with assiduity. He, however, sent a pinnace to the Moluccas to provide a cargo of spices for future trade, so as to be exempt from the delays which attended him on this occasion. The commercial treaty which he concluded with the chief of Bantam, although not so favourable as that which he formed at Acheen, was very advantageous, and he and his crew arrived in England full of expectation as to the triumphant reception he should meet. He was not disappointed, for his arrival created an extraordinary sensation, not only among the members of the company, but among the merchants generally. The proceedings of Captain Lancaster were not, however, of a strictly commercial character, but those which were more of a political nature, gave as much satisfaction as his cargoes of rich spices. He made treaties commercial and naval, made maritime war on account of the company, and on his way home took possession of the Island of St. Helena. His attack upon the Portuguese, in concert with the Dutch, was in keeping with the spirit of the age, and the state of the nation. Every English mariner and citizen, from the time of the Armada, had taken upon himself, as far as in him lay, to avenge that outrage, and the coasts of the Spanish peninsula as well as of the Azores, were ravaged by the expeditions of Drake, the Earl of Cumberland, and other hardy adventurers. The queen and the general public expected that the company would have fitted out a second expedition before the arrival of Lancaster, but they were too timid, and notwithstanding that Elizabeth urged more enterprise, they awaited the results of Lancaster's trial.

When Lancaster arrived he found the city of London in great gloom, much in need of any good tidings to cheer them, which he or others might bring. London had been stricken by the plague, so that many had fled to the country, and those remaining were daily, in considerable numbers, falling victims to the pestilence. These calamities did not prevent demonstrations of rejoicing at the arrival of the successful mariner. A very short time after Lancaster's arrival the queen died. This event took place scarcely two months after the company's squadron delivered its valuable cargo. Probably in no country could the death of a sovereign have been viewed as a greater affliction. The nation loved her for her greatness as a queen, and, whatever might be her faults as a woman, they loved her as a heroine and a patriot. She was proud of her countrymen, and they were proud of their queen. The death of her majesty, and the prevailing sickness, cast a damp over the enterprise of the merchants; but the public spirit rose eventually over every disaster and difficulty, and the active temper of the people asserted itself alike in peace and war, in discovery and commerce. The prince who ascended the English throne was not regarded as a likely person to encourage commerce, nor supposed to possess that love of country which had characterized his predecessor; still he was by many considered learned, although too much of a pedant, and it was believed by them that he would comprehend the crisis to which British commerce had arrived, and be able to adopt sagacious methods of placing England on a footing of hopeful competition with the Spaniards and Portuguese. The Dutch, it was believed by most, would rather side with England in her oriental undertakings, but this illusion was very soon dispelled. Only one year was allowed to elapse before the company was prepared for a fresh undertaking. Elizabeth, before the return of Lan-

caster, taunted the company with breach of charter for not sending out an expedition twelve months after Lancaster had set sail, and before the company could have been apprised of the result of his voyage. James repeated the taunts of Elizabeth; the monarchs were anxious for glory, which could be only obtained through the great risk of their subjects. The desires of the court were unreasonable, especially when James ascended the throne, for among his earliest acts were some which were violations of the company's charter. Very soon after the return of Lancaster, he granted a licence to Sir Edward Mitchelbourne to trade with China and the East Indies. This was the Sir Edward Mitchelbourne that the company refused to accept from Elizabeth as commander of the fleet which afterwards sailed under Lancaster. James not only broke faith with the company in his case, but gave licences to several adventurers to trade on their own account in the East. This was not done by the monarch from antipathy to monopolies, for he professed afterwards to consider that the perils which beset the Eastern trade was so great, and its transactions of such magnitude, that no private trader could engage in it, and that it was only likely to be of service to the nation by being carrried on through the medium of a joint-stock undertaking by a chartered company. Sir Edward went out with a ship called the *Tiger*, and a pinnace called the *Tiger's Whelp*, and made havoc of Chinese junks and lorchas cruising among the islands of the Eastern archipelago. He returned with some gain and no glory. The company in vain remonstrated with the king, whose answers were not straightforward, and whose actions, in the company's opinion, were not just.

In 1604 an expedition of four ships, freighted with goods similar in kind and quality to those which had been sent out in 1601, was entrusted to Captain Middleton, afterwards so well and so favourably known as Sir Henry Middleton. This expedition sailed from Gravesend on the 25th of March. Captain Middleton had a prosperous voyage, and at the end of the same year arrived at Bantam. It suited Middleton's object to divide his squadron; two tarried at Bantam to load with pepper, one was sent to Banda, and the commander himself proceeded to the Moluccas. On his arrival he found a fierce war raging; the Dutch and the King of Ternate, being in conflict with the Portuguese allied with the King of Tidore. Here first the English experienced that opposition and enmity with which afterwards the Dutch assailed them in the Eastern seas. The hostile feeling which now sprung up between the English and the Dutch led to many fierce encounters, and various discreditable stratagems of war in the East. The English intrigued with the native princes against the Dutch settlements in Java, and with such success that the annihilation of Dutch power in that quarter was all but effected. The conduct of Captain Middleton gave no occasion for the bad feeling displayed towards him, which seems to have originated in that greed of gold which so strongly marked the character of the Dutch in the seventeenth century. They were successful in persuading the King of Ternate that the English were pirates, and the conduct of Sir Edward Mitchelbourne, about the same time in these seas, justified the appellation, and other English adventurers unfortunately supported the bad reputation. Middleton was entirely shut out from commerce at Ternate, by the representations and threats which the Dutch made to the king. Before he left the neighbourhood, however, the king sent him a secret letter invoking the aid of the King of England against the tyranny of the Dutch.

The conduct of the Portuguese at Tidore was, as might have been expected, equally, if not more hostile, so that the English captain did not find it possible to transact any business whatever. Indeed, the Portuguese became from that time much exasperated against the English, and the exasperation broke out into open violence. Soon after, four English vessels were attacked in the harbour of Surat by a superior force of Portuguese, but the English fought so well that they triumphed over their enemies, inflicting upon them the most serious injury.* For this attack the English exacted ample vengeance subsequently, for in the year 1617, their ships encountered a Portuguese squadron near the Cape, and compelled the commander to pay an indemnity.†

Captain Colthurst was more fortunate at Banda than his superior, Captain Middleton, was at Ternate and Tidore. Finally, the squadron was laden with spices, and returned to England.

Another expedition of three ships, under the commands of Captains Keeling, Hawkins, and David Middleton, was sent out in 1607. David Middleton sailed on the 12th of March, "direct to the Spice Islands;" his colleagues sailed in April, and proceeded at once for the same destination, but never succeeded in forming a junction with Middleton. This expedition does not seem to have met with any note-worthy occurrence at "the Spice Islands," but found the Dutch and Portuguese as much opposed to the English as they were to one another, and the efforts of

* See chapter on the Dutch in India. † Ibid.

all the British captains to form a profitable trade with the Spice Islands failed from these oppositions. The British factory at Bantam was found most useful, and by its means chiefly spice cargoes were obtained by the ships which went out. Captain Hawkins proceeded in the *Hector* to Surat, and having letters from King James to the Mogul, he proceeded with them to Agra. The result of his mission must be reserved for another page, while we return to the narrative of Adams, begun in the chapter on the advent of the English in the East.

Adams, the reader will recollect, accompanied the last expedition of the Dutch in the sixteenth century as pilot-major, was detained in Japan, was the means of procuring for the Dutch liberty to trade, and ultimately was the means of the English settling in Firando, which was made by them a *point d'appui* in their commercial enterprises with China. In a previous chapter the narrative of Adams was brought to the year 1609; he was still detained by the emperor, and still anxious to return home, and that not being permitted, to serve his countrymen as best he could in their Eastern commerce. The perfidious and ungrateful conduct of the Dutch in concealing from Adams the Eastern settlements of his countrymen, and concealing from the British nation that an Englishman was detained in Japan, was referred to in the previous chapter where the adventures of Adams were related. He eventually became aware of the existence of the English factory planted by Lancaster at Bantam, in Java, and corresponded with the English East India Company through its agent there. In 1609, according to a letter which Adams contrived subsequently to send home, two Dutch ships arrived to trade; in 1611 a small Dutch ship traded at Firando. In 1612 he wrote to the following effect to the British agent then settled at Bantam:—"The Hollanders are now *settled* in Japan, and I have got them that privilege, which the Spaniards never could obtain during the fifty or sixty years since they first visited Japan." In the remainder of this remarkable letter, Adams advises the English agent at Bantam to chose a seat for a factory in Japan, and points out the proper neighbourhood. In another part of the letter Adams wrote:—"And comes there a ship here, I hope the worshipful company shall find me to be a servant of their servants, in such a manner as that they shall be satisfied with my services. If any ship come near the eastern-most part of Japan, let them inquire for me I am called in the Japan tongue Augin Samma; by that name am I known all the sea-coast along. Nor fear to come near the mainland, for you shall have barks with pilots to carry you where you will." He then thanks Spalding (of the Bantam factory) for the present of a Bible and three other books; and desires Spalding to offer his humble salutations to Sir Thomas Smyth (the chairman of the company), and thank him for lending his wife twenty pounds. This, his first letter addressed to the English factory at Bantam, thus concludes:—"Had I known that our English ships had trade in the Indies, I had long ago troubled you with writing, but the Hollanders kept it most secret from me 'till the year 1611, which was the first news I had of the trading of our ships in the Indies."

When, in 1613, Captain Saris arrived with Mr. Cock at Firando, as agent of the English, Adams rendered great service in enabling them to establish a factory. Captain Saris reached Firando on the 12th of June, and Adams immediately hastened from the eastern part of the island to meet him, which he effected on the 29th of July, and after a conference they agreed to go up to the emperor with King James's letter. They left Firando on the 7th of August, and began their "journey up to court, having the privilege of post horses to any number they had need of." The emperor having entered the hall of audience, and the general coming before him, the secretary took the king's letter from his hands and delivered it to the emperor, who, receiving it into his own hand, with all kindness bade the general welcome. The general having finished delivering his presents, returned to his lodgings. The emperor then called Mr. Adams, who read and interpreted the King of England's letter. The emperor having understood it, bade Mr. Adams to tell the general to state to the secretary, or to Mr. Adams, what he desired, and it should be granted or answer thereto. General Saris was sent for to receive this intimation, and then retired. After his departure the emperor "reasoned with Mr. Adams of many things." Adams having been thus consulted by the emperor, took his leave, and rejoined the general at his lodging.* After this, it appears that the emperor suggested to Adams the propriety of the English establishing a factory at "Yedso," the southern part of the Island of Jesso. Orders were given to his council to promote the arrangements for the thorough establishment of the contemplated English factory at Firando; and either as originating with himself from his

* *Narratice of a Voyage to Japan.* By W. Adams, an Englishman, collected from documents at the India-house by Mr. Pratt.

favour to the Englishmen, or suggested by Adams, orders were also issued to promote the settlement of the English in various other parts of Japan. It appears also that the home-sick Briton made the very placable mood in which the emperor was at that juncture, the occasion of presenting a petition for his own liberty, which was successful. Yet from what can be gathered from the documents at the India-house, Adams overcame his desire to return home, and remained, of his own accord, in the service of the emperor to his death. According to the Dutch accounts, the emperor revoked his grant of freedom and detained his favourite, continuing to treat him with every possible kindness until death severed the bond.

Notwithstanding the influence of Adams at court, the English had some difficulties at the very outset. These arose chiefly from the prejudice excited by the Spaniards, whom the Japanese detested for their treachery and cruelty. Among the papers found by Mr. Pratt occur the following :—"At this date it was reported that all the Spanish padries were to quit Japan, as it should seem the name of a Christian had become odious: for on the 6th of March, 1613–14, being Sunday, the factory at Firando had put out the company's flag, as their custom was; but in the afternoon Foyné Samma sent agent Cock word to take it in, because it had a cross on it. The agent did not comply on the instant; but after two messages Mr. Cock went to Foyné Samma himself, and excused the matter as well as he could, telling him that this cross was not made in the form of the cross of Christ, but was rather used for a badge or token, whereby the English nation was known from all others, as the Dutch were by their colours of orange, white, and blue. Yet all would not serve, but down it must come; Foyné telling the agent it was the emperor's will that it be discontinued, only the factory might put out any other mark they would, a cross excepted; and that their ships might bear a cross upon the water, but not the factory house on land." The emperor's objection was founded upon the idea that it was the symbol of force, for it was known in all the Eastern seas that the Spaniards and Portuguese, wherever they had power, compelled all persons, whatever their religion and however against their conscience and will, to pay acts of reverence to that symbol.

Notwithstanding the auspicious circumstances under which connection with Japan was thus opened, the factory did not continue a prosperous career. While Adams lived all went well but after his death the removal of the agency was soon determined. While he lived various enterprises were attempted from Firando. The following papers briefly sketch these, and the withdrawal of the company's servants.

"In December, 1613, agent Cock, accompanied by Messrs. Adams and Sayer, went from Firando to Nangasaque, intending to purchase a junk to be sent on a voyage to Siam. But finding all the vessels there engaged for other destinations, they hired freight on a junk for a cargo to Cochin China. Nangasaque* seems to have been a port to which Firando occasionally consigned goods, and sent factors, as more convenient to embark at than Firando, when the destination of the ship or junk was to places in Japan or neighbouring countries, lying so as to require a passage between the Japanese islands to the north and east. Vessels seem also to have been sometimes consigned thither from Firando to take in part of their lading: for example, some articles of native produce, manufacture, or import more easily procurable at Nangasaque. The emperor's factor also resided there, being no less a personage than the governor of the place. In August of this year the company's factors in Japan commenced a negotiation for opening a trade into China, in which they employed as agents two Chinese merchants usually resident in Japan, but trading periodically to their own country and visiting the interior. The one was chief of the Chinese at Firando, as the other was of their countrymen at Nangasaque. In this attempt the factory expended large sums of the company's money in presents to persons in power at the Chinese court, and in cash supplied to the intermediate envoys. This negotiation was continued until the party was withdrawn from Firando in 1623, at which time it had not succeeded: and the prospect of success 'which various adverse interests obscured, was becoming evanescent.' An attempt had likewise been made in 1615 to open a trade with the islands of Loochoo. It is recorded on the consultations of the English factory of Firando in December, 1623, that it was considered ineligible to leave any person of the factory there behind, as the president's order empowered them to do. In lieu thereof it was resolved to leave a power with Captain Cornelius Newrode, chief of the Dutch factory, to recover the outstanding debts due to the English company. And with respect to the company's houses and godowns, the council agreed to deliver them, as Batavia had ordered, into the King of Firando's custody, to be preserved for the company, and in case the factory return, re-

* Generally written *Nangosaki*.

stored: and for greater security a writing to that effect was to be taken from him or one of his *bonjews* (secretary). The company's agent at Firando wrote the court, under date 13th and 14th December, 1620:—'Our good friend Captain William Adams, who was so long before us in Japan, departed out of this world the 16th of May last, and made Mr. William Eaton and myself his overseers: giving the one half of his estate to his wife and child in England, and the other half to a son and daughter he hath in Japan. I cannot but be sorrowful for the loss of such a man as Captain William Adams was: he having been in such favour with two emperors of Japan as never was any Christian in these parts of the world, and might freely have entered and had speech with the emperors when many Japan kings stood without and could not be permitted. This emperor hath confirmed the lordship to his son, which the other emperor gave to the father.'

"The following notice is also entered upon the agent's journal, viz. '1620–21, February 20th, a child of the late Captain William Adams was brought by its mother to agent Cock, who presented it with a *tais*, offering at the same time to pay for its support and education, provided the mother would give it up to the protection of the English nation.' Various attempts were made to resume the trade with Japan until 1672, when the project was finally abandoned."

The history of the factory at Firando and of the early efforts to form a commerce with Japan, are so intimately connected with the establishment of the factory at Bantam, as to make it appropriate that the narrative should be given in connection with the establishment of the latter.

Hawkins and Keeling speedily accomplished whatever business they were charged with in the Eastern seas. The former separated from his colleague at Socotra, and arrived at Surat 1608. He put himself in immediate communication with the governor, who refused to allow him to land any cargo until the viceroy, who resided at Cambay, was apprised of his coming. An answer arrived after twenty days; it was favourable as to the disposal of the present cargo, but no factory could be established, or permanent trade otherwise carried on without the express permission of the emperor, which, the viceroy suggested, that Captain Hawkins would do well to apply for in person. Hawkins landed his goods, which began rapidly to be disposed of, when a fierce opposition was made by native merchants instigated by a Portuguese Jesuit. The Portuguese seized two of Hawkins' boats, and refused reparation for the injury, sneering at King James as a monarch of a poor little island of fishermen. Hawkins was further informed that the Eastern seas belonged to the King of Portugal, and "none were entitled to trade in them without his licence." The English captain challenged the chief of the Portuguese factory to single combat, which was declined. The captured boats, with their crews and cargoes, were meantime sent to Goa. The native authorities were evidently in league with the Portuguese, not that they loved them, but, believing them to be invincible, thought it politic to be on their side. Various attempts were made to break into the house of the English captain, and he was in constant peril of assassination. The viceroy at length arrived, but took no notice of the Englishman's complaints, and helped himself to the best articles of the ships' cargo at whatever price he thought proper to pay, which was always inadequate, and never directly or completely paid. Hawkins at last resolved to travel to Agra, and, if possible, state his grievances and those of his countrymen before the emperor. The viceroy furnished an insufficient escort, with the intention, it was reported, of having it intercepted on the road. Hawkins hired soldiers himself, and afterwards, on application to the viceroy of the Deccan, was furnished with a competent escort of Affghan horse. His coachman had been hired to assassinate him, as in a drunken fit he confessed during the journey. The interpreter was as deep in this conspiracy as the coachman. The former was arrested, and Hawkins proceeded on his journey to the residence of the Deccan viceroy, who received him hospitably, and sent him on to Agra under a faithful guard; at which place he arrived on the 16th of April, 1609. The picture which the treatment of this Englishman at Surat, and on the journey (except so far as the good offices of the viceroy of the Deccan were concerned), presented of the manners and government of India during the palmy days of the Mohammedan period, ought to silence such Englishmen as of late years have delighted to draw comparisons between the Mohammedan and British dominions, to the disadvantage of the latter.

Jehanghire, son of Akbar, then reigned in the metropolis of India, and he at once sent for the Englishman upon his arrival, who presented the emperor with the letter of his own sovereign. Jehanghire viewed it and the seal with great attention and interest. He then commanded a Jesuit, who understood many languages, to read it, who, upon perusal, assured his majesty that it was basely penned. While the Jesuit was silently

scanning the letter, Hawkins continued to address the emperor in Turkish, which his majesty well understood, and a conversation ensued which afforded pleasure to the sovereign, and caused him to take no notice of the unfavourable report made by the Jesuit, of King James's letter. Hawkins had for some time afterwards daily interviews with the emperor, who declared that the English had been scandalously used at Surat, more especially by the viceroy; but his majesty, nevertheless, issued no orders for redress. After many further conversations with the captain, chiefly as to the geographical situation, resources, and government of various countries, his majesty sent positive orders to the viceroy "to supply the English with everything necessary for their trade." He invited Hawkins to remain in India as a commander of cavalry! and governor of a district, with an income of £3000 a year, until he should himself send an embassy to the English monarch. Hawkins, both in his own interest and that of his employers, consented. He was further pressed to marry in the country, which he in vain protested did not suit his inclination; and that he could not conscientiously marry any one but a Christian. The emperor found an Armenian damsel, thus silencing the Englishman's objection. The marriage took place, the officer became extremely attached to his bride, and honourably adhered to his vows, although assured in England that it was not a legal marriage. The captain's enemy, the viceroy of Surat, was summoned to the emperor's presence, in consequence of the various complaints brought against him by aggrieved persons. The emperor ordered the confiscation of his property. When his effects came into review, Captain Hawkins pointed out to the emperor various valuable articles brought by him from England as presents to his majesty, which the viceroy had appropriated to himself.

Tidings having reached the English captain that another ship, the *Ascension*, was coming out to Surat, he solicited from the emperor liberty of commerce for his countrymen, and obtained an imperial edict, "under the great seal with golden letters," giving authority to the English to trade.

After this the high favour in which the British officer stood began sensibly to diminish. Mocrib, the unprincipled viceroy, having been stripped of his property, was pardoned and restored to his government, with stern exhortations to conduct himself in future as became a good governor and a faithful liege of the emperor. The first act of this vindictive tyrant was to put into requisition all the influence of his restored office to avenge himself upon Hawkins and the English in general. His intrigues were somewhat cleverly seconded by the Jesuits. It was represented to the emperor that the Portuguese were a far more powerful people than the British, and that they would retire in disgust if such traders were allowed the same privileges as they had. The Portuguese at the same moment presented the emperor with a balass ruby of uncommon size and beauty. The wayward Jehanghire, than whom no child was more easily bought by a gift, exclaimed, "Let the English come no more." Mocrib was not slow to execute this order, and he departed to his government, resolved that the English should transact no business at Surat. Hawkins wisely offered no opposition, but when the fury of the tempest had passed away, he presented himself before the emperor, and besought him to accept what Hawkins himself afterwards called "a splendid toy;" urging at this opportune moment every argument he could devise to prove that the British trade would be of supreme advantage to the empire. The gift and the persuasion led his majesty to reverse his late decree, and the English once more triumphed. The Jesuits heard the tidings with consternation, and sent horsemen off to Mocrib to announce it; the old machinery was set at work, with the old result. For some time this battle went on—the emperor issuing contrary decrees under the influence of new gifts. The Jesuits had more to offer, and understood the Mogul better; they and their native ally Mocrib at last prevailed, for Hawkins had no longer the means of competing with them in costly presents. The emperor acted as if he played one off against the other in order to extort gifts, or as the women of an Eastern harem, who dispense their smiles and exert their court influence under the influence of some gaudy piece of apparel or pretty instrument of pastime. It is probable that Hawkins—such was his address, so considerable were his resources, and so entire his devotion to his object—would have distanced all his competitors in the race for royal favour, had not the prince minister, Abdul Hassau, been his mortal foe. This officer of state had the power to regulate the place occupied by the notables at court; those only were admitted within the red rails who were the objects of especial favour, such as Hawkins had been before Mocrib regained influence at court. After that period the premier carefully excluded the British captain, who by that circumstance was debarred the opportunity of speaking on court days to the emperor.

Hassan also adopted a cunning method of curtailing the income which Jehanghire had attached to Captain Hawkins. He could not, indeed, refuse to assign territory of the nominal value, but he designated a portion of country that was lawless and disturbed, and where the revenue could only be collected at an expense which made the estate of little value. Thus matters went on for two years and a half, and Hawkins perceived that his residence at Agra could no longer be useful to the company or his country. On the 2nd of November, 1611, he withdrew, not only without attaining his object, but under stinging insults; Jehanghire informing him, through the minister, that it did not become the dignity of the great Mogul to send any communication to a prince of such mean estate as the King of England. Hawkins returned to his country dispirited, but his address and zeal were appreciated.

The last expedition had not been long out before the company dispatched two ships, the *Ascension* and the *Union*, with an invested capital of £33,000. The command was given to Captain Alexander Sharpey. Cambay, and more especially Surat, was the object of this little squadron; the year of its departure was 1607. After encountering tremendous storms while doubling the Cape, the two ships were separated. The *Ascension* never met her consort again, but made her own way along the eastern coast of Africa on to Pemba. During her way thither she was twice attacked by the Moors, and lost several of her men. The sufferings of her crew from bad weather and insufficient food had nearly exhausted them, when fortunately they met with a group of uninhabited islands,* where there were delightful water and abundance of cocoa-nuts and turtle. They then proceeded to the Red Sea, and at Mocha and Aden were well received. They went up to Socotra, where they again took in provisions. At last they arrived at Diu, and were about to cross the Gulf of Cambay for Surat, but were reminded of the dangers of the gulf, and recommended to take in a pilot, which the master obstinately refused to do, and the result was that the vessel, striking repeatedly, was wrecked. The crew was saved by the boats, and, making for the river of Surat, were intercepted by various obstacles, and compelled to enter the Godavery. This change of purpose saved their lives, for the Portuguese at Surat had made ready for their destruction. It will be recollected that Hawkins, in expectation of this ship,—of the dispatch of which the agents of the company had contrived to apprise him,—redoubled his exertions at the court of Jehanghire to obtain a firman for free trade. By this means the Portuguese of Surat became aware of its intended enterprise, and resolved to defeat it by the destruction of the crew and the capture of the ship and cargo. The crew, however, all escaped, some made their way to Goa, whence they were deported without mischief being done to them; the rest arrived after perilous travel at Agra, where, under the protection of Hawkins, they were secure, and were by him sent home through Persia.

The consort of the *Ascension*—the *Union*—was not lost, as the crew of the former reported at Agra to Hawkins. The mainmast had sprung, but the diligence and skill of the sailors repaired the disaster, and the ship reached St. Augustine, on the Island of Madagascar. Thence she reached Zanzibar, but was attacked by the natives, and some of the crew were slain. She again made for Madagascar, where sickness weakened the crew, and the natives attacking slew several of them. They then proceeded to Arabia, but so uncertain were the purposes of the captain, and so little his nautical skill, that he feared "to tread the mazes of the Arabian Sea," and steered for the long voyage to Sumatra. Acheen and Priaman were reached in safety, and a cargo of pepper was taken up on excellent terms. The voyage home was as unskilfully conducted as the voyage out, and after a long time unprofitably and foolishly spent, the ship arrived in safety in the British Channel. Even there its ill-fortune pursued it, for it was so badly navigated that it ran on shore upon the coast of Brittany, where the people plundered it. The ship was a wreck; the crew, seventy-five in number, had all perished except nine, but the company saved the ordnance, fittings, tackle, anchors, boats, and two hundred tons of pepper.

In 1609 Captain *David* Middleton again sailed in command of a single ship, the *Expedition*, which, with its cargo, was worth £13,700. He sailed direct for the Spice Islands, where the Dutch opposed him, claiming the sovereignty of those seas. The captain conciliated the natives, and obtained a fine cargo of spices, disposing of all his own goods profitably. This enraged the Dutch, who determined upon his destruction; and so secure were they of their prize, and so hopeless the escape of the Englishman, that when he made his way through the net spread out for him by his pursuers, and arrived at the English settlement of Bantam in safety, their rage was unbounded.

The company at this juncture were very sensible of the perils to which their servants

* These islands are supposed by some geographers to have been the Schelles.

and their property were exposed from the enmity of the Portuguese, and the commercial selfishness and jealousy of the Dutch, they therefore resolved to build a larger class of ship for themselves than they could charter, and to arm their vessels with heavy cannon; also to send them out strongly manned with able seamen. They formed a dockyard in Deptford, at which many fine vessels were built, superior to those possessed by the English merchants. Early in the year 1609 a vessel of eleven hundred tons—a mighty ship for those days, at all events in English waters—was launched, and received the name of the *Trade's Increase*. King James and his son, afterwards Charles I., presided at the launch, and named the ship. A sumptuous banquet served on China, a rare commodity in those days, honoured the occasion. The construction of so large a ship caused great excitement, for it appears to have been considered a model of strength, and skilful naval architecture. Sir William Monson described it as "the goodliest and greatest ship that was ever framed in this kingdom."

The formation of so great a ship seems to have stimulated the nation, and a great rage for Leviathans sprung up. The company constructed another dockyard at Blackwall, and many vessels of from six hundred to one thousand tons burdens were erected during the thirty years which ensued. The *Royal James* exceeded them all, for it was twelve hundred tons. The government caught the spirited infection of building big ships diffused by the launch of the *Trade's Increase*, and a man-of-war was framed called the *Prince*, of fourteen hundred tons, and carrying sixty-four guns. So great was the stimulus given to ship building by the enterprise of the company, that in about thirty years from that date private builders were able to compete with them, and undersell the company, so as to render it no longer profitable to build any ships, except such as were intended for peculiar traffic.

Soon after Captain David Middleton was sent out, preparation was made for an expedition on a larger scale; and in order that the *Trade's Increase* might take part in it, her construction was hurried on. Early in 1610 the expedition set sail; indeed, before 1609 had terminated the ships and crews were all prepared for the enterprise. There were only three ships in this fleet; but the comparatively enormous size of the newly-launched ship invested the expedition with considerable *éclat*. The command was offered to Captain, now Sir Henry, Middleton, before referred to as having commanded a squadron on an adventure to the Eastern seas. The popularity of the commander gave the public additional interest in the undertaking, and by that time a great confidence had sprung up in the public mind that the company would act independently of the court, and appoint no royal or ministerial nominees to commands, but only known and tried mariners of skill, prudence, courage, and energy. Such was Sir Henry Middleton, and his departure in the *Trade's Increase* was considered "a great day for England." The Portuguese and the Hollanders were deemed likely to meet their match at last, should they obstruct such ships and such a commander. The Spice Islands had hitherto been the source of Eastern trade to English ships. Sir Henry determined to seek in the Red Sea and at Surat a profitable commerce. He doubled the Cape successfully, and sailed without interruption direct to the Red Sea and the port of Mocha, and at first found a most friendly reception. He was invited on shore with every display of hospitality, when he and a number of his officers and men were seized and bound, and sent as prisoners to Suza, the capital of Yemen. The number of the British being seventy-one, and very imperfectly guarded, they made their escape, and once more regained their ships. Sir Henry then sailed down the Red Sea and crossed to Surat. He arrived on the coast of Cambay in 1611, and, on approaching the river of Surat, found its entrance barred by a Portuguese fleet. Captain Sharpey was then in that city, and contrived to communicate with Sir Henry, informing him that Hawkins from Agra, and Fitch then at Lahore, advised that no attempt should be made to transact business on that coast, but to court fortune elsewhere, as the Portuguese, the Jesuits, and the native merchants, were all combined in hostility to the Dutch and English, especially to the latter. Middleton, however, determined not to leave Surat without some attempt to accomplish his mission. While preparing to enter the harbour, he received a letter from the Portuguese admiral, asking him if he brought any letter or credentials from the King of Spain and Portugal; if so, the admiral was prepared to facilitate his objects, otherwise it would be his duty to prevent his entering the port. Sir Henry replied, "That he had no letters but from his own sovereign; that he owed no ill-will to the Spanish or Portuguese nations; that he refused to recognise their exclusive claims, and desired to treat with the Mogul and trade with his people; he would therefore meet force with force." By this time Sir Henry had four ships under his command, but the principal one, the *Trade's Increase*

was too large to enter the harbour. The smaller ones proceeded in, supported by the guns of the large one. The Portuguese, who are represented by historians as having twenty sail, drew up in order of battle between the British ships and the shore, with drums beating, colours flying, and the crews uttering loud and defiant shouts, still no shot was fired. The English had, ever since the destruction of the Armada, acquired a high reputation for exploits by sea; and the fearlessness with which Drake and his companions ravaged the coasts of the whole Iberian peninsula, after that event, inspired the Spaniards and Portuguese with a timidity which prevented them combating the English on the waters, except very great superiority afforded some prospect of success. This fear was shown on the present occasion, and was observed with wonder by the Suratians. Middleton's three ships went on nearing the shore, the *Trade's Increase* bearing on as near as it could get, its cannon of large calibre ready to give forth from their yawning throats the dreaded thunder of a British cannonade. The English having gone as far towards the shore as was deemed prudent, one of their vessels let down a boat well armed, which pulled directly for shore. Several of the Portuguese let down their boats, and formed, to intercept and capture it. They were received by a galling fire of musketry, the English sailors firing only at a proximity which gave certainty to their aim, and then with a coolness and steadiness, which not only excited the astonishment of their enemies and of the natives, but the admiration of the latter and of Sir Henry himself. The crews of the Portuguese boats pulled off, and were pursued by the British; other Portuguese boats coming to their assistance were beaten off in like manner, and one of the ships was attacked by the English boat's crew; the frightened Portuguese leaped into the sea, and swam to shore or perished. This vessel was heavily laden with the richest Indian commodities, and proved a welcome prize. The whole of the English squadron then opened fire upon the terrified fleet of the enemy, which sought safety in flight, leaving the approach to the shore clear for the conquerors. The exultation of the natives was openly expressed. Always ready to side with power and with success, they fawned upon the English commander, and freely offered to trade with him. It is not to the honour of Sir Henry that his conduct as a trader was as disreputable as his wisdom and gallantry as a commander were famous. He insisted that such of his stores as were unsuited to the market of Surat should be purchased as well as his more marketable commodities. He all but forced sales with some of the principal native merchants, who, repenting of their bargains, were about, according to the law or custom of Surat, to give him twenty-four hours' notice of the revocation of their purchases, when Sir Henry, inviting the viceroy and his council on board to an entertainment, detained them as prisoners until the payments which the native merchants had stipulated were made. In this way he accomplished his purpose, but his outrageous violence and overbearing demeanour so enraged the viceroy (the enemy of Hawkins), the native authorities, and the native merchants, that a universal indisposition to have anything to do with the English sprung up. The cowardly Portuguese, who cringed and dared not to move a tongue before, now came forth, declaring that the English had proved themselves the pirates and tyrants which they had represented them, and the Jesuits circulated many stories of their own invention, of the piracy and plunder of the English in Europe and in the Spice Islands. The Portuguese fleet, emboldened by the public feeling of the natives, made several attempts to cut off the two vessels near the shore, from the two larger ones, which were anchored at some distance, but they on each occasion "received such entertainment as induced them quickly to retire." The heroic courage of the English, which at first pleased the natives, at last alarmed them, and their rough and unprincipled behaviour as traders disgusted the smooth and deceitful native merchants. A peremptory order from the viceroy reached Sir Henry that he must depart, and that he might announce to his countrymen they would never again be received in Surat. Sir Henry considered himself unjustly treated and "put to great expenses," and vowed that he would have reparation even from the great Mogul.

He sailed along the coast until he arrived at Dabul, where he was well received, but circumstances soon disclosed that fear of his power alone prompted the forms of courtesy; the governor secretly interdicted all trade with him.

He departed from India to the Red Sea. There coming before Mocha he gave such proof of his force and his ability to use it, that the citizens were glad to pay a heavy compensation for the wrongs inflicted upon him when he last visited that coast.

His next exploits were against the ships of the great Mogul. These he stopped, and told their commanders that, "as they would not trade with him by fair means, they must do so by foul." He took what goods pleased him, giving others in exchange to the full

value, but he himself dictated the terms of barter; and it is creditable that he did not place too high a value on the goods of others, nor make too low an estimate of the worth of those of the company. One magnificent ship of fifteen hundred tons burden, which the emperor built for the purpose of conveying pilgrims to Arabia, Middleton captured, appropriating all the valuables it contained to the account of the company.

Having thus severely chastised "Portugals," "Gentoos," and "Turks," by sea and land, the captain considered his mission ended in those parts, and directing his course across the Indian Ocean, arrived at the Spice Islands. Here having, unopposed, transacted such business as was open to him, he repaired to Bantam, and took up his abode at the English factory; his fine ship, the *Trade's Increase*, having struck upon a rock, and suffered such damage that she was almost a wreck. From Bantam he sent home one of his ships, the *Peppercorn*, heavily laden with a very rich cargo, under the command of Downton, with the message to the company, that he would follow as soon as he had effected repairs in his ship. He was soon after seized with illness, and died; some writers affirm in consequence of the damage sustained by his noble ship, which was a heavy drawback upon the profit and glory of the expedition. The profit that accrued to the company was, however, estimated by it at 131 per cent. The objectionable portion of Sir Henry's proceedings was not too closely canvassed in England, and his bold exploits were hailed with as much triumph as the tidings of his decease caused deep regret.

During the year 1609, so eventful to the company in building and sending out ships, the favour of King James I. was bestowed in a manner calculated, morally and financially, to strengthen the company. On the 31st of May in that year, by further charter or letters patent, the powers or privileges granted in 1599 for fifteen years, and all privileges, whether renewed or those (in 1609) first granted, were to be for ever. Such a circumstance was well calculated to give a fresh impulse to the ardour of the company, and will account for the extensive operations of that year, and the growing magnitude of the company's designs.

In 1611 the *Globe* was sent out under Captain Hippon, and one Floris, a Dutchman, sailed with him as "a factor." They left England in the first month of the year, and soon after midsummer reached the Island of Ceylon. They ran along the coast from Point de Galle to Negapatam. Not finding that place inviting, they proceeded to Pulicat, where Van Wervicke, president of the Dutch settlements, waited upon the captain, announcing that the king of the territory had given exclusive privilege of trade there to Holland. The captain replied that the patent of the King of England was sufficient anywhere. A quarrel would have ensued but for the interposition of the native authorities, and the English commander, finding that the Dutch possessed complete influence in the native councils, wisely departed. He thence sailed to Patapoli, where he instituted a small factory. From that place he proceeded to Masulipatam, the market for the beautiful cloths known by that designation. The governor there entered into a treaty, which he violated "before the ink was dry," and conducted himself with such falsehood and fraud, that the Englishman charged him with his baseness and duplicity. He replied that a true believer—a descendant of Mohammed—was to be believed before a Christian dog. By menaces chiefly Hippon accomplished an accommodation, and then departed to the British factory at Bantam. Having concerted with the company's officials there, Captain Hippon proceeded to Patane, where he landed in June, 1612, with imposing pomp, "minstrels playing, and flags flying, and bearing the king's letter in a golden box on the back of an elephant." This the commander presented to the queen, who received it graciously, and granted permission to erect a factory, and establish agents there. The captain died at that place, and the officer next in command took the vessel to Siam. Floris, the Dutch factor, had proved himself an able tactician, as he had previously visited those parts in connection with the Dutch East India Company. He declared that at Siam the demand for goods was so great when he had visited it, as the whole world could not be able to satisfy; the English, however, found a great glut of goods, which the activity of the Dutch had created. From Siam the English ship was steered to Masulipatam, where a hospitable reception was given, but a great unwillingness to trade evinced.

In 1611 an expedition was sent out, consisting of three ships, under the command of Captain Saris. Saris sailed at once to the Red Sea, where he found Middleton after his return thither from Surat. The two squadrons formed a junction, and scoured that sea together, capturing or sinking enemy's ships, and forcing trade upon the reluctant. Captain Saris, as well as his predecessor, justified the character given of the English captains to the Great Mogul—that they were sea-rob-

bers, who came to plunder as well as to trade. It must be admitted, however, that but for the injustice and opposition which they met with as traders, they would not have made themselves terrible as rovers. Captain Saris proceeded to Bantam, as did all the English voyagers; thence to the Moluccas, where he found the islands nearly desolated by violence, the native princes carrying on sanguinary feuds in the interest of the rival Dutch and Portuguese, while both had spread the wildest reports about the English, and were ready 'by all means to circumvent or to destroy them. The proceedings of the captain at Japan, under the auspices of Adams, were given on a former page. This expedition returned home in great triumph, laden with the "spicy treasures of the East," fine calicoes, various drugs, and other commodities which then entered into the trade of Asia with Europe.

The various modes of approaching the centres of Eastern trade having all now become well known to the European nations, especially to the Portuguese, Dutch, and English, the trade henceforth assumed a more regular form. Voyages ceased to be so much of the nature of expeditions. The defence of the commerce of each nation did not depend altogether upon mercantile armaments, nor was it affected so much by mere privateering. The governments of the respective countries guarded their commerce more effectually by royal navies, and made the commerce of the East more a matter of state policy. From these circumstances the accounts of particular voyages become less exciting; the novelty disappears; the commanders cease to be mere rovers, not certain whither they would direct their course, and always on the look out for spoil; nor were they, as before, part pirates, part traders; they set sail for specific destinations, with specific objects; and although well armed, and not unfrequently obliged to use their weapons against professional pirates, or against the ships of rival nations in open war, their intent was more strictly commercial. Mr. Murray, writing of the expeditions of the company's captains, and of the general mode of doing business at home up to this time, observes:—"They had derived an average profit of not less than 171 per cent. Mr. Mill hence draws the natural inference that these had been conducted in a manner decidedly more judicious than subsequent adventures that yielded a very different return. Yet we cannot forbear observing, that many of the cargoes were made up on such very easy terms as their successors could not expect to command. Independently of the fact that whole fleets were sometimes laden with captured goods, trade was often carried on by compulsory means, calculated to ensure a profitable return only to the stronger party. These first voyages, in short, exhibit the profits of trade combined with the produce of piracy. The commerce of India, according to the original plan, was to be conducted on the principal of a joint-stock company, in which the transactions were to be managed by a governor and directors, and a dividend made to the subscribers in proportion to the number of shares. But as the paying up of the instalments upon this principle proceeded very slowly, another arrangement was made, by which each individual furnished a certain proportion of the outlay and received the entire profit arising from its investment. Though the affairs of the company prospered under this system, it was necessarily attended with a good deal of confusion and difficulty, which suggested to the governor and company the expediency of returning to the old method of conducting affairs on the regular joint-stock system. This plan was accordingly adopted in 1612, and on those terms a capital of £429,000 was subscribed, with which the directors undertook, during the next four years, to build twenty-nine vessels, at an expense of £272,000, and to employ the rest of the sum in the investment."

Two years after the victory of Middleton at Surat, Captain Best, with a small squadron, appeared off the coast. He had the address to conciliate the governor of Ahmedabad, and through him obtained important concessions from the emperor. The greatest difficulty the captain found was in the prejudices created by the conduct of Sir Henry Middleton in seizing the pilgrim ship. This the captain condemned, declaring that the British nation could not be held answerable for the unwarrantable liberties of an individual. The death of Middleton of course precluded all possibility of any demand for redress so far as he was concerned. In January, 1613, a firman of the emperor authorized the establishment of English factories at Surat, Ahmedabad, Cambay, and Gogo, with protection for the property and persons of the traders. A custom duty of three and a half per cent. was one of the conditions.

The Portuguese were filled with consternation when those tidings arrived at their factories, and they resolved to frustrate any efforts of the English to take advantage of the firman. They accordingly attacked the two vessels of Captain Best with much more numerous, and, to all appearance, powerful ships, at Sevally, near Surat. This attack was made on the 22nd of October, 1612, and

the plan adopted was to open a fire from four large galleons, and under cover of the cannonade a swarm of smaller vessels to bear down and board the British ships. The fire of the galleons was, however, speedily silenced, and many men on board of them slain. The boarders kept a respectful distance, until they saw their galleons repulsed, when they sheered off. The victory raised the valour of the English in the esteem of the natives, which so exasperated the Portugnese, that they renewed their attacks upon the English, whose force had increased to four vessels. Finally, on the 27th of November, after nearly five weeks' conflict, the English ships obtained so complete a mastery, that the enemy abandoned their assaults. The courage of Captain Best and the English was noised abroad along the coasts and far into the interior, and at last its fame reached the emperor at Agra, who involuntarily uttered terms of contempt towards the Portuguese, and admiration of their conquerors. The prestige of the captain's intrepidity, and that of his crews, did much to favour the settlements of English factories on the coasts. An imperial firman, dated the 11th of January, 1613, empowered them to have a factory at Surat, with branch factories at Ahmedabad, Cambaya, and Goa. They were ultimately extended to Ajmeer and Agra.

This gallant officer had opportunity of rendering other services to his country. In 1615 he visited Acheen, bearing a letter from the English king to the sovereign of that place. The captain obtained permission to establish a factory at Tico, in Sumatra, under a custom duty of seven per cent.

A curious incident is related in connection with Captain Best's visit to Acheen. The king is described as a furious and sanguinary person, but so placable to the English, that he sent a request to the British king to send him an English wife, and he would make her eldest son king of all the pepper countries. No daughter of England took advantage of this royal offer, made in a general way, nor does it appear that the English court gave any encouragement to the idea of an English lady ascending the throne of the peppery regions. In 1623 the fickle and fierce prince, who was disappointed of a *fair* queen, banished the English factor, and, to save the appearance of impartiality, drove away the Dutch factor likewise. He afterwards changed his mind, and admitted them again, but they were the objects of his caprice and that of his successors for a long time.

During the gallant and wise services of Best the English company was much impressed with the importance of securing a footing on the shores of Western India, that they might be able to conduct a safe and regular trade thence. They expressed to the court of James their anxiety on this subject, and prevailed on him to send Sir Thomas Roe as his ambassador to the Great Mogul.* They at the same time directed Mr. Edwards their agent at Agra, since the firman of January, 1613, allowed a factory at Surat, and branches from it, to co-operate.

When discussing the social condition of India, reference was made to the mission of Sir Thomas; also in the last chapter, where his opinions, as adverse to forts as means of

* The following notice of the life of Sir Thomas Roe will interest the reader, as his name holds so peculiar a place in Indian history:—"Sir Thomas Roe was born at Low Leyton, in Essex, about the year 1580. His family, which was originally from Lee, in Kent, had for four generations been connected with the city of London. The first of the family who entered into mercantile pursuits was Reynold Roe of Lee, and his grandson, Sir Thomas Roe, was Lord Mayor in 1568, and did good service in suppressing the *Midsummer Watch*, and replacing it by a regularly organized *Standing Watch*, for the safety and police duties of the city: he was also one of the founders and early benefactors of Merchant Tailors' School; he married a daughter of Sir John Gresham, and left four sons, of whom a younger one, Robert, was father to the object of our narrative. The latter was early left an orphan; but although his mother was married again, to a Mr. Berkley of Redcourt, she appears to have done her duty by her son Thomas in a most exemplary manner, and to have taken great pains with his education. Most probably the foundation was laid in the school upon which he had a family claim, but it is more certain that at the early age of less than fifteen he was entered a commoner of Magdalen College, Oxford. Here he did not remain long enough to take a degree, and on leaving it went over to study in Paris. On his return he entered one of the Inns of Court, and was shortly afterwards appointed Esquire of the Body to Queen Elizabeth, just previous to her death. In March, 1604, he was knighted by King James I., and specially attracted the regards of Prince Henry, with whose countenance and support—following the adventurous habits of the period—he undertook a voyage of discovery to South America. With this object in view, he built and equipped, in a great measure at his own cost, a small ship and a pinnace, the command of which vessels he entrusted severally to Captains Mathew Morgan and William White, both experienced seamen, who subsequently acquired considerable celebrity in their arduous profession. Having completed all his preparations, our young adventurer set sail from Plymouth on the 24th of February, 1609, and reached the mouth of the Amazon in the latter end of April. If not the first to discover this noble river, he was one of the first to explore it, having sailed up its course for two hundred miles, and then proceeded above one hundred miles further in boats. From thence he sailed northward and westward, exploring the coast, entering several of the rivers, and tracing their courses, occasionally engaging in expeditions inland, until he reached the Orinoco, having expended thirteen months in examining the coast between the two great rivers. From the Orinoco he proceeded to Trinidad, and from thence, after visiting several of the West India Islands, bore up for the Azores, and returned to England in July, 1611." His commission from the king to the Indian emperor was the next notable incident of his history.—*Calcutta Review*, June, 1857.

security to trade, were quoted. The hopes of the English from this embassage were considerable. It was the first instance of an ambassador proceeding directly from the English court to that of the Great Mogul; others, representatives of England,—such as Newberry, Fitch, Hawkins, and Best,—were but the messengers of associations of merchants, bearing letters from the reigning sovereign. Costly presents were placed at the ambassador's disposal, and the English felt assured that the directness of his mission, the value of the gifts he bore, the rank of the ambassador himself, and his address and ability, would combine in producing a decisive effect. "He sailed from Gravesend on the 24th of January, 1615, with Captains Peyton and Broughton, in command of the *Lion* and *Peppercorn*."* He landed in great pomp at Surat in September, where, as an ambassador extraordinary to the Great Mogul, none dared to dispute his free passage.† From Surat he proceeded to Ajmeer.

The credentials of Sir Thomas are exceedingly interesting, and show definitely the object of his mission. Modern writers give conflicting accounts of the events of this period. Some attribute to Captain Hawkins the permission obtained for the original settlement at Surat, others to Captain Best, and very many to Sir Thomas Roe. The credentials which Sir Thomas received from his own court give the honour of the first successful negotiation to Captain Best, and show that the ambassador was sent to "handle and treat" of the matters in the firman given to Best. Along with the following letter King James sent a draft of a treaty of commerce and alliance for the signature of the emperor, so as to enlarge the firman conceded to Captain Best.

*James, by the Grace of Almightie God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth, King of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Christian Faith, &c. To the High and Mightie Monarch, the Great Mogol, King of the Orientall Indies, of Chandahar, of Chismer (Kashmir), and Corazon (Khorasan), &c., Greeting:—*

We, having notice of your great favour towards us and our subjects, by your great firma to all your captaines of rivers, and officers of your customes, for the entertaynment of our loving subjects the English nation with all kind respect, at what time soever they shall arrive at any of the ports within your dominions, and that they may have quiet trade and commerce without any kind of hinderance or molestation, &c., as by the articles concluded by Suc Suff (*Sheikh Suffee*), Governor of the Guzerats, in your name, with our loving subject, Captaine Thomas Best, appeareth, have thought it meete to send unto you our ambassadour, which may more fully and at large handle and treate of such matters as are fit to be considered of, concerning that good and friendly correspondence which is so lately begunne between us, and which will, without doubt, redound to the honour and utilitie of both nations; in which consideration, and for the furthering of such laudable commerce, wee have made choice of Sir Thomas Roe, Knight, one of the principall gentleman of our court, to whom wee have given commission under our Great Seale of England, together with directions and instructions, further to treate of such matters as may be for the continuance and increase of the utilitie and profit of each other's subjects, to whom we pray you to give favour and credit in whatsoever hee shall mouve or propound towards the establishing and enlarging of the same. And for confirmation of our good inclination and wel-wishing toward you, we pray you to accept in good part the present which our said ambassadour will deliver unto you; and so doe commit you to the merciful protection of Almightie God.

It was not until the year 1616 had far advanced that Sir Thomas obtained a firman authorizing the English trade, and then it was so expressed as to afford, in a very qualified manner, the advantages ostensibly conceded. Sir Thomas was obliged to depart in 1618, having no reliance on the firmness or consistency of the monarch; and as he was beset by the same enemies of the English as defeated the diplomacy of Hawkins, Sir Thomas left the court of the emperor far from satisfied with the results of his mission. Nevertheless, the padishaw showed him many tokens of honour on his departure, and gave him a commendatory letter to King James. On arriving at Surat, he found the governor unwilling to act upon the new treaty. He even had the insolence to sneer at the orders and firmans of the emperor. Shah Jehan, afterwards so conspicuous in the history of In-

* Murray, with whom is the majority of modern writers.

Taking advantage of the sailing of a fleet of four vessels under the general command of Captain Keelinge, Sir Thomas embarked on the *Lion*, Captain Newport, and finally sailed from England on the 9th of March, 1615; and after touching at Saldanha, and the Comera Islands, in the Mozambique Channel, as also at Cape Guardafui, they reached Socotra on the 24th of August, where they remained a week, and thence steered for Surat, where they arrived on the 26th of September, having followed the usual route adopted at that period.—*Calcutta Review*, June, 1857.

† Murray; Taylor.

On the same day Sir Thomas landed in state, accompanied by Captain Keelinge, the president and merchants of the factory, and "a court of guard of one hundred shot" (*musketeers*) from the fleet, commanded by Captain Harris, whilst "the ships, in their best equipage, gave him their ordnance as he passed." On arriving at a large open tent, prepared for the purpose, he was met by the chief native functionaries of the city, and treated with much outward respect, which did not, however, exempt him from considerable annoyance on the part of the governor, who, by force, searched his chests and packages, and helped himself to whatever he thought fit. After much controversy, and many difficulties, Sir Thomas started, on the 30th of October, for the padishaw's court, which was then established at Ajmeer.—*Calcutta Review* June, 1857.

dian princes, was at variance with the officious governor. With him Sir Thomas opened a correspondence. The shah was as adverse to the Portuguese as he was to the governor, their friend, and therefore at once entered into the views of Sir Thomas. After a considerable time spent in negotiation with the prince, a treaty was formed confirming all the benefits of the firmans previously granted to Captain Best and to Sir Thomas, together with especial privileges at the port of Surat, and leave to erect a building for the stores and business transactions of the English factors. Emboldened by these concessions, Sir Thomas further negotiated to have inserted in the treaty clauses conferring on the English the free exercise of their religion, the government of their own laws, and the right to wear arms. In return for the last concession, Sir Thomas bound the English resident at Surat to assist the emperor in defence of the port.

While at Surat, perceiving that the agents of the company were conducting a profitable trade in the Persian Gulf, Sir Thomas directed negotiations for a treaty with the shah. The English had already established factories on the shores of the Persian Gulf, and even at Ispahan—so active were the company's first agents at Surat. Shah Abbas, the ruler of Persia, had a profound respect for the Great Mogul; and, understanding that Sir Thomas had been received with great distinction at his court, he readily acquiesced in all the suggestions that came from him. The result was a treaty on terms as favourable as those which established the English at Surat.

At the commencement of the year 1619, this renowned ambassador bid farewell to the scene of his difficulties and triumphs. In the month of May he put into Saldanha Bay, where the renowned Dutch admiral, Hoffman, at that time lay. Sir Thomas was as successful in negotiating with the Dutch as he had been with the Hindoos and Persians, for he and Hoffman agreed to write to the factories and stations in the East, enjoining peace and good-will as alone conformable to the wishes of the two governments. They also corresponded with their governments, and did all in their power to pour oil upon the troubled waters. The influence which Sir Thomas exercised over Hoffman was most extraordinary, for he was a man of stern disposition, strong will, and deep nationality. The clear intellect, and pure love of peace, were so conspicuous in the English envoy that he failed not even with the dogged Dutchman.

The arrival of this distinguished negotiator was hailed by the crown, the company, and the country with acclamation, and many honours were shown him. He was appointed a member of the privy council, and chancellor of the Order of the Garter. These were his only recompences from the king, who never continued long to appreciate men of real eminence. He was a royalist, but disapproved of the absolute measures of the Stuarts, to whom his warnings and counsels were in vain. He contributed much to the public welfare by his advice to the company, and to commercial men. On all questions of trade he was regarded as the most able and experienced man in the kingdom. His love of commerce was united to an exquisite taste. He made a very extensive collection of articles of *vertu*. He also collected a vast number of medals. His treasures in art and antiquity he bequeathed to the public. His ideas on foreign politics were moderate and liberal, and his counsels were valued by all the statesmen of the day. He was a good orator, but spoke best on commercial subjects, especially in the House of Commons, to which he was elected; his speeches in the house on the currency were much before his age. He published several pamphlets on monetary, commercial, and political subjects, and left behind him various very valuable manuscripts.*

* The following brief narrative of the life of this statesman, *after his return from India*, will complete the sketch of his history before his departure to the Mogul:—"Soon after his arrival in England he was elected a member of parliament for the borough of Cirencester, in Gloucestershire. In 1621 he was sent as ambassador to Constantinople, where he remained until 1628, holding the same situation under the Sultans Osman, Mustapha, and Amurath IV., with credit to himself and his country. He was the first English ambassador who was enabled to establish a real and permanent influence at the Porte, and to command respect on all occasions. He secured for the English merchants several valuable commercial and civil privileges, and also by his influence and general advocacy was enabled to benefit generally the condition of all members of the Greek Church. He made a valuable collection of Greek and oriental manuscripts, which he presented to the Bodleian Library, and he brought over the celebrated Alexandrian copy of the Greek Scriptures, which was presented to King James by Cyril, the Greek patriarch of Constantinople, in gratitude for the benefits obtained through the influence and by the agency of the English ambassador. In 1629 he was sent as ambassador to Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, to whom he recommended the plan, adopted in the following year by that monarch, of making his famous descent upon Germany in defence of the Protestant liberties. In acknowledgement of this counsel, Gustavus Adolphus, after his victory at Leipsic, sent Sir Thomas a present of two thousand pounds, addressing him as his *Strenuum Consultorem*, and acknowledging that he was the first who had advised him to undertake the campaign in Germany. He was subsequently employed in negotiations at Copenhagen, and several of the German courts. In October, 1640, he was elected member for the University of Oxford, and in April, 1641, he was sent as ambassador from King Charles to the Diet of Ratisbon, to endeavour to obtain the restoration of the late King of Bavaria's son to the late Palatinate. Here he made so favourable an impression upon

Sir Thomas had difficulties to contend with at Ajmeer arising from his own people, independent of those which arose from the personal character of the monarch, the intrigues of the court, and the hostility of native governors, Portuguese merchants, and Jesuits. One of these was the ill-assortment of the presents sent to the Mogul and his court; another arose from the meanness and parsimony which pervaded the arrangements of his own court and the company in reference to his embassy. These things struck the court of Ajmeer, lowered the English king and nation in their estimation, and provoked some of the insults and delays which he experienced. He was also much embarrassed by adventurous Englishmen at that time in India from various causes. One of these he found it necessary to attach to his own suite, in the hope of preventing mischief. Perhaps the ambassador was too sensitive to such matters; but he was certainly exposed to many *mal apropos* incidents at court, which were calculated to try severely a less composed and self-collected man.

Among others, he was embarrassed by the presence of the most eccentric Englishman of that age, named Thomas Coryate. Some notice of this extraordinary man is here desirable. The remarks of an Indian reviewer are very apposite on the subject of the embarrassment caused to Sir Thomas, by "extraordinary Tom," as he was quaintly and aptly termed in his day. "The circumstance which led to their juxta-position is one of specially Indian interest; their having been strangely and unexpectedly thrown together, nearly two centuries and a half ago, at the durbar of the Great Mogul, exhibiting to the astonished Indian courtiers two extreme varieties of English character, position, and habits, at a time when the name of England was barely known in Hindostan, and every thing connected with Englishmen was novel and apparently contradictory, and when the privileges and position of the stately ambassador and the pedestrian pauper, or 'English fakeer,' were alike incomprehensible to the padishaw, and to those around him."

In order that the reader may be able to comprehend the inconvenience which the ambassador felt from the presence of that other "extreme variety of English character," the following brief outline of his history is given. He was born at Odcombe, in Somersetshire, in the year 1577, and was son of the rector of that parish, who had been a superior scholar and a Latin poet of some merit. Thomas was educated at Westminster school, from which he received a presentation to Gloucester Hall, Oxford. Having pursued his studies there with great success, he became notorious as a scholar and an eccentric person. Partly from his varied and antique scholarship, and partly from personal oddities which seemed strangely associated with so much learning, he was appointed to an office in the household of the Prince of Wales. Fuller says, "Sweetmeats and Coryate made up the last course of all entertainments. Indeed, he was the courtiers' anvil to try their wits upon; and sometimes this anvil returned the hammer as hard knocks as it received; his bluntness repaying their abusiveness." A love of travel seems to have early seized upon him, and neither his interests at court nor any other consideration were sufficient to detain him at home. In 1608 he undertook a journey through the south of Europe. His observations he published in 1611, and called them *Coryate's Crudities gobbled up in five months in France*, &c. &c. &c. After this publication, which made an immense sensation in its way, he issued another, which he queerly titled, *Coryate's Crambe, or his Calvert twice sodden*. A critic describes these books as "crude enough, but not without a quaint originality, curious scholarship, and truthful observation." He speedily undertook another period of foreign travel, "for which he allowed himself ten years, which time he fixed in imitation of Odysseus' wanderings." He set sail from England on the 20th of October, 1612, for the Grecian archipelago, thence he sailed for Asia Minor, and visited the site of Troy, in company with a number of other "roving Englishmen," such as at that time were finding their way everywhere. His companions playfully pretended to make him a knight of Troy, on which occasion he made an oration replete with "out-of-the-way learning and absurdity, which has been preserved among the fragments of his travels and correspondence." He then went to Constantinople, where "he saw every thing, and published what he saw." Thence he travelled to Jerusalem, and the cities of Palestine, with one Henry Allard, another roaming Englishman, whom he picked up on the way. From Jerusalem he travelled into

the emperor that he publicly said, "I have met with many gallant persons of many nations, but I scarce ever met with an ambassador till now;" and on another occasion, in allusion to Sir Thomas' persuasive eloquence, he said laughingly, "That if he had been one of the fair sex and a beauty, he was sure the engaging conversation of the English ambassador would have proved too hard for his virtue." After his return to England he was unavoidably drawn into the struggle then carrying on between his royal master and the parliament, which embittered his latter days, and is believed to have accelerated his death, which took place on the 6th of November, 1644, at Woodford, in Essex, where he was buried."—*Calcutta Review*, June, 1857.

Egypt and other adjacent countries, and into Persia, generally meeting with no unkindness, but at last robbed of everything by a Turkish soldier. From Persia he travelled to India by Yezd, Ghayn, Furrah, and Greshk to Candahar, and from that by Quetta, and the Bolan Pass to Shirkapore. On this last route he met Sir Robert Shirley and his lady, proceeding from India to Persia, on the embassy projected by the London company, at the same time they influenced the court to send out Sir Thomas Roe to India. Sir John and Lady Shirley had known him before, having met him at court, for every one who visited the court knew Coryate. Lady Theresa Shirley made him a present of forty shillings, a very much larger sum, relatively, in those days than at present. Sir Robert complimented him as an author, and said he would bring his book under the notice of the shah, which gratified him more, probably, than if the knight had bestowed all he had upon him; for Coryate was as vain of authorship and of displaying his learning as he was simple and unostentatious in all things beside. From Shirkapore, he made his way to Agra, and thence to Ajmeer, where he arrived a toilworn man, to the amazement of ten Englishmen all transacting business there for the company, except one or two in the service of the Mogul. He found his books well known to his countrymen, which fed his peculiar weakness, and recompensed all his fatigues. This was in 1615. He immediately began the study of the Urdu and Persian languages, although he had already acquired as many as perhaps any other man of the age. "He remained at Ajmeer until the arrival, in the end of that year, of Sir Thomas Roe, whom he had known in England, and whom he was one of the first to greet, going out as far as Chittoor to meet him. Coryate's eccentricities, his love of sight-seeing,—which carried him to every spectacle and ceremony,—his poverty and peculiarities of attire, his temperate habits, and his invariably travelling on foot, had excited the attention of the shah and his courtiers, who looked upon him as a sort of religious mendicant, and generally spoke of him as the English fakeer. The unexpected appearance of such a character, so little calculated to exalt the opinion of English wealth or dignity, was anything but agreeable to Sir Thomas, the more especially as he could not ignore or keep him at a distance, having been well acquainted with him formerly in the Prince of Wales's household. Moreover, knowing him to be a gentleman by birth and education, a sound scholar, the quondam companion and present correspondent of some of the leading men of letters in England, and, above all, being acquainted with the simplicity and perfect innocence of his character, it was impossible to receive him save with welcome and kindness, more especially as he was remarkably touchy regarding the least slight to his vanity. These considerations must naturally have guided Sir Thomas' conduct towards him, which appears to have been kind and judicious. He was quartered in the ambassador's household with his chaplain, and kept as much in the background as practicable. This last part of the arrangement was anything but agreeable to one so imbued with the love of notoriety, and accordingly he determined to bring himself to the notice of the padishaw in spite of the ambassador. Having now sufficiently mastered the Persian language to be able to speak it pretty fluently and correctly, he one day made his appearance at the royal durbar, where he immediately attracted the observation of Jehanghire, who making inquiries regarding him, Coryate stepped forward, and after due obeisance commenced a prepared harangue in Persian, of which he was so proud that he made several copies of it both in the original and the translation, which he forwarded to England." *

Our space does not permit us to give the oration, or the reader would not need to be told that the emperor and his court remained silent for some time in amazement. The astonishment of his majesty was so great at the man, the manner, the oriental learning, the impulses and motives indicated, that he was bewildered, utterly unable to conceive what should be said or done to the orator. The padishaw's surprise subsided into amusement, and this humour being caught up by the court, poor Coryate afforded them much entertainment, and left a general impression that the English were like no other people; their energy in trade, their bravery in war, the astuteness of their negotiators, the adventurous folly of individuals, and the unaccountable specimen which then stood before his majesty in the durbar, produced the impression upon the court that they were a people whose ways were not as those of other men, and of whose doings, individually or collectively, it would be difficult to predicate anything, except that they would be energetically occupied somehow.

The oration of Coryate was the talk of Ajmeer, and the story spread "far and near," to the disquiet and discomfiture of the dignified ambassador, who had already struggled so hard to maintain the dignity of his sovereign and his country. Coryate knew all this, and was delighted, so that he wrote

* *Calcutta Review.*

home to his mother the address with which he circumvented his ambassadorial friend, and obtained an opportunity of unfolding to the padishaw the greatness of his learning and of his travels, for he had truly told him, "I traced the world into this countrye, that my pilgrimage hath accomplished three thousand miles, wherein I have susteyned much labour and toyle, the like whereof no mortale man in this world did ever perform to see the blessed face of your maiestie."

The effects which Sir Thomas feared were produced to a far less extent than his cautious temper depicted. The padishaw became intensely pleased with the strange, wild traveller, and gave him one hundred rupees. Several of the courtiers, who persisted in believing him a mad fakeer, also endowed him with presents of rupees. Sir Thomas himself seems to have spared his money, for when Coryate departed on fresh travels he only gave him "a piece of gold of this king's coyne worth foure-and-tweentie shillings." He persisted in travelling into Tartary, although the emperor, solicitous for his safety, personally advised him not to do so, because of dangers from the difficulties of the way and the bigotry of the people. He was compelled to return from illness, brought on by privations and fatigue, and died at Surat, according to a presentiment which led him to rejoin the ambassador. The estimate of the man is just which is thus given:—"With all his weaknesses, there was much that was amiable and manly in Coryate's character, and he deserves a prominent place among the pioneers of British enterprise in the East."

While this eccentric wanderer was traversing Asia, other English adventurers were in jeopardy, and their proceedings were constantly reaching the ear of the Great Mogul. One Withington, an agent of the company, and a party of Englishmen, set out from Ahmedabad to reach a port in Scinde named Laribunda, where three English ships had found their way. The third night of the journey, while in company with a caravan, an attack was made by robbers. The next day our traveller met the Mogul's officer "returning with two hundred and fifty heads of them." The journey was five hundred miles, and the account given by Withington and his companions was far less favourable than that of Sir Thomas Roe. Coryate's descriptions tallied with both according to the district in which he travelled. Withington and his party could not have proceeded a day's journey but for hired escorts of cavalry. Notwithstanding escorts, they were attacked, and compelled to pay ransom. A Rajpoot guide delivered them over on another occasion to a party of marauders, who strangled two native merchants of the party and their five servants. They bound Withington and his attendants, and marched them thirty miles to a mountain fastness. After having been plundered of everything, they begged their way back to Ahmedabad, after an absence of a hundred and eleven days, and innumerable dangers, fatigues, and ill-treatment. The English, when oppressed, urged their complaints upon the emperor, where there were always some courtiers to plead the cause of the wrong-doers, and the ambassador had much to do besides urging the suit for liberty of commerce.

The success of Sir Thomas Roe placed the company's stations on a new footing, altered the relations of the company to the government of India, and materially affected its fortunes. Henceforth all concerned could look forward from a new stand-point, but no idea of territorial conquest crossed the mind of any one whose opinion is recorded, and it is next to impossible that in the settlements they had obtained they had dared to hope for aught but commercial convenience and security. Miss Martineau has well put the fact in connection with this era in the company's fortunes in the following language:—"The English speculators thought of nothing but commerce in settling their Indian plans at home, much more certainly must they have contemplated nothing else when in Hindostan. What they saw there dwarfed everything English in a manner now scarcely to be imagined by us. By degrees the immensity of the territory opened upon them, as they heard of groups of sovereigns, and crowds of chieftains, each with a province, or a district, or a kingdom, or an empire, under his control, and as they found the old Hindoo organization of rulers of ten towns, and a hundred towns, and a thousand towns, commemorated in their traditions. The mere deserted capitals were like the metropolitan cities of Europe fallen asleep. By degrees they learned something of the two deltas of the Ganges and the Indus, where the mere mouths of rivers might constitute fair kingdoms, without including the course of their mighty streams. By degrees their imaginations became able to attains the peaks of the Himalaya, and to comprehend the spaces of the Deccan which were guarded by the Ghauts. The more they learned of Indian magnitudes, the less could they have conceived of having any other than commercial business there. The phenomena of human life and manners were as stupendous in their proportions as the productions of nature. Our first residents at the native courts saw wars made on such a scale

that they hardly dared to tell it at home, for fear of the contempt with which their 'travellers' tales' would be treated."

The chief uneasiness now at home arose from apprehensions of a protracted struggle, neither with Mogul obstinacy nor Portuguese arms, but with the brave, energetic, and persevering Dutch; for all the efforts of Roe and Hoffman, whatever effect they produced upon the courts and companies at home, failed to introduce a spirit of conciliation abroad. The English disclaimed all intention of interfering with the Dutch where the right of prior occupation gave the latter a claim upon their forbearance, but the English had no scruples in placing factories near those of their competitors; and this circumstance inflamed the resentment of the Dutch as much as if England made war upon their Eastern settlements. The contest of the two nations in the Moluccas was an instance of this. The Dutch had early formed settlements there, and the English established agencies in the little islands of Puleroom and Rosengen, which belonged to a group occupied generally by the Dutch, although they had no establishments of any kind on those particular islands. The Hollanders "warned the English off," declaring that the sovereignty of the Spice Islands belonged to them, and attacked the English, but were repulsed. They then seized two English ships, and refused to restore them until England withdrew from those islands.

Among the disastrous results of the ill-feeling between the two nations in the East was the massacre, as it has been called, at Amboyna, of which an account will be given in another chapter, relating the progress of the Dutch in India and the Eastern seas, rendering it unnecessary here to make further reference to it than to state that the cruelty and injustice perpetrated there upon the English residents, suspected of conspiracy against Dutch power, so exasperated the English both in the East and at home, that a very general desire sprung up to expel the Dutch utterly from India and the great Eastern Archipelago. English privateers attacked and captured rich homeward-bound ships, unless when convoyed by powerful naval squadrons. The Dutch government felt keenly the expense laid upon it by convoy fleets, and the Dutch merchants and East India Company were mortified intensely as well as injured by those captures. The British were, however, to suffer reverses, which followed each other in rapid succession. The revolution of the Portuguese against the throne of Spain so occupied these two powers, that the Dutch were relieved from nearly all armed competition with these nations, and were enabled to concentrate their energies in repressing the commerce and power of England in the Eastern seas.

In order to give explicitness and clearness to the position and conduct of the English in their relations to the traders and government of Holland during succeeding years, it is necessary to devote an entire chapter to the Eastern history of a people who so frequently crossed our path in the competitions of commerce and colonization, and the sanguinary struggles of war.

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## CHAPTER XLIX.

### THE DUTCH IN INDIA AND THE EASTERN SEAS.

THE history of no country, in modern times, supplies a more extraordinary instance of the rise of a small and insignificant province to independence and greatness than does that of Holland. The successful war she maintained for the lengthened period of eighty years, against the most powerful empire in the world, and which terminated in the recognition of the republic by the union of Utrecht, in 1581, is an event which, in its incidents and results, has not been equalled. It has been well described "as an organized protest against ecclesiastical tyranny and universal empire."

From causes, to which are generally due the debilitation of states and their utter prostration, arose the greatness of the Netherlands, and its steady progress, until it became a naval and commercial power; and from its insignificant body extended its far-reaching ambition until it grasped and appropriated innumerable possessions on every side—in Asia, America, Africa, and Australia, subjecting to its rule the Brazils, Guiana, the West Indies, New York, the Cape of Good Hope, a large portion of Hindostan, Ceylon, Java, Sumatra, and New Holland.

A history of India could not be complete which would pass over the enterprising Dutch. Their impress in that quarter, impassive as is

its social contour, indurated by its Hindoo compression, will survive; and though not a vestige remain of its military and naval prowess, of its administrative institutions, the produce of the vineyard, planted by those zealous and self-sacrificing Dutch missionaries, Schwartz and Ziegenbalg, will live in this world, and in the next.*

* To the credit of the United Provinces, or rather of the Dutch East India Company, with all their selfish criminality, they were earnest propagators of the Gospel; and wherever they established a factory they also reared a temple to the Lord. At page 57, it has been noticed that the first Protestant missionary was sent to India in 1705, under the auspices of the King of Denmark, and established himself at Tranquebar, then a Dutch settlement, where he founded a church and school. The first Protestant mission was founded in India by Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, a man of erudition and piety, educated in the university of Halle, in Germany. He was ordained by the learned Buttmannus, Bishop of Zealand, in his twenty-third year, and sailed for India in 1705. In the second year of his ministry, he founded a Christian church among the Hindoos, which soon extended its limits. In 1714 he returned to Europe, and to the credit of the first of the Georges, kings of England, he was honoured with an audience by his majesty, who took a great interest in the success of the mission. He was also patronized by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The king and the society encouraged him to persevere in his translation of the holy Scriptures into the Tamul language, which they designated "the grand work." In the year 1719, Ziegenbalg finished the translation, having devoted fourteen years to the work. The king did not lose his interest in this primary effort to evangelize the Hindoo after the departure of the missionary. In 1717 his majesty, by letter, assured him that he appreciated "the work undertaken by him, of converting the heathen to the Christian faith," and prays "that he may be endowed with strength and health of body to continue to fulfil his ministry with good success, of which he shall be rejoiced to hear, and ready to succour him in whatever may tend to promote his work and excite his zeal, with an assurance of his continued zeal." After the death of Ziegenbalg, and ten years from the date of the foregoing letter, a second was addressed to the members of the mission by his majesty, in 1725, in which he assures the missionaries that he received with much pleasure the success of their zealous efforts, and requests them to continue to communicate the particulars of their progress (Niecampius's *History Miss.*). The Hindoo converts at Tanjore are also in possession of letters written by Dr. Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the same reign, who is reported as having supported the mission with unexampled liberality, affection, and zeal. These letters, which are many in number, are all written in the Latin language. He was president of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The first is dated, January 7, 1719. After the first missionary, Ziegenbalg, had finished his course, he was followed by other learned and zealous men, upwards of fifty in number, in the period of a hundred years; among whom Schultz, Jaenicke, Gericke, and Schwartz, whose ministry has been continued in succession in different provinces. When Dr. Buchanan arrived in Tranquebar, in 1806, he was told by the missionaries that religion had suffered very much there of late years. French principles had corrupted the Danes, and rendered them indifferent to their own religion and hostile to the conversion of the Hindoo, and that European example in the large towns was the bane of Christian instruction.—See Buchanan's *Christian Researches respecting the Hindoos.*

In the *Rise of the Dutch Republic** is given an able summary of the war against Spain, and the circumstances which accompanied it. The part which the English took in it is familiar to every one versed in the history of this country. Here it will be sufficient to say, that when France had rejected the sovereignty of the Netherlands, which the states of Brabant, Flanders, Mechlin, Zealand, Holland, and Friesland, had laid at the feet of Henry III., by a solemn embassy, headed by Peter de Melun, Prince d'Espinoy, 1585,† the Protestant patriots turned in disappointment from the Roman Catholic, who had rejected their proposals of absolute submission, to Elizabeth, the Protestant sovereign of England. To her they also dispatched a solemn embassy, of which John Oldenbarnvelt, or Barneveldt, was a member, for the purpose of soliciting her to become the sovereign of the United Provinces.‡ Though the advantages of the offer were described in language little consistent with the phlegmatic character of the dull burghers, and in colours too vivid for the Dutch, and more in harmony with the Italian school, she apprehended, from becoming a principal in the war against Philip, the invasion by him of her hereditary dominions; and that, by declaring herself the protector of rebels, she would have arrayed against her the avowed or concealed hostility of all the monarchs of Europe. She prudently declined to accept the *absolute allegiance* of "an affectionate and devoted people, whose possession would render England mistress of the seas." To Elizabeth's favourite, the Earl of Leicester, the next *absolute* submission was offered with the crown, but he was haughtily forbidden by his royal mistress to accept the tempting gift. Though excluded from the throne, he had been appointed a governor-general of the United Provinces in Elizabeth's name, and six thousand English troops were placed at his command; and as a security for the repayment of the expenses incurred by England, English garrisons were admitted into Flushing, Rammekens, and Briel, and a place given to the English in the councils of the nation; and henceforth, both by the queen and her deputy, the Netherlands were treated as a dependent province of England.‖

In an early stage of his government, Leicester forbade, by public edict, the transport of provisions or ammunition to any enemy's or neutral country, and all mercantile intercourse by bills of exchange or otherwise

* By John Lothorp Motley. London: Chapman, 1855.
† Davies' *History of Holland*, vol. ii. p. 162.
‡ Ibid., p. 174. § Ibid., p. 175. ‖ Ibid., p. 180.

between the United Provinces and Spain, France, and the nations of the Baltic.* This impolitic restriction subjected the Spaniards and Portuguese to no inconveniences. They had free access to the ports of England, Ireland, Scotland, Denmark, and the Hanse Towns. In fact, Holland lost a profitable trade, and threw it into the hands of other nations. It is only justice to the foresight of the Dutch to state, that they strongly protested against this impolitic procedure.

As a measure of reprisal Philip seized on all the Dutch and English ships found in his waters, and several of both countries were in the ports of Spain and Portugal. With the sanction of the queen a number of English privateers were commissioned, and these did not confine their hostilities to the common foe; the Dutch vessels were equally an object of attack, for since the prohibition they were accustomed to trade with Spain and Portugal under Spanish colours; and so severe were their losses, which averaged one million guilders annually, that they sent ambassadors, in 1589, to remonstrate with the queen on the subject. The navigation of the channel was in such peril, that the Dutch vessels trading to the west, were obliged to venture on the dangerous route by the northern shores of Scotland.

Forced by these measures to stretch out into seas with which they were but imperfectly acquainted, they began, amid the experiences of the northern ocean, to despise the terrors of the unknown deep. About this time Italy, for some years, was subjected to a great scarcity, and the Dutch monopolized a large and lucrative trade by transporting thither the produce of the shores of the Baltic. A return of the usually propitious seasons terminated that branch of commerce, and forced the mariners of Holland and Zealand to explore new channels. The extraordinary success of the Portuguese, and of their allies the English, fired their spirit of enterprise, and incited them to seek in distant adventures emulative successes.

The immediate stimulant, however, was a countryman of their own, Cornelius Houtman. This adventurer had resided for some time in Lisbon, and had witnessed the enriching results of the commerce with the East, and held out the hope of very remunerative profits from a trade with the Spice Islands of India. His representations induced nine merchants of Amsterdam to form a company for the prosecution of a trade with the nations of the East.† Four vessels were constructed and equipped for the voyage, and, as the exigencies of the occasion required, the vessels were equally fitted for attack and for commerce. The largest of them was about five hundred and sixty tons.

On the 2nd of April, 1595, they departed from the Texel; on the 2nd of August reached the Cape of Good Hope; and after some delays, in June of the next year they arrived at the Island of Java. The reception which they met with here was not calculated to cheer and compensate for the toil and privations of their protracted voyage. The Portuguese, who had settled in the capital of Java, influenced the native chief to reject their intercourse, and to forbid their trading in his territories. Before they relinquished their designs, they were unfortunately involved in an affray with the natives, and lost several of their crews. In consequence of this loss, aggravated by subsequent illness and hardship, the *Amsterdam* was necessarily abandoned at Bali; to which, on their ejection from Java, the Dutch adventurers had directed their course, and where they were more successful. After an absence of nearly three years, the surviving vessels reached home, laden with pepper, nutmegs, and mace. Their success was celebrated by a general jubilee, though but ninety, out of two hundred and fifty, of their crews were alive.

The beneficial effects of this expedition was felt throughout the provinces. A bold attempt was made to reach China and Japan by a north-east passage, which, though it proved a failure, so far as the original design, resulted in the discovery of Staten Island, and in reaching as far as the Sea of Tartary, the mouth of the river Oby, and some small islands. Through the influence of the court of France at the Grand Porte, they were enabled to form a treaty with the sultan, by which they obtained full liberty to trade with Syria, Greece, Egypt, and Turkey, for all their vessels sailing under the French flag —a liberty which they did not neglect to turn to the best account. Eighty ships of considerable size were dispatched, in 1598,* to

* Boek, b. xxi. bl. 703.

† At the time that the Dutch commenced their voyages to the East, the crown of Spain was engaged in enterprises of so much importance in other quarters of the globe, and so much engaged in the contemplation of its splendid empire in the New World, that the acquisitions of the Portuguese, now its subjects, in the East Indies were treated with comparative neglect. The Dutch, accordingly, who entered upon the trade to India with considerable resources and the utmost ardour, were enabled to supplant the Portuguese.—MILL'S *History of India*, vol. i. p. 24.

* Boek, b. xxxii. bl. 21—23.

Faria thus describes the equipment and progress of this squadron:—"It consisted of eight ships, in which were eight hundred men and provisions for three years. Their admiral was Jacob Cornelius Neque, of Amsterdam. They set sail from that port on the 13th of May, 1598;

the East and West Indies, to Brazil, and to the coast of Guinea, whence they brought back large quantities of ivory and gold-dust. The trade with the north of Europe was not, during these enterprises, neglected. Six hundred and forty vessels arrived from the Baltic, early in the following year, in the port of Amsterdam, freighted with one hundred thousand tons of merchandize, consisting of timber, corn, hemp, tar. In 1599 a blow, which threatened the annihilation of their maritime prosperity, was struck by the youthful successor of Philip of Spain—a blow more severe than was ever inflicted by his father. He arrested all the Dutch ships in his ports, and imprisoned the crews. Such of them as he suspected of having been engaged in the destruction of the Armada, he vindictively and unjustifiably put to the torture, and forced the remainder to work as galley slaves. He punished them as traitors, who had assisted the enemy in fighting against their lawful sovereign. The inhabitants of the Spanish Netherlands were forbidden to trade with Holland and Zealand. These, like most measures suggested by overwrought passion, recoiled on the author; and, as in the former destruction of the fleet, ultimately contributed to the aggrandizement of the Dutch. They, in a very short space of time, fitted out seventy-three vessels of war, manned them with an effective force of eight thousand men, under the command of Van der Duys, and an edict was promulgated, prohibiting the ships, not only of the Dutch but those of foreign powers, from conveying provisions or any other commodity to Spain; and all goods belonging to that realm, wherever found, were declared lawful prizes.

Van der Duys having unsuccessfully attempted to draw from the harbour of Corunna the Spanish fleet, which was there safely moored and protected by artillery, directed his course towards the Canary Islands, and plundered and occupied the largest of them. Gomara shared the same fate. With thirty-six of the fleet he sailed along the coast of Africa, until he arrived at the Island of St. Thomas, which he found occupied by a large body of Portuguese. Pavaosa, the capital, made no resistance. The inhabitants sought refuge in the mountains, and left a rich booty to the victors. Large stores of sugar, ivory, and other wares, fell into their hands. These they conveyed to their ships, and while so occupied they spent the time till they were overtaken by the summer heats. The deadly pressure of the atmosphere, impregnated with pestilence, avenged the conquered. The Dutch in numbers fell victims to their cupidity and improvidence, and amongst the fallen were the gallant admiral and his brave nephew. Although the fleet hastened its departure, it did not escape the danger. Above one thousand perished on the homeward voyage, and in the space of fifteen days not more than six or seven survived, in some of the crews, able to work the ships. One was entirely deserted; one, unable to defend itself, was captured by the enemy; a few were cast upon the English coast; and when they arrived, at the end of the winter, in their native ports, two captains alone survived of the officers of that rank. However, the fear which it inspired imposed on the Spanish monarch the precaution of providing convoys in future for his fleets from the Indus.

The success of the adventure of the few merchants of Amsterdam, in 1595, had raised the hopes of the nation; and the voyage of Van der Duys, disastrous as it was to himself and the crews, in a commercial point was eminently fortunate, and the atmospheric influences, to which all their misfortunes were traceable, could be avoided. Indeed each year added to the importance of the oriental trade, and the public appetite was proportionally increased. By the cautious proceedings of the captains of the Dutch vessels the jealousies which had been created against them by their European predecessors were in a great degree obviated, and alliances had been actually formed with the natives of Banda, and the King of Ternate, and of Kandy, in the Island of Ceylon. The sovereign of Acheen, who had exhibited the bitterest animosity, was induced to send ambassadors to the United Provinces, to convince himself that the merchants from that country trading to the Indian coast and islands were not pirates, as the Portuguese and Spaniards had represented them. The consequence was that a league of amity and commerce was formed, and the Indian prince convinced that his new ally was a nation renowned for its wealth, and desirous of the blessings of legitimate commerce. On the return of this embassy the most favourable reports of the Dutch were circulated, and their future intercourse greatly facilitated.

In the various towns of the United Provinces associations of merchants were formed, and several ships dispatched to the East. These desultory efforts, directed by no common object, and seeking private advantage solely, as might be expected, often ended in loss and

arrived at Madeira on the 15th; on the 17th at the Canaries, where they took in wine; on the 23rd at the islands of Cabo Verde; on the 29th they were in the latitude of six degrees, and passed the line on the 8th of June—a wonderful swiftness, and to me incredible."—Vol. iii. part ii. chap. iii. sect. i.

disappointment. When one vessel arrived, it too frequently found that it had been anticipated, and that all the disposable commodities had been already secured. The competition had also the effect of raising prices to an exorbitant height, and on the other hand the quantity of wares which were brought back at one time had often the effect of glutting the market. On a large scale were produced such ruinous fluctuations as were so recently witnessed, to the ruin of many English speculators, in our colonial markets, where the scarcity and high prices of to-day were succeeded by the over-abundance and nominal prices of the morrow.

This unsatisfactory state of things, which, if left to itself, would have of necessity superinduced its own remedies, determined the provinces to take the oriental trade under their supervision, and they accordingly resolved all the independent companies into one General East India Company, which for a period of twenty-one years should have the exclusive privilege of navigating east of the Cape of Good Hope, and west of the Straits of Magellan. The company was empowered to make alliances with the sovereigns of India in the name of the provinces, to build forts, and appoint governors, taking the oath to the states.*

This arrangement was hailed with general confidence. The large sum of six million six hundred guilders was raised, and a fleet of fourteen armed vessels equipped, and Wybrand Van Warwyk appointed admiral in command. The prosecution of commerce was not the sole advantage anticipated from this armament; it was calculated, and correctly, as the issue proved, that the concentrated force of the company would be sufficiently powerful to oppose the attacks of the Spaniards, who had from the commencement vigorously endeavoured to put a stop to their traffic. Several encounters took place between the merchants of the rival powers, which usually ended in favour of the Dutch. Wybrand remained five years on this service, and in the year 1606 discovered the island on which he bestowed the name of Mauritius.

Wybrand had scarcely ventured on the deep, when another fleet of thirteen ships was placed in commission, and sailed in 1603, under the command of Stephen Van der Hagen, for the coast of Malabar, the principal seat of the Portuguese in India. Their arrival was hailed by the inveterate opponent of the Portuguese, the Zamorin of Calicut, who readily entered into a treaty of commerce and alliance with them against their old enemies. The terms were exceedingly favourable to the Dutch. In a very short space of time they became powerful, and the Portuguese historian thus accounts for their success:—"They were well backed by the natives, who, tired out with our insatiable avarice, joined with those rebels to expel us."* Early in the year of his arrival Van der Hagen sailed to the attack of Amboyna. The governor, Gaspar de Melo, commanded there. He was compelled to surrender; and to save his honour, as she rashly thought, which was impeached, his wife poisoned him—"a strange government," remarks the author last quoted, "where notorious malefactors were not punished, and an innocent person was so persecuted, that she who loved him took away his life, lest they should take away his honour, who had none of their own." After the capture of the citadel of Amboyna, the Dutch fleet, having divided, a part of it sailed to Banda, and the remainder, nine in number, proceeded towards Tidore. The Portuguese residing there were greatly alarmed at their approach. They were apprehensive of the fidelity of the king, but finding that he was prepared to assist them, they prepared for their defence.

The rivalry of these peoples was influenced by the most virulent hatred. They looked upon each other as tyrants and rebels; and in their mutual eagerness to come to blows they very often overlooked the difficulties they had to encounter. The two first vessels which reached the coast of Malabar met six Portuguese vessels coming out of the port of Malacca, and bound for India. Indifferent to the inequality of forces, they did not hesitate to engage, and maintained the fight all the afternoon, and part of the night. In the morning they renewed it, and thus held it on for eight days continually. The Hollanders were at length forced to seek refuge in the port of Queda, and were, eventually, cast away on the coast of Pegu. Shortly after this encounter three Dutch vessels, on their way from Europe, captured a richly-laden Portuguese galleon at the Island of St. Helena. The captain and most of the men were taken, and treated, the Spaniards allege, with great cruelty, and abandoned on the island of Ferdinand de Noronna. On his way to Tidore, Van der Hagen fell in with two richly-laden carracs: these he boarded, and mastered with very little loss; and having cleared away the artillery and valuables, he burned them to the water's edge. The Portuguese were safely landed, but all the Spaniards found on board were put to death, which was the general practice.

Although the Kings of Tidore and Ternate

* *Groot Plakaath*, decl. i. bl. 529.

* Faria.

were at variance, both so detested the Portuguese, that they entered into an alliance with the Dutch to expel them as a common enemy. Siege was then laid to the citadel of Tidore, in their possession. It was carried by storm, and the Portuguese driven from the island. They were forced to quit the Moluccas, with the exception of one small fort, which they retained. Through the interference of the Dutch, all differences were settled between their allies, and resident factors settled at Tidore, under the protection of the native sovereign. Andrew Furtado was sent to recover these islands, and consumed five years to no purpose in the attempt.

In 1605 a fleet of thirteen ships sailed for India, under the command of Admiral Maatelief, and having arrived at Malay, entered into an alliance with four kings then reigning in Johor, the descendants of princes who had been driven from their territories by the Portuguese; with their aid he undertook the siege of that city. His native allies rendered him little or no assistance. The insufficiency of his troops induced the Dutch admiral to turn the siege into a blockade. In the fourth month the viceroy of India, Don Alphonso de Castro, came to its aid. His fleet consisted of fourteen galleons and twenty smaller vessels, carrying three thousand seven hundred men. At his approach the Dutch retired on board their vessels, and prepared to give the enemy battle. Their fleet consisted of eleven, which, Faria states, exceeded the Portuguese ships in strength, swiftness, number, weight of metal, and skilfulness of gunners.* Three ships perished on each side, with a loss, says the Dutch historian Grotius,† of eight men killed, while a considerable number suffered on the other side. Faria says the loss was nearly equal, but admits the damage was greater on his side.‡ He mentions several deeds of daring; the principal one of which is that of De Noronna, who boarded the Dutch admiral's flag ship, and both vessels being in danger of being burnt, they parted with the mutual understanding never again to encounter. In August a second naval engagement took place, in which the Portuguese had the advantage. After eight days' fighting, the Dutch at length fled, and the Portuguese entered Malacca, which had been destroyed during the siege. Contrary to the advice of several, the viceroy here divided his fleet; seven galleons were sent to meet the outward bound fleet, which was expected at the Island of Nicobar; five more were sent to protect the ships of Java, which had brought provisions to Malacca, through the Strait of Singapore. These having met the Dutch fleet, retired before them into the port. They were attacked by a superior force of the enemy, and the whole squadron was destroyed. The Dutch lost five hundred men killed.* De Castro soon after died, it was reported through grief for this defeat.

The advantage thus gained was overbalanced by the loss of Tidore, from which the Dutch were expelled, and all hopes of ever making a settlement in these islands destroyed. Victorious in this quarter, they hastened to the invasion of Ternate, and drove from his capital the sovereign of that kingdom, who had faithfully adhered to the Dutch. Maatelief lost no time in succouring his ally; he sailed to the Island of Malacca, fortified that town as a stronghold, and having secured the king assured him of his protection. Thence the Dutch admiral sailed to Bantam, whence, having refitted his fleet, he returned to Europe, bringing with him ambassadors and presents from the King of Siam to Prince Maurice, and three vessels richly laden with eastern spices.

The encouraging reports of these successes in the East brought by each arrival, effected a complete revolution in the feelings and hopes of the Dutch. They were no longer content with the cultivation of their commerce and the preservation of their rights; nor with the limited territories which, with laborious and persevering toil, they had rescued from the ocean. In the struggle which they had so nobly sustained against the colossal power of Philip II., they became cognizant of their strength, and in the continued conflict they acquired a greater development and greater confidence, and their schemes of aggrandizement became the practical questions of the day. Nothing less than an extensive and predominant empire by land as well as by sea, could now satisfy their newly-awakened ambition. Wealth, glory, and conquest, lately so irreconcileable to their sober calculations, were now thought of as the only pursuits worthy of their exertions.

The conduct of the King of Spain contributed still further to stimulate these dangerous elements. He promulgated an edict, "forbidding any foreigner to engage in the trade to the East and West Indies, on pain of death." The effect produced by this would-be prohibition was quite the reverse of that intended. A West India Company was projected—England having, shortly before this, furnished a precedent. The objects it proposed to itself were far more extravagant

* *The Portuguese in Asia*, vol. iii. pt. ii. c. vi. sec. 16.
† Lib. xvii. p. 792.
‡ Faria, vol. iii. pt. ii. c. vi. sec. 15.

* Faria, ibid.

than those embraced by its predecessor, the Dutch East India Company. In addition to the cultivation of a profitable trade, it was seriously proposed to realize a civil and military organization of the natives of the West Indies and America, which, supported by the fleet, would be able to overcome and expel the Spaniards from their acquisitions in the New World; and if this could not be accomplished, to wage war on the detested power in those distant regions, the most vulnerable part of its extensive dominions. The warlike and enterprising spirit of the phlegmatic boor was now far in advance of that of the leaders; and Barneveldt, foreseeing the consequences to a province deeply indebted,—with the ordinary resources exhausted, with a new generation, the inheritors of a war which owed its origin to an age now terminated,—sought earnestly and eagerly for peace. To his proposals were opposed the merchants, East India adventurers, the new projectors, and a party of equal influence with any of them—the reformed clergy, whose worldly interests and convictions were equally involved in the settlement. These had enforced as an axiom, "that a just and equitable peace with Spain was wholly impossible, and that the sole object of all her negotiations was merely to reduce the provinces again under her yoke, and to extirpate the true religion."* The fact is now transparent, that the best interests of the United Provinces demanded a cessation of this bequeathed war; and that the parties opposed to Barneveldt forgot the country in the consideration of their selfish ends. The Spaniards, wearied by a forty years' prosecution of the war, were equally sincere in their desire for peace. The archduke, a churchman advanced in years, was entirely opposed to a war which inflicted so much misery on his subjects; and Spain herself was financially reduced to the lowest ebb. Her exhaustion is thus graphically described in a letter from Sir Charles Cornwallis, the English ambassador in Spain:—"The public treasury was drained; the revenues and customs mortgaged for former loans; credit annihilated; every device for raising funds, by debasing the coin or other means, come to an end; the nobility poor and overwhelmed with debts; the merchants plundered, impoverished, and discontented; and the people, reduced to the extremity of necessity, and even of starvation, were ready at any moment to break out in revolt."† It was from the archduke, indeed, the first proposal for an accommodation came, and John Neyen, a Franciscan monk—who, even from the Dutch, acquired the character of uniting to courteous manners and insinuating address a considerable portion of straightforward simplicity, boldness of speech, eloquence, skill, and long experience in affairs*—was sent as his representative. They were treated in the quality of free provinces and states, over which the archduke had no pretensions. Although this point was graciously conceded, no such facility was exhibited when the right of continuing their commerce with the East came to be considered. The Dutch insisted on its continuance, on the grounds that a thing lawful in its nature, and not declared unlawful by any express act, was of itself free to every one, without permission asked or granted; and they said that the King of Spain could not, even before the war and while they were his subjects, have sought to restrict, with any colour of justice, the exercise of that right. Richardot, on the part of Spain, retorted that the king would neither surrender his sovereignty over the provinces, nor permit any traffic with Spain, if this point were insisted upon. Some of the deputies inclined to the Spanish view of the matter, and thought the Indian trade would be beneficially exchanged for the more accessible trade of Spain; by the great majority it was looked upon as indispensable to the prosperity of the provinces. They pointed, and with considerable effect, to the hundred and ninety ships and above eight thousand men, and the annual return of forty-three millions guilders. Prince Maurice and Barneveldt were equally energetic in the preservation of the Indian commerce. The former, because he calculated that on this point there would be no agreement, and that the rupture of negotiations would promote his private and selfish ends. It was while these discussions were pending that Maatelief returned, as has been related, with shipments of spices; and the reports which circulated of his success rendered the Dutch less disposed to listen to any proposals, having for their aim the loss of such anticipated treasures as were reckoned on from the East. The next stipulation, the public exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, was as obnoxious to a large body as the surrender of the right of navigation to the Indies. The English were not indifferent actors in these proceedings; and to their intrigues was in no small degree due the fact that these negotiations were broken off in high displeasure, and the Spanish ambassadors took their leave of the states with expressions of mingled regret and reproach. Shortly after, through the mediation of France, a truce for twelve years was concluded under

* Davies' *History of Holland*, vol. iii. p. 407.

† Wenwood's *Memorial*, vol. ii. p. 65.

* Davies' *History of Holland*, vol. iii. p. 411.

the guarantee of that power and England,* by which the United Provinces were treated as independent and sovereign states, and mutual free trade established between the parties on very liberal terms, so far as the European dominions of Spain were concerned: the provinces were rigidly excluded from trading to any port belonging to that power in any other quarter of the globe without special licence; but by a secret article the King of Spain was bound not to offer any obstruction to the freedom of trade to India; and the guarantees† declared that they should consider any such obstruction an infraction of the treaty. These and the other very favourable terms conceded by their former imperious rulers raised the Dutch to such a status amongst nations that henceforth we shall find their friendship and alliance emulously sought by the greatest powers in Europe. This truce, which extended to Asia, Africa, and America, was settled in 1609. For some years subsequent to this treaty the Dutch and Portuguese seldom came into collision. Faria incidentally mentions that, in 1613, Michael de Sousa Pinmintel was in the Chinese waters, having four galleons under his command, and that John Cayado de Gamba, with three others, was sent to join him, to protect the Portuguese trade against the Hollanders, who were very strong in those seas;‡ that Francis Lopez Calleyros brought into Malacca a Dutch pink that had captured a rich Portuguese ship; that great dissatisfaction prevailed in India towards the close of the year, in consequence of the non-arrival of the ships from Portugal which were expected, in order to oppose the English and Hollanders; and that Hierome d'Almeida, on his return homewards, "encountered four *mighty* Holland ships, with which he ventured a conflict with much equal courage and loss. The Dutch admiral was sunk, and the Portuguese were set on fire." In the following year, through the intrigues of their rivals, the Dutch were expelled from their factory at Vizapore. At this time the fleet, the arrival of which had been delayed, reached Goa. One out of the five ships was lost, and of the three thousand soldiers, who were shipped aboard these vessels, not half the number survived the voyage. This was a great disappointment to the Portuguese, whose increasing difficulties demanded all the aid that could be sent from home. Their homeward-bound vessels were equally unfortunate: one was cast away at the Maldive Islands; another at the Island of Fayal, with the loss of two hundred men; and the third alone arrived at Lisbon.

These disasters did not dispirit the Portuguese viceroy, Sidrome de Azevedo. With the small unaided force at his command, he sailed to the north to oppose both the Dutch and the English, who were strong in these seas. He landed, and laid waste the lands of Cifundam and Diva. The towns of Baroch and Gogo were plundered and burnt, and six ships which were found in that bay. Patane shortly after consigned them to the flames. This squadron, which carried fourteen hundred Portuguese, and a large artillery force, made an attempt to capture four English vessels in the harbour of Surat. The attempt terminated in their own discomfiture. Three of their vessels were set on fire, and the English escaped with impunity.

In the year 1617 an English fleet, cruising near the Cape of Good Hope, intercepted the Lisbon fleet, and exacted seventy thousand crowns for this attempt, and alleged injuries done to the vessels, and in addition twenty thousand ducats, which were divided by the English admiral among his men. The Portuguese admiral, on his reaching Goa, was secured by the viceroy, and sent home a prisoner.

In consequence of some serious differences which arose about this time between the Dutch and English, which will be treated with due consideration in a future chapter, mutual distrusts were created, which gave occasion to the foundation of Batavia. This town was erected by the Dutch general, John Pieterson Coen, in 1619. It is a large and strongly fortified seaport on the north coast of the Island of Java, and the capital of the Dutch settlements in the East. It is situated on the banks of the Jacatra, in a swampy plain, at the bottom of a very spacious and convenient bay, and as a place of commerce enjoyed superior facilities. It laboured under one great disadvantage—its insalubrious situation.* The harbour is rendered perfectly secure at all seasons by fifteen or six-

* In giving this guarantee the English ministers went beyond their instructions; and it was only the wish not to disavow their proceedings, and not to prevent the negotiation being concluded, that prevailed on James to confirm their act.

† *Neg. de Jeannin*, tom. iii. pp. 380, 475, 477; tom. iv. p. 8.

‡ Faria, *Portuguese in Asia*, vol. iii. p. 11. chap. xi. sect. x.

§ Ibid, sect. xv

* This evil has been remedied. The late Baron Capellan, one of the most enlightened governors ever sent out by the Dutch, sensible of the superior advantages which Batavia possessed as a place of trade, adopted effective measures for its improvement. He widened several of the streets, filled up several of the canals, cleansed others, demolished useless fortifications, cut down trees, and adopted other sanitary reforms, and, by the introduction of several judicious regulations, has rendered it as healthy as any town in the island.

teen islands, interspersed in every direction at its mouth, which preserve it, undisturbed by winds or waves. It is resorted to by the various nations of the East, and consists of a very mixed population, of which the Chinese form the most numerous, enterprising, and successful section, amounting to about sixty thousand.

The Javanese, as well as the English, received with jealousy the creation of this stronghold, and both united, and laid siege to the new fort. A treaty was agreed to, by which the Dutch engaged to pay six thousand rix dollars to the King of Jacatra, and abstain from further fortification. This arrangement did effectively terminate the apprehensions entertained in the temporary absence of Coen. Van der Broek, who was left in command of the garrison, was invited by the king to a feast, and was treacherously seized, along with his attendants, and placed in irons. Of this proceeding the English have the credit, and with every appearance of being entitled to it, for they availed themselves of the occasion to coerce the Dutch into a treaty, and to surrender their fortress to the King of Jacatra. The success of the king was but short-lived. The day immediately following the ratification of the treaty the king of the adjoining state, Bantam, either at the instigation of the Dutch, or tempted by the hope of possessing the fortress and wealth of Batavia, invaded Jacatra, and defeated and forced to fly its sovereign. The Dutch captives were treated with as much harshness by their new master as by the former. But the hour of their liberation was at hand. Coen returned at the head of eighteen ships; he swept the English, by his superior numbers, from the Straits of Sunda, attacked the town, and carried it by assault in a few hours. His countrymen were restored, and the town evacuated by the enemy. The fortress now for the first time was called Batavia, the classic name of the mother country, and soon became one of the richest and most magnificent commercial cities in the world. Those who had the direction of the Indian commerce in Holland were greatly pleased when informed of this establishment, as their policy now was to build forts, create magazines, organize a military force, and constitute a regular civil government. Without such arrangements, they knew it would be impossible to enter into successful competition with their European rivals.

To strengthen more firmly the ties between them and the orientals, the Dutch induced the King of Siam to send an ambassador to the Prince of Orange, who received him with great pomp and ceremony. He brought over five Indian princes to be educated in Europe.

In 1622 the East India Company sought a renewal of their charter, which they with very great difficulty obtained. They were opposed by the public, on the substantial grounds that the monopoly which they enjoyed was detrimental to the subjects of the republic generally; and the proprietors complained that the profits were not justly appropriated; several alleged that by throwing open the trade, far more money would find its way to the exchequer. Very opportunely for the claimants of the charter, in the spring of this year, there returned home two ships richly laden, which conveyed the news that the war was still raging in Java, and also against the Spaniards in the Moluccas, and in the Manillas; that Banda was again recovered, and that the last outward-bound Dutch fleet had arrived at its Indian destination in four months and three days.* A new charter, dated December 22, 1622, was conceded to them for the further term of twenty-one years.

In the year previously, the twelve years' truce with Spain had come to a close, and the archduke thought that the civil dissensions which distracted and weakened the states, had reduced them to such a condition that they would gladly compromise their difference with Austria and Spain; he consequently suggested to the Dutch the advantages likely to result to them from a reconciliation with their natural sovereign, and a pacification which would include the King of Spain as well as themselves. This proposal was indignantly rejected, and vigorous preparations made for the prosecution of the war. A great change had been effected in the political relations of the powers who had taken an active part in the former war. The haughty and cruel conduct of the states, in rejecting the humane remonstrances of the King of France, who had unavailingly interceded to save from an unmerited and ignominous death that able statesman Barneveldt, and his illustrious compatriot Grotius, who would have shared his fate, had he not been rescued by his dauntless and virtuous wife, who was completely devoted to him. The Lutherans of Germany were averse to make any sacrifices in behalf of the Calvinistic provinces. In addition to these grounds of alienation, the reformed princes were terrified by the humiliation of the Count Palatine, and the absorption of his territories in the empire. England, which had hitherto aided the Protestant revolters, from religious as well as political sympathies and a desire to humble the Catholic powers, was now in close alliance

* Meteren, *Histoire de Pays Bas*, lib. xxiii.

with Spain. The disputes between the Dutch and English East India Companies* irritated the public mind; and James complained that the Dutch had represented him to the Indian princes as the chief of a petty state, and as the plunderer, butcher, and tyrant of his subjects. The rejection, by the court of Madrid, of the suit of Prince Charles for the hand of the Infanta put an end to these influences, and drove the English king into a defensive treaty with the Dutch for two years, by which the latter were permitted to raise six thousand men in the British Isles at the king's cost, the expenses to be paid at the conclusion of the war.

This treaty had been scarcely concluded, when intelligence was conveyed from the Indies, the earlier communication of which was calculated to interrupt friendly negotiations, and which exasperated the English against their allies. This was the celebrated affair at Amboyna; where, on the pretence of a conspiracy, Gabriel Towerson and other Englishmen were seized, tortured, and put to death.

This act created a great sensation at the time, and destroyed those strong feelings of attachment which bound together the two great Protestant maritime powers—a union which was not severed by the vacillating policy of the wavering Stuart.

Amboyna is the chief of the Molucca Islands. It is between fifty and sixty miles in length, and favoured with two splendid bays, and celebrated for its production of cloves. It was first discovered by the Portuguese, who took possession of it in 1564. They were expelled by the Dutch in 1605; and in 1615 the English made an ineffectual attempt to share the possession of it.† They, however, contrived to preserve a factory there till 1622, when the occurrence just mentioned happened.

The facts of the case, stript of the inferences which give it a forensic complexion, are simply these. The Dutch authorities had their attention called to one of the Javanese soldiers—a body of whom were in their service—who had been observed making some minute inquiries respecting the citadel. He was arrested, and, on being subjected to an examination, revealed that his countrymen had held a correspondence with Towerson, the chief of the English factory, and some of his countrymen, to gain possession of the citadel, and to put to death the governor. The Javanese were disarmed, and they fully confirmed the statement of the prisoner, as also did a surgeon, Price, who had been arrested for arson. Towerson and twelve other Englishmen were then arrested and put to the torture, and in their anguish admitted their guilt. They were after this put to death. The Dutch, apprehensive of the consequences, endeavoured to conceal the particulars, and merely announced, when the intelligence reached Europe, that there had been some commotions in Amboyna, which, by the vigilance and prudence of the governor, had been totally extinguished.* When the full particulars reached England, the proceedings were stigmatized in the severest terms, and the exercise of any jurisdiction over the subjects of Great Britain was strenuously condemned, and this summary punishment was pronounced violation of the rules of equity and of the law of nations. The charge of conspiracy was denied, and asserted to be a pure invention of the Dutch, framed with the object of depriving the English of the share of the trade which they possessed. The admissions of guilt were treated as declarations wrung from the victims' agonies to procure a cessation of their intolerable punishment; and this view of the case was corroborated by the testimony of Towerson, who, in an acknowledgment which he gave privately, through his keeper, to a creditor of the company, added: —"Firmed by the form of Gabriel Towerson, now appointed to die, guiltless of anything that can be laid to my charge; God forgive them their guilt, and receive me to his mercy."† And also by others of his fellow suffers, who in their last moments protested their innocence. Three of the prisoners received pardon, and all the details which were published depend on their questionable testimony. A late historian‡ records as his conviction, "that the whole story of the plot was a fabrication, is highly improbable; and there seems no doubt that the Javanese soldiers did, in fact, entertain a design of the nature imputed to them, either in concurrence with, or relying on, the co-operation of the English; but if the latter cannot be exonerated from the accusation of treachery, the conduct of the Dutch was no less disgraced by an excess of vindictiveness and cruelty." However justly indignant the English public felt at the fate of their unfortunate countrymen, the Prince of Orange, the Dutch East India Company, and the states-general, were enabled to

* The differences between the Dutch and English were settled by the payment of eight hundred thousand livres by the former.—HARRIS'S *Voyages*, vol. i. p. 930.

† The Dutch, having thus acquired exclusive possession, retained it till the year 1796, when it was wrested from them by the British, under Admiral Rainier, and restored at the peace of Amiens. It was re-occupied by them in 1810, and restored by the peace of Paris, in 1814.

* *Universal Modern History*, vol. x. p. 309.

† Harris's *Voyages*, vol. i. p. 880.

‡ Davies' *History of Holland*, vol. ii. p. 554.

silence the patriots, and to have this outrage condoned.

A well-equipped fleet was fitted out by the joint naval authorities of Amsterdam, Friesland, Zealand, and Holland, consisting of eleven large vessels, having on board upwards of one thousand mariners and six hundred regular troops, and three hundred pieces of cannon. In honoûr of Prince Maurice it was called the *Nassau fleet*. It was proposed that it should touch on Chili or Peru, for the purpose of making a settlement there, or to strike such a blow as would materially affect the Spanish interests in that quarter; it was then to prosecute its voyage to the East Indies. On the 10th of May it made the port of Lima; the Dutch attacked the town, did it much damage, and took several prisoners; they inflicted similar mischief in other places, and to climax their vengeance they hung up their guiltless captives at the yardarm. At the close of this year the fleet reached its destination, and though the great and splendid results augured for it were not realized, the aid which it brought enabled the Dutch company to overpower the Portuguese, to intercept the communication between their various settlements, and to detach from them several of the native princes.*

A powerful stimulus was given to their Indian commerce, and the directors of the company, aware that the prosperous condition of their affairs in the East was mainly attributable to the abilities and discretion of their admirals and commanders-in-chief, sent out in rapid succession three squadrons, respectively commanded by John Peterson Coen, who sailed in April, 1627; John William Verschoer, and Andrew Block Martsen, who sailed in October of that year.

The attacks frequently made on their homeward-bound vessels, by the privateers of Dunkirk and the English, compelled the Dutch to fit out a strong squadron annually to convoy their merchantmen. The first equipped was commanded by John Dierskisz Lam, and as soon as his flag was seen on the seas, the privateers retired. In October a squadron of eleven ships sailed for India, under the command of James Specks, and with it went Valbeck, an accomplished mathematician. About this time some Dutch adventurers sailed from Batavia, with the intention of passing through the Straits of Baly, but, by encountering some adverse winds, they were driven out of their course, and ran ashore upon the south side of Australia, in the latitude of twenty-one degrees. In order to get afloat, they were obliged to throw a great portion of their valuable cargo overboard. In their passage they fell in with Block's fleet, which, like themselves, had encountered very boisterous weather. It was at this period that the Dutch so enriched, by their discoveries, the geography of the Pacific islands. Carpentaria—called after General Carpenter—was discovered in 1628; it was subsequently called New Holland, and since it became a possession of the British crown, it is universally known as Australia. The western parts of that island were discovered in the following year, and after its discoverer, named De Witt's Land.

The stability of the Dutch empire was subjected now to a very rude shock, and had it not been for the great exertions made by the company, and the succession of squadrons which with such rapidity followed each other, she would have been compelled to evacuate the seat of power. The rise of Batavia, and the imperious dictation of the Dutch, as soon as they found themselves sufficiently strong to throw off the mask of suppliants, and exercise the authority of masters, had first excited the suspicions and jealousy of the Javanese, and at length induced them to take measures for the destruction or ejection of the strangers. In 1629 the King of Java raised an army of two hundred thousand men, with which he invested Batavia. The siege, or rather blockade, was vigorously maintained for some months, but the town had been so strongly fortified and spiritedly defended, that the enemy, having lost sixteen thousand men, were obliged to desist. The Prince of Madura, a small island adjacent to Java, represented to the King of Java that the failure was attributable to the incapacity of the commander, and that a skilful officer with one-third the force, would be able to capture the town. Influenced by these representations, an army of one hundred and fifty thousand was placed under the command of this prince, and the king in person accompanied him to the siege. From the 22nd of August to the 2nd of October repeated assaults were made to no purpose. Every effort ended in the severe loss of the besiegers, and the army was reduced to almost the skeleton of what it had been. In a fit of fury, excited by disappointments and severe losses, an attack was made by the Javanese on the unsuccessful prince and his contingent, in which both he and eight hundred of his men were slain. The success of the glorious defence was due to John Peterson Coen, the governor-general, who ended his life towards the close of the siege.

* It is worthy of remark that at this early period all accidents regarding discoveries were carefully recorded. In after times such was not the case. Probably the number of European peoples who were contending for the trade with Asia deterred the discoverers from communicating the results of their experiences to their rivals.

With this drawback, nevertheless, the year was a propitious one to the company. Six vessels reached home, under the command of three several commodores, richly laden; and Peter van der Broek, the first introducer of trade upon the Red Sea and the adjacent countries, returned home the next year from the East Indies, where he had been for several years, with seven vessels, the cargoes of which were valued at eight millions; and in 1631, Antony Van Dieman returned with seven others, which brought the company an incredible amount of treasure.*

On the death of Coen, James Specks was appointed provisional governor—a good selection. He caused the canals to be cleansed, and expeditiously restored every thing to its proper condition, essentially promoted the interests of the company, and added considerably to his reputation.

The enormous wealth which thus flowed in upon them served but to incite the ambition and cupidity of the Dutch shareholders. They resolved to enlarge their means of aggression, and to aim at the expulsion of their European rivals and a monopoly of the Indian trade. It was with these objects that, in 1641, they resolved to seize on Malacca, the strongest hold which the Portuguese held at that time in India, and which was so advantageously situated as to secure to an energetic people, in possession, the commerce of the kingdoms of Johor, Siam, and Pegu, and the control of their trade with China and Japan. By the mastery of the Straits of Malacca, they calculated that they would be in a position to dictate the law to all the nations that traffic in that part of the world.

It was in this year the Dutch also succeeded in excluding the Portuguese from the entire possession of the commerce of Japan. This they effected by sedulously ingratiating themselves into the favour of the sovereign of that country. They persuaded his ministers that they were a humble, peaceable, and well-disposed people, whose only objects were to open a market for their commodities, and who felt it to be their interest as well as duty to promote the prosperity of any country where they were kindly received. By these amiable pretensions they succeeded in imposing on the Japanese authorities, and were placed in possession of the fort of Firando, and treated with every mark of confidence. By the adoption of similar means, they insinuated themselves into the favour of other Indian princes, and thus obtained permission to establish factories, and to build forts for their protection. Having so far succeeded, they no longer supplicated; they dictated laws, and those kings whom they had approached with such apparent humility, and sycophantly courted, found to their cost that their old friends were become their new masters.*

The successes which had recently attended them, the great wealth they had acquired, the revenues which their trade yielded, and the terror which their many and well-appointed armaments inspired, removed the difficulties which otherwise would have stood in the way of the renewal of the charter which now, for the third time, they obtained for the period of twenty-one years, commencing from the 1st of January, 1644. Such, indeed, was the importance acquired by the company that, on the conclusion of the general peace, their interests were as much consulted as those of the government, and the court of Spain was compelled to relinquish any right previously claimed of questioning their conquests in India. As a mark of their gratitude the company entered into a project of erecting, at their own expense, a monument to the commercial fame of the city of Amsterdam. This was the Stadthouse, a structure commenced in 1648 and finished in 1655, and for a long time after considered the finest in the world. There was no period at which they were better able to undertake such a work; their commerce was at its height, there was not a potentate from the Cape of Good Hope to the most distant part of the empire of China which had not learnt to respect their power, and which had not experienced the effects of their good will or their enmity.

At first view it appears singular that in this unexampled prosperity, with a trade enlarged by each successive year, the dividends per cent. to the shareholders under the second charter fell considerably short of those derived under the first. The solution of this anomaly is probably to be found in the vast augmentation of their expenditure occasioned by the necessity of building fortresses, raising forces, and the splendour of their establishments in Batavia and elsewhere.

Shortly previous to this period two contemporaneous revolutions had been successfully attempted in Europe, and the contest in each was being vigorously maintained. The discontented Portuguese, spurning the foreign rule of Spain, had bestowed their allegiance on the Duke of Braganza, whom they had placed on the throne with the title of Joam IV., and in several campaigns they nobly maintained their independence. The Portuguese settlers in India did not hesitate to follow the spirited precedent set to them at home, and

* Harris's *Voyages*, vol. i. p. 933; *Universal Modern History*, vol. x. p. 317.

* Tavernier, *Voyages des Indes*, p. 2. l. 3. c. 20.

proclaimed their native prince. By this procedure they lost the aid which they sometimes derived from the Spaniards; and from the authorities in the father-land, involved in the struggle against their late masters, they could calculate on no assistance. Of this state of affairs the Dutch, though the allies of Joam, availed themselves, and made use of the exigency to extend their power; taking care at the same time to give the best colour they could to those actions, suggested by their worst passions, avarice and sordid ambition.*

The second revolution referred to, will be recognised as that in which the outraged Commons of England rose against a would-be dominant, and at the same time servile, church,† and faith-breaking sovereign. The civil war absorbed all the attention of the nation, and the interests of the English East India Company were lost sight of in the more important considerations at home. The Dutch improved this opportunity also; and on the most frivolous pretences plundered the English factories, and seized on the English vessels. A brief reference to this subject here is demanded, in order to show by what lucky accidents the Dutch were enabled to grasp the power which they wielded in Asia. In dealing with the English portion of this history the subject shall be treated with the consideration due—enough for the present purpose to say that, on the treaty with the Protector, the English claimed as compensation for their losses the sum of £2,700,000, and a further sum of £3615 to the representatives of the persons that were murdered at Amboyna thirty-two years previously.

One of the most important acquisitions of the Dutch in the East was undoubtedly Ceylon. A description of that interesting island has been already given.‡ A brief summary of its history, from its being possessed by the Portuguese till it fell into the hands of the English, appropriately forms a part of this chapter.

The first settlement of the Portuguese was made as early as 1517, when Albergaria obtained from the King of Cotta—whose territories close adjoined Colombo—permission to erect a small factory for the purposes of trade. As in every other quarter, they soon contrived to strengthen their position, and extend their intercourse with the natives. Stone walls quickly replaced the unpretending palisades, and a goodly supply of cannon frowned their defiance on those who dared assault it by land or sea. Too late the Cingalese were sensible of the dangerous proximity of their late suppliants. With the aid of the Moors, and other foreign traders who were eager for the destruction of their enterprising and successful rivals, an attack was made on the new settlers. This proved unavailing; and after a long protracted struggle, the Europeans were left in possession of the western coast. The arbitrary, faithless, and cruel conduct of the Portuguese, which had rendered them detested by the Indians, generally characterized them in Ceylon; and when the Dutch, in 1601, under the command of Admiral Spilbergen, arrived on the coast, and sought an alliance with the King of Candy, in the interior of the island, the proposal was heartily embraced, in the hope that, with the co-operation of the new comers, the Portuguese could be expelled or destroyed. It does not appear that any hopeful attempt was made to realize these expectations until the year 1639. In that year a Dutch squadron attacked the forts on the east coast, and razed them to the ground. In the year following they repeated their visit, and landed at Negombo, but did not as yet attempt to make a settlement there. In 1643 they attacked and took possession of this town, and fortified it in 1658. The Dutch, who properly estimated the value of the prize, sent General Heest from Batavia with a good fleet and army to co-operate with the King of Candia, to effect the final expulsion of the Portuguese. Having defeated the latter in the field, they sought the protection of the fortifications of Colombo. Partly by force and partly by famine this fortress was reduced in a few months. The King of Candy led an army of forty thousand men to this siege, and, although according to the terms of the treaty existing between them, every fort wrested from the enemy was to be delivered into his hands, the Dutch peremptorily refused to put him in possession of this. They alleged there was a large debt due to them, and that they had resolved to retain it as a security for its discharge. This breach of the treaty led to a rupture and declaration of war; but so broken and disheartened were the Portuguese that they did not avail them-

* *Universal Modern History*, vol. x. p. 336.

† Dominant over the people, and servile to the throne. She was, perhaps, the most subservient to the throne and the most hostile to popular rights of any national church then existing. The repudiation of the Papal supremacy, the confiscation of church property, the entire dependance of the dignitaries on the sovereign, made it, to a great extent, a mere political engine in the hands of the prince. The Church of England was the first to teach these impious doctrines—the divine right of kings, and passive obedience; dogmas which soon roused the noble indignation of the British, called into action the pious and chivalrous Independents—a God-fearing host, who vindicated the immutable rights of the people—and taught kings that they had heads to forfeit for their flagrant violations of honour, duty, and rights.

‡ P. 158.

selves of the opportunity offered to repair their losses.

The recent conquerors pursued a wiser policy than their European predecessors. They set assidiously to work to develop the resources of the country, and to cultivate a trade with the interior. They acted with their usual discretion, and duly appreciating the advantages to be derived from an extension of trade they, contrary to the example of the Portuguese, treated the natives with kindness, and made no efforts to reap barren military renown. They succeeded in rendering their commerce between this island and Holland very lucrative. Beside the trade in cinnamon, several other branches of industry were developed; public works undertaken on a large scale; and education, if not placed within the reach of all the inhabitants of the maritime provinces,—over all which their sovereignty extended,—was established on a broad and liberal scale, and subjected to government superintendence. For a century and a half they retained unquestioned possession. The enervating effects of the torrid zone must have told upon their descendants, as, indeed, it has hitherto done upon those of all European settlers; for the territory which they had, by their military prowess, secured in 1658, they as rapidly lost, by their imbecility and cowardice, to the British in 1796.

Not content with the successes they had achieved, the general council in Batavia made an enterprising effort to overcome the difficulties which had hitherto impeded their trade with China. In July, 1655, they sent an embassy with very rich presents to the emperor. After a delay of eight or nine months at Pekin, they were honoured with an audience, and from the courtesy with which they were received, they augured favourably of the results; but very shortly after discovered that they had enemies at court, who had sufficient influence to frustrate all their hopes. The Jesuits had, a long time previous to this, been settled in the Celestial Empire, and under the then reigning sovereign were in great credit, and had considerable influence. The chief of these was Father Adam Schaal, a native of Cologne. He had been thirty-five years a resident, and was in special favour with the emperor, who had raised him to the rank of a mandarin of the first class, and placed him at the head of all the philosophers and mathematicians of the empire. He gave a truthful sketch, though highly coloured, of the new comers; who, with assumed "humble mien and bated breath," hoped to accomplish their ends. He represented them as a people belonging to an insignificant corner of Europe, whose support depended on pedling and piracy, who had, by treachery and cruelty, raised themselves an extensive empire in the Indies, at the expense of the natives, and more especially of those princes who suffered themselves to be imposed upon by their specious pretences, and allowed them settlements in their dominions, and by those means afforded them an opportunity of tyrannizing over them and their subjects.* On being questioned respecting these particulars by order of the emperor, their admissions fully convinced the Chinese authorities of their real character, and the embassy was obliged to return towards the close of the year 1657, frustrated in their objects.

A similar attempt made at the court of Japan was more fortunate. The Dutch, on this occasion, made a felicitous selection of their ambassador. Zachary Waghanaer was a man of polished manners, affable deportment, and very great experience. On his arrival at that court in March, 1659, he succeeded in ingratiating himself into the favour of the emperor, and also what was equally to his advantage, into the good graces of his ministers. By giving an assurance that the Dutch would apprise the authorities of Japan of any designs which might be formed in the Philippines to their prejudice, and that they would forbear from molesting Chinese vessels trading to their coasts, he obtained for his countrymen all that he could reasonably request in their favour.

While these negotiations were pending in the distant empires of China and Japan, some serious complications arose in Java, in which the safety of Batavia was involved. The Island of Java was under the rule of a sovereign, who by the Dutch was sometimes styled the emperor, and at other times the King of Japara. His governor of Bantam† threw off the yoke, and proclaimed his independence. In this revolt he was sustained by the Dutch, who hoped, in the exhausting conflict, to bear away the lion's share. Their policy—that by which they had hitherto sustained their position—was to foster these divisions; and, accordingly, whenever the emperor made any aggressions on the Dutch settlement,

* Harris's *Voyages*, vol. i. p. 933.

† Bantam is on the west of Java. The English and Danes had factories there till 1682, when the Dutch fomented a war between the king and his son, because the father would not come into their measures. With the aid of other rebels they took the old king prisoner, and sent him to Batavia, and placed the son upon the throne. In 1683 they pretended that they were empowered by the new king to expel the Danes and the English, which they did, insolently, according to their custom.—HAMILTON'S *New Account of the East Indies*, vol. ii. p. 127.

the King of Bantam was always ready to take up arms in their favour; and whenever the latter and they had any variance, the interference of the emperor was sought. In consequence of some intestine troubles in Java, in the year 1659, the emperor's entire resources were engaged in their suppression. The King of Bantam considered the crisis favourable to his personal designs, and he accordingly enrolled a very numerous army to attack the Dutch, who, he reasoned, deprived of the aid of the emperor, would become an easy prey. He laid siege to Batavia; but the hopes which he nurtured of success were fated to end in disappointment; the greatness recently attained by their extraordinary successes, and the several squadrons which had arrived from Europe in the Indian waters, enabled the Batavians to baffle every effort made by their enemy, and after various repulses and the great losses which he suffered, the King of Bantam retreated precipitately to his own territories.

Their own immediate necessities and defensive war did not incapacitate the Dutch from extending support to their ally the King of Bengal, whose rule was endangered by the pretensions of his brother to the throne. They supplied him with provisions, military stores, and a body of troops, which enabled him to establish his power on a firm basis. As an acknowledgment of the services so opportunely rendered, he conceded to them permission to erect a factory and build a fort at Hoogly. This position they strongly fortified. The effects produced by this location on the trade of the English in that quarter will be hereafter detailed.

The repulse which attended their efforts to conciliate the Chinese still rankled in the bosoms of the governor and council of Batavia, and they eagerly wished for an opportunity to requite the Jesuit fathers for their interference. To be revenged they fitted out a fleet of thirty sail, which they dispatched to the Island of Macassar, to attack the capital of that name, in the port of which there was a Portuguese fleet richly laden, in which the Jesuits were largely concerned. In June, 1660, Macassar was attacked by sea and land, and though the king of the island defended his allies with all his forces, the Batavians achieved a complete victory, burnt three of the enemy's ships, sank two, and captured one; the cargo of which was so valuable, that it defrayed the expenses of the Chinese embassy, which cost the Dutch a sum of money (the loss of which affected them seriously), and also of this expedition. The King of Macassar, much to the honour and gratification of the victors, sent an embassy to Batavia, and submitted to such terms as the governor thought proper to impose, though these were stringent and arbitrary. He was bound to expel from his dominions all the Portuguese settlers, and never to admit them, or any other Europeans than the Dutch, to locate themselves there. The fortress and port of Jampandam, with a district of about four leagues in diameter about it, were assigned to the Dutch East India Company; the Jesuits were expelled, their colleges razed, their churches beaten down, and their effects confiscated to the use of the company;* and the king was compelled to send an ambassador with suitable presents to the governor-general, to obtain the ratification of the treaty, even upon these disgraceful terms. This was the most important and advantageous of all their achievements in the East. But, nevertheless, it was undoubtedly an unjustifiable act of robbery and spoliation, a long time conceived, carefully matured, and treacherously executed. Ten years previously, while they were carrying on a trade with this island, and on terms of amity with the king, they privately encouraged several of their countrymen to settle in different parts of his dominions, who, when they found themselves sufficiently strong, raised a formidable force, and unexpectedly attacked him in his palace, having an assurance from the authorities in Batavia, that a sufficient force was prepared to support them. The latter, through mismanagement, did not arrive

* In a work entitled, *An Historical Description of the Kingdom of Macassar in the East Indies*, in which the above statement is more fully given and quoted from Tavernier, the author observes:—"This is the specious pretence wherewith M. Tavernier excused the Indian Batavians; but this is the truth, which ought to be believed, concerning that affair, upon the testimony that was given to me by persons disinterested, and of known probity, who told me what I am going to say concerning those that had the greatest share in that expedition. 'Tis very true that the Dutch ambassador from Batavia was ill-received at the Chinese court, and that the emperor refused him permission to traffic in his country. But there was no necessity for the Jesuits to advise him to deal so by him; for by several precedents he well knew how dangerous a thing it was for the Indian sovereigns to let the Dutch get footing in their realms, and the experience of their neighbours convinced them too well of the infidelity and ingratitude of those people. But though the Jesuits of China should have had any share in the emperor's refusal, and though they who live at Macassar, because they were of the same society had deserved the blame, yet how many merchants were there at the same port, to whom alone the ships belonged, that were innocent? Nevertheless, they were as little spared as the rest, but were all involved in the same misfortune. 'Tis true, the Jesuits were sensibly concerned at the defeat of the Portuguese; not only for the loss of any merchandize of their own, but because they saw themselves disappointed in all their hopes of settling the Roman Catholic religion in Macassar."—P. 33.

at the time appointed, and in the interval the king, though taken by surprise, mustered his forces, and acted with such vigour that the Dutch insurgents and their allies were in danger of being totally destroyed. Both armies were encamped within sight of each other, and separated by a river. The Dutch, observing that the native soldiers at a certain hour came to drink, poisoned the water, and thus destroyed multitudes of them, and secured themselves till the succours arrived.

The self-congratulations of the Dutch, on the success of this expedition, were shortly after painfully interrupted by the severest reverse they had met with during their Indian experiences. They had at this time one of their most flourishing and fairest settlements in Formosa. This island lies about ninety miles off the coast of China, from which it is separated by the channel of Fo-kien, north lat. 22° and 25° 30′, and east long. 120° 30′ and 122°. It is one of the fairest and most fruitful countries in the East. Almost all grains and fruits may be produced on it. Among its articles of trade are—maize, sugar, tobacco, fruits, timber, salt, sulphur, camphor, cotton, hemp, silk, &c. It at present belongs to China, and is familiarly called the granary of the maritime provinces of that empire. It was unknown to the celestials till about the year 1403. About 1643 the Dutch built a fort there, called Fort Zealand, on a small island, commanding the harbour of the capital Taewan. The Chinese, in the year 1653, laid a deep and well-devised scheme for the destruction of the settlement, which was frustrated by the accidental discovery of it. Their good fortune produced a relaxation of that circumspection characteristic of the Dutch; and, entirely bent on the prosecution of their private speculation, they neglected their public duties and general welfare. The fortifications were neglected, and the magazines exhausted. At the same time the greatest severities were inflicted on the Chinese, who in the island amounted to between twenty and thirty thousand men. These were in communication with their countrymen, who were at that time engaged in resisting the Tartar invasion of the empire. The Dutch governor, Werburgh, in order as he supposed to render himself and the garrison secure, proceeded against such as were either in arms or were suspected of a forbidden correspondence. Many of the former were cut to pieces, and many of the latter exposed to cruel deaths and merciless tortures. These severities made the Chinese to a man determined enemies to the Dutch.

At the time the Tartars made their last conquest of China, there dwelt in Fort Zealand a tailor, whose name was Chinchilung, but by the Europeans he was called Iquon. He was a man of large mind, great resolution, and undaunted courage, devoted to his country, and enraged against its Tartar invaders. So constituted, he could not continue a passive spectator of the dangers that threatened his father-land. He collected some kindred spirits, manned two or three small barks, and with this force proceeded to take an active part. His daring adventures were crowned with success; in a short space of time his power had increased to that degree that he became a terror to the Tartar emperor. To get rid of so formidable an adversary, the emperor entered into negotiations with him, and offered to make him king of the two extensive provinces of Canton and Fo-kien, and invited him to Fo-kien to complete the arrangements, and to give him the investiture of his new dignity; but, instead of keeping his faith, he seized on his guest, and had him poisoned. This aspirant to a throne had a son, whose name was Coxinga, who, upon his father's imprisonment, took the command of his fleet. He at first solicited the aid of the Dutch, promising them in return great advantages in case of success; this was refused. Enraged at the repulse, and well acquainted with the neglected state of the defences and the disaffection of the Chinese, he resolved to turn all his force against Formosa. For this enterprise he assembled a fleet of six hundred sail, most of them small frigates, but nearly one hundred of them stout men-of-war of forty guns and upwards, and before any preparations could be made to receive him, he appeared before the Dutch town, in March, 1661. The Chinese landed forty thousand men; all the outposts in a very short time fell into the hands of Coxinga, and the Dutch forces on the island were crowded into Fort Zealand. Although a strong squadron of nine ships, commanded by Commodore James Cawen, was sent to re-inforce the garrison, four hundred of his troops were lost in a land attack upon six thousand Chinese. No better success attended an effort by sea; the Dutch lost two of their best men-of-war, one of which came ashore, and the crew, numbering three hundred and eighty, were killed by the Chinese; the other was blown up, a shot having lodged in her powder magazine. Thus baffled, the five remaining vessels sailed for Java, having on board two hundred women and children taken from the fort. The Governor Cojet performed his part like a soldier and man of honour; and when he was urged by promises and threats to surrender, his answer was worthy of a Spartan,—there was nothing, he said, could induce him to

betray his trust, or to give up the place he commanded into the hands of the enemy. Though deprived of the co-operation of the fleet, he made so obstinate a defence, that Souja, the uncle of Coxinga, who was in command of the Chinese fleet, resolved to raise the siege without the knowledge of his nephew, with at least the force under his command. Coxinga, informed of this resolve, had him arrested, and then prosecuted his operations with such skill and vigour, that the Dutch garrison was compelled to surrender, although the succours which they had been expecting were in sight.*

The position of the Dutch was seriously altered by the loss of this settlement. Instead of having the Spanish, Portuguese, and Chinese commerce at their mercy, they were no longer able to send their own annual ships to Japan,† but with great difficulty and danger; they, however, reaped one advantage by this disaster—they established a correspondence with the Emperor of China, who consented to aid them in restraining the power of Coxinga, to prevent him from piracy in those seas, and from disturbing the commerce of the empire and Japan.

It was at this period, and by the mediation of Charles II., who had married the Infanta Catharina of Portugal, that a treaty of peace was entered into by the United Provinces and that kingdom, to the mutual satisfaction of both parties; for although the Dutch had the advantage over their adversaries in the East, their gains there were balanced by their losses in other quarters. In the West Indies the Portuguese were the victors, and they had also succeeded in wresting the Brazils from the Dutch; they were in a fair way of making still greater conquests; and their privateers were so numerous, that Holland found her trade in the Mediterranean, and on the coast of Africa, in a critical situation.

The Dutch East India Company did not regard the obligations which this treaty imposed. They acted as if they were sovereigns within the bounds of their charter. In the year, 1663, they made an attack on Coulan, on the coast of Malabar, and, having reduced it, they next attacked the important post of Cannanore, and, after a severe struggle, took possession of it. They repaired the fortifications, and made a settlement there. Their next enterprise was the siege of Cochin, a city of greater importance, being a bishop's see, and the centre of a large trade. After a fierce and protracted defence, in which the loss on each side was very severe, it fell into the hands of the Dutch. The rajah of Porca, a tributary to the Portuguese, next submitted; Cranganore was also taken; and thus in the course of a year, Commodore Goens expelled the Portuguese from all their possessions on the coast of Malabar, and thus acquired a territory one hundred and fifty leagues in length, with all the trade belonging to it, which they had enjoyed without interruption from the time of their first settlement in India. Alliances were now formed with the Zamorin of Calicut, the King of Cochin, and several other Indian princes.

On the ascent of Aurungzebe to the throne, the Dutch sent an embassy, which was graciously received. They paid the same mark of respect to the sovereigns whose dominions bordered the Bay of Bengal, by all of whom they were equally well received.

Some misunderstanding arose between the Dutch, and the King of Siam. They, in consequence, withdrew their factories from his coasts. Alarmed by the injury such proceedings would necessarily inflict, he addressed the council at Batavia in a very respectful letter to know the cause, and then forwarded an ambassador to invite them back, and to assure them of his kind offices and his willingness to redress any grievances of which they had cause to complain, and of any which might arise in the process of time; accordingly the factories were re-established at Siam and Ligor. This satisfactory termination of those differences was followed by an outrage on the part of the Dutch, which to the great credit of the authorities was adequately punished. The crew of a Dutch vessel murdered thirty-five Siamese in cold blood, having first subjected to their libidinous passions their wives and daughters; but before time was allowed for a public complaint, the council caused the offenders to be apprehended. Four of them were broken on the wheel, and five hanged. It may here be also noticed to the credit of the Dutch that they attempted, and by the most feasible means, to introduce amongst their Asiatic allies European literature and civilization, by prevailing on many of the Indian princes and nobles to send their children to Batavia for education, where they were in many instances maintained at the expense of the company; but with this education was mingled their selfish objects—they took all imaginable pains to instil into their minds a high idea of the power and alleged superiority of their nation, and of their capacity to maintain the precedence which they had recently acquired.*

* Harris's *Voyages*, vol. i. p. 935; Basnage's *Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 667.

† Dapper's *Tweede Gesantschap naar Sina*, fol. 91.

* Neuville's *Hist. Van Holland*, 2 deel lxii. cap. iv.

This policy they borrowed from the Portuguese, who had practised it with considerable success.

The expulsion from Formosa was not forgotten. In conjunction with the Chinese Tartars, they sailed with a large fleet. In their attacks on the forts they were repulsed, but in an engagement at sea, of which their allies continued passive spectators, though Coxinga distinguished himself as a gallant soldier, an experienced seaman, and a great captain, and his men fought as the Dutch had never seen Chinese fight before, the large European ships tore his junks to pieces, and totally defeated his force, and the brave Coxinga, not only forfeited all his conquests, but also his life. The victors became masters of Amoy, and confidently calculated on the re-establishment of their authority in Formosa; but here they were too sanguine, old Souja, who had recovered his liberty, collected the remnants of his nephews land and naval forces, and defeated their project. Coxinga's son* deposed his old relative, and took the command. He proved himself a worthy scion of the stock from which he sprang, and managed his affairs with such consummate skill, that the Dutch admiral was obliged to return to Batavia, leaving unaccomplished the commission he had received.

Shortly after this victory, Tching-king-May died, and left the island to his son, Tching-ke-San, a minor. His guardians neglected his affairs, and when he arrived at man's estate, being of a mild and melancholy disposition, and the Tartars having put to death his friend and ally, the King of Fo-kien, fearing a like fate, he made a voluntary surrender of his territories, and proceeded to Peking, as an abdicated prince, in 1683, and resided there a pensioner till the end of his life. Since that time the island, or at least that part of it which belonged to the Dutch, was re-united to China. This being the last sovereignty in the hands of the Chinese, the conquest of the Tartars was now complete.

The influence exercised over the affairs of India by the war in which the states were involved with England, belongs properly to the history of the British in the East, and is left for that department.

The next war in which the Dutch engaged is the most important, as well as the most vigorous that was waged from the time of their establishment in the East. The kingdom of Macassar, in which, as has been detailed, the Dutch made a settlement after seizing on the Portuguese fleet, and expelling them, comprehends the best part of the Island of Celebes, inhabited by a brave and numerous people, whose monarchs, as they had never bent to the yoke of the Portuguese, had of course a strong aversion to receive that of the Dutch. The success of their first commercial transaction was so considerable, that the council at Batavia resolved on securing a monopoly, and they prepared to get rid of the Portuguese, who shared the trade. This was no easy task; for the latter people, however odious they may have been in other quarters, were here popular by their honourable dealings, by the high estimation in which the Jesuit fathers were held, and the great success of their mission, which had given them sanguine hopes of converting the entire population; in the words of an English writer, "the king had a great value for them, and the people loved them extremely." Before any hostilities were committed, terms were proposed, and a treaty concluded, by which the king promised to make satisfaction for the alleged injuries which the Dutch made the pretext of their aggressions. These proceedings would appear from the sequel to be initiated to enable them to complete their preparations, and to take the unsuspicious islanders by surprise. A squadron of thirteen men of war was in the interim dispatched from Batavia, under the command of Admiral Speelman; he had eight hundred soldiers aboard, was accompanied by a number of transports, and had orders to see the treaty executed to the letter. With this armament he arrived before Macassar, on the 19th of December, 1666.* The morning after the arrival, the king sent to them the sum of one thousand and fifty-six ingots of gold, and one thousand four hundred and thirty rix dollars, in compensation for the injuries inflicted as they said upon them. An amicable settlement was not the object for which this large force had been prepared, consequently new grievances were discovered; and on the pretence that the king had refused to make some concessions inconsistent with his dignity, and that he had sent a fleet to attack the Island of Bouton, the admiral immediately declared war, made two descents upon the coast, destroyed by fire about one hundred vessels in the ports, fifty villages, and carried off an incredible quantity of plunder, the unsuspecting prince not apprehending such a flagrant violation of the law of nations. Speelman then proceeded to destroy the force which was engaged at Bouton, and arrived there on New

* This chief was called by the Chinese, Tching-king-May.

* Neuville's *Hist. van Holland*, 2 deel lxii. cap. xix.; Harris, vol. i. p. 937.

Year's Day, 1667. With the small craft he forced his way into the harbour, and succeeded in detaching the allies from the troops of the King of Macassar, and compelling the latter to surrender at discretion; thus the war was ended in the space of four months.* They behaved with as much cruelty to their prisoners as they did with perfidy in provoking the war. The capture of their vessels rendered abortive the attempt of the Portuguese to succour their friend.

The abilities and military capacity of the king, as well as the acknowledged bravery of his subjects, were matters of considerable apprehension to the Dutch, and they doubted the permanence of their authority in Celebes, as long as he retained any power. They now discovered that he had acceded to the late negotiation merely in order to obtain a respite for fresh intrigues; they asserted that he was endeavouring to insure a combination of the neighbouring princes, and representing to them that nothing else could save them from abject subjection to the company; he laboured to make them comprehend, that what was every one's particular interest might be considered and adjusted when they had repelled the immediate danger, and pointed out the impolicy of consulting for their separate interests by special treaties; this he quaintly illustrated by saying, that it was like mice making terms to come within the cat's reach, when they could only be safe by keeping out of it. With a grasp of mind for which Europeans seldom give orientals credit, he perceived, and endeavoured to impress upon those whose co-operation he sought, that there was a probability some one or all of the European powers who were contending for the Indian commerce, would come to their assistance; that any condition was preferable to the humiliations imposed on them. He was eminently successful, as it was felt by all of them that nothing could divert him from his purpose, and that he must be absolutely crushed before he could be brought into a state of dependance or submission. At the head of the confederacy, he was in a very short space of time a more formidable enemy than ever. To meet this storm, the council at Batavia was obliged to call in the aid of all the Dutch settlements in the East, and on the 8th of June, in the same year, Speelman sailed from Amboyna with a fleet of sixteen vessels, great and small, and fourteen shallops. In an attempt to force a passage into the port of Macassar, the Dutch were frustrated. A descent by night on the Castle of Glissor was more successful; they succeeded in storming it, and having placed a strong garrison in it, they repulsed various attempts made for its recovery; taking advantage of its commanding situation, they poured such a multitude of bombs and redhot bullets into the enemy's camp, which was contiguous, that they produced the greatest consternation and confusion; then a well-directed attack was made, and the enemy dislodged from their post. After having inflicted severe injuries on various parts of the island, and several of the allies were detached from the league, a treaty was again concluded in November, 1677, and the king, the neighbouring princes, and the regents of the island, sent an embassy to John Maet Suichu, at Batavia, to make submission to the company.

Awaiting the result, the Dutch troops and their allies, who in the commencement of the war amounted to twelve thousand men, continued in the island; and the rainy season setting in, there broke out among them such a mortality as inspired the natives with the hope of being able to destroy them: they consequently made an attack upon the afflicted army, and massacred a great number of the dying soldiers. This put a stop to all hopes of an accommodation. The war was renewed, and, after a protracted conflict of two years, the Indians were forced to implore a peace, and to submit to far severer terms than those with which they had been previously oppressed. By this treaty, which dates from the 15th June, 1669, the company engrossed the commerce of the Island of Celebes, which secured to them, what was of far greater consequence, absolute sovereignty over the Moluccas.

This treaty* established on a permanent basis the Dutch East India Company. It terminated all open and avowed opposition from the Indians and Portuguese; and all the opposition, which from these quarters they afterwards encountered, is to be considered

* *Relation de la Guerre de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales contre le Roi de Macaçar*, p. 240; Harris, vol. i. p. 937.

* Of the articles of this treaty, the sixth challenges notice, it begins thus—"All the Portuguese that can be found, without exception, shall be obliged to retire out of Macassar, and all the countries dependant on that crown; and because *we are obliged to believe that the English are great makers of mischief, and the authors of the breach of former treaties*, the regents of Macassar oblige themselves to take the first occasion to oblige them to retire out of all their territories, without ever permitting any of those two nations, or their creatures, to come and trade, or to transact any business whatever, within the extent of the country of Macassar, or even so much as to continue therein, after a certain day."—*Relation de la Guerre de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales contre le Roi de Macaçar*, p. 244. The treaty is also inserted in the *Corps Diplomatique*.

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rather as insurrections and rebellions, than wars with independent states.

The period for which their third charter had been granted to the company had expired, and they consequently found themselves under the necessity of obtaining a new one. The republic was now directed by a statesman who was no friend to monopolies, and who had no inclination to sacrifice what he thought was right, to subserve the interest of this body,—this was the celebrated De Witt, who, by his prudence and talents, won the flattering cognomen, "Wisdom of Holland;" who, in 1653, though only twenty-eight years of age, was made pensionary, and as head of the peace party, was in constant opposition to the Prince of Orange and his adherents, who are known in history as the "Louvestein faction." This statesman was of opinion that though companies might be necessary in the infancy of trade, and when new establishments were to be formed, yet when it was matured, it would be prejudicial to the interests of the nation at large, that power and wealth should be suffered to accumulate to an inordinate extent in the hands of the favoured few. His observation had convinced him, and he did not hesitate to promulgate his convictions, that the Dutch employed in the East India settlements were, as he said, the scum of the earth—debauched, necessitous, unprincipled, rapacious, and profligate; all which he attributed to the strict and slavish terms imposed by the company, to which none would submit who could live at home, or could afford to emigrate at his own expense. Notwithstanding his powerful opposition, on the payment of a large sum of money the fourth charter was granted for twenty-one years, dating from the commencement of the year 1666.

The extent and returns of the commerce of the company were enormous of late years, the directors divided *four hundred and fifty per cent.* upon their capital, which was about forty per cent. more than they had divided from 1622 to 1644.

At this period the Dutch, having carried on a very lucrative trade for above forty years with Tonquin, were at variance with the authorities in that country. A brief notice of their settlement there may be interesting and instructive. Shortly after their introduction to Japan, they learnt that annually a small squadron from that country sailed to Tonquin; and that also a considerable trade was carried on there with China. One Charles Hartsink proposed to send a vessel thither from Japan, freighted with the usual commodities, and some European in addition, and various curiosities, considered a suitable present for the king. Hartsink with his cargo was well received. He sold at very high prices, and shortly sailed to Batavia with a valuable freight. Van Dieman, who then presided in India, highly commended his conduct and diligence, and resolved on settling a factory there; he wisely placed Hartsink as superintendent, who in a very short time so ingratiated himself into the favour of the king, that he took him into his councils, elevated him to the highest honours, and finally adopted him as his son. Under his management, and that of some succeeding chiefs, the affairs of the company prospered. At length, about 1664, jealousies arose, the trade gradually declined, the factories were withdrawn, but were settled there again, and continued for about forty years, when they were finally withdrawn. The Dutch probably owed to their own cupidity the deterioration of this branch of trade.

Particular attention was bestowed on the enlargement, embellishment, and fortification of Batavia, and augmenting the commercial conveniences of that port, and the names of the successive governors are honourably identified with the improvements.

Henceforth, the history of the Dutch is involved in that of the French and English, who successively became the leading powers amongst the European nations in the East; and in the records of their progress will be found the decline of a power once all powerful, and even still felt, in the East.

END OF VOL. I.

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